THIRD

REPORT

(Being a SUPPLEMENT to the First and Second)

FROM THE

COMMITTEE OF SECRECY,

APPOINTED TO ENQUIRE INTO

THE CAUSES OF THE WAR IN THE CARNATIC,

AND OF

The Condition of the British Possessions in those Parts.

Printed in the Year M DCC LXXXII.

THE HISTORY OF THE PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES Of the SECOND SESSION of the HOUSE OF COMMONS, OF THE Fifteenth Parliament of *Great Britain*.



THIRD REPORT, (being a SUPPLEMENT to the FIRST and SECOND) from the COMMITTEE of SECRECY, &c.

The Committee of Secrecy, appointed to enquire into the Causes of the War that now subsists in the Carnatic, and of the present Condition of the British Possessions in those Parts, and to report the same to the House, with their Observations thereupon; and who were instructed to enquire into the Rise, Progress, Conduct, and present State of the Maratta War, and all other Hostilities in which the Presidency of Bengal now are or have been engaged in the Support of that War, and of the Effects which the said War and Hostilities may have produced in Bengal, and the other Settlements and Possessions of the East-India Company:

HAVING been furnished with some additional Materials respecting the Subject Matter of the First and Second Reports, since they were directed by the House, at the Commencement of the present Session of Parliament, to resume their Enquiries, have thought it their Duty to lay before the House the Substance of those additional Materials, by Way of Supplement to their former Reports, following the same Arrangement according to which the several Subjects were originally treated; and subjoining to their former Appendixes the Papers and Examinations from which this Supplement was compiled.

Supplement to the First Report.

YOUR Committee, in their First Report, laid before the House, among other Matters, the actual State of the Carnatic, as far as it could then be collected from the various Materials supplied by the East India House, and other Public Offices. They then proceeded to state the Grounds which the Government of Fort Saint George had to expect the calamitous Events which had happened; and to set forth the State of Defence in which the Settlement had been kept previous to those Events.

With respect to the First of these Points, Your Committee pursued the Narrative of the Transactions subsequent to (Hyder Ally's Irruption into the Carnatic down to Sir Eyre Coote's last Dispatches (Fol. 44. First Report), representing the State of his Army, compared with that of the Enemy, the total Want of Field Artillery, and of the necessary Precautions for the Security of the Carnatic at large, or Fort Saint George in particular. The subsequent Intelligence received from that Country, informed Your Committee, That on the 30th December 1780, Sir Eyre Coote thought it proper to call a Council of War, consisting of himself, Sir Hector Monro, General Stewart, and Lord Macleod. The Facts, upon which the Question to be determined arose, were thus stated by Sir Eyre Coote:

No. 1. Supplemental Appendix to 1st Report.

"That the whole effective Strength of his Army, Infantry, Cavalry, and Artillery, amounted to 6,885 Men; and that 500 Sepoys might perhaps be added to them. That Vellore, Wandewash, and Permacoil, were closely invested by the Enemy: the First of those Places, from the commanding Officer's Account, he did not think in immediate Danger, except from Treachery, which had found its Way among the Nabob's People; but that Permacoil must soon fall, as the gallant Resistance of so small a Garrison cou'd not long be effectual against Hyder's Resources;—that Batteries were already raised against Wandewash, and playing with Success, the Garrison inadequate, consisting of Two European Companies, and a few Sepoys belonging to the Nabob, who were dissatisfied on Account of their Arrears of Pay, and actually deserting; and the natural Advantages of the Place not being so great as those of Permacoil, that it could not long resist the great Efforts which would certainly be made against it; and that the Quantity of Grain in it was a considerable Object. The General considered the Safety of these Two Garrisons, and that of Chinglepat, which was also invested, as Points of very great Importance.—Taking a comparative View of the Enemy's Force and his own, the General was of Opinion, that they might engage, if forced so to do, with Success; that Detachment was not adviseable, as the Army could not afford a Division. A Movement for the Relief of those Garrisons, the General observed, would necessarily expose Fort Saint George, the Foundation of the English

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Interests on the Coast, from whence their own Army must derive its Supplies—on that Point he wished to have the Advice of the General Officers; and also upon this other Point, Whether, if they should succeed merely in relieving the Garrisons above-mentioned, and return to the Station which they had left, any Disadvantage to their Affairs would follow from that Step?—That he despaired of Sepoys being sent by Sea from Bengal, and those who were to march by Land had not set out on the 24th of March, and that it depended on Moodajee Boonsela whether they ever should come or not."

It appears, That the General Officers were unanimous in Opinion, that the whole Army should march to the Relief of those Garrisons, and return to their present Stations; and that Sir Eyre Coote (observing at the same Time that he transgressed against the usual Rules) laid the Result of this Council of War before the President and Select Committee, who much approved of the Resolutions which had been taken.

As no Intelligence whatsoever has been received by the East India Company, directly from Fort Saint George, since the Month of January 1781, Your Committee can only offer the Substance of such Information as has been received from other Quarters. A Letter from the Chief and Council of Anjengo, dated 11th of February 1781, to the Court of Directors, represents, That Lieutenant Hughes, of the Seahorse, who had left Madras on the 2nd ultimo, and touched at Anjengo on his Way to Bombay, had informed them, that Sir Eyre Coote had marched from his Station near Madras about the 17th ultimo; and a private Letter which the President had just received from the Commandant at Palamcotah, dated the 8th February, acquainted them, that the Siege of Carongoly and Wandewash was raised on Sir Eyre Coote's Approach.

No. 2. Supplemental Appendix to 1st Report.

The Governor and Council of Bombay, in a Letter dated the 30th April 1781, acquaint the Court of Directors, that they very much wish they had any late authentic Accounts to give of the Situation of Affairs on the Coast of Coromandel, the Hopes of which was the principal Cause of detaining the Mercury so long; that it is certain the French had left the Coast of Coromandel in February, without lending any Assistance to Hyder; and that they had been much distressed for Provision, by Means of the Position of Sir Eyre Coote's Army, and that General's having burnt all the Boats at Pondicherry, which prevented their being supplied from on Shore; and they add, that Mr. Stewart at Goa mentions, that Hyder had quitted the Carnatic.

No. 3. Supplemental Appendix to 1st Report.

Your Committee find, by a subsequent Letter from Anjengo, dated on the 6th August 1781, and received on the 16th of December last, addressed to the Court of Directors, and inclosing a Letter of Sir Eyre Coote's to Colonel Braithwaite, dated the 6th of July preceding, that a very considerable Advantage had been obtained by that General over Hyder Ally, on the 1st of July, between Porto Novo and Mootepollam. It appears that the Action lasted Eight Hours, and was hard

Supplemental Appendix to 1st Report, No. 2.

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fought on both Sides; the Enemy's Force consisted of 25 Battalions of Infantry, 400 Europeans, 40 or 50,000 Horse, about 100,000 Matchlock Men, and 47 Pieces of Cannon well served; yet that Force was obliged to yield to the Steadiness of Sir Eyre Coote's small Army, Four thousand of the Enemy being left dead on the Field, and Meer Saib (Hyder's near Relation, and Second in Command) having been mortally wounded, whilst the British Army lost very few Officers, and but 3 or 400 Men were killed and wounded.

This Letter from Anjengo states it as confidently reported, that a Vessel from Holland had reached Colomba in June last, and apprised that Settlement of the Probability of a Rupture between the English and Dutch in Europe; and that the Factory at Colomba were preparing themselves accordingly.

Such was the actual State of the Carnatic, according to the most recent Information which the Directors of the East India Company have received from any of their Settlements in India.

Your Committee next proceeded to prosecute their Enquiry into the Grounds which the Government of Madras had to expect an Invasion of the Carnatic, by Hyder Ally, and the Means taken to avert it, or to defend themselves, in case that Event should take place; and they find, from a Letter addressed to the Court of Directors, by the Select Committee of Fort St. George, dated January 9th, 1781, that the Maratta War is considered by them as the sole Cause of these Calamities; to which Sir Eyre Coote did not entirely assent.——They then proceed to state,

Supplemental Appendix to 1st Report, No. 4.

That "so far back as October 1779, Sir Thomas Rumbold informed the Committee, that the Letters and "Messages received from Hyder Ally, for some Time "past, were couched in Terms so hostile and unfriendly, "that he could scarcely conceive them to be the genuine "Productions of that Prince—That he had in consequence sent the Reverend Mr. Schwarts to Seringapatam, with private "Instructions, to learn the real Disposition of Hyder; but the Issue of "this secret Negociation was such, as left him no Reason to doubt, but "his Intentions were hostile both to the Company and the Nabob. "Alarming (say they) as this Information was, no Resolution was taken, "more than that the Gentlemen at Bengal should be made acquainted "with it, and that General Goddard should be advised of it also.—— "About Three Weeks after, the Matter was again agitated; and a "Member of the Committee moved, that the most vigorous and spirited Measures should be adopted; and submitted, whether it would "not be proper to collect a strong Body of Troops at Vellore and Conjeveram, where they might be cantoned, in Readiness to act as Occasion might require. This, however, met with a similar fate; nothing "more was done than had been in the former Instance.

"From this Time, until the Beginning of June, no further Notice is "taken of the Measures of Hyder and the Marattas, although the In-

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telligence communicated by the Nabob, gave us every Reason to suppose, that he meditated some formidable Blow against the Carnatic;—then indeed the Letters which came in daily from the Frontier Garrisons, were ample Confirmations of what had been apprehended; and to increase our Difficulties, the Select Committee of Bombay advised us, under Date the 18th of May, that the Marattas had declared in positive Terms to General Goddard, "That they would not make Peace, unless Salsette were restored, and the Person of Ragobah given up."——The undoubted Information which was received of the warlike Preparations that were making by Hyder Ally Cawn, induced Mr. Johnson, in a Minute, seconded by Mr. Smith, to recommend to the Committee, to take into Consideration, the Means of maintaining an Army in the Field; and if this was impracticable, that they would deliberate upon Measures for reinforcing our Garrisons, and for keeping up a Force at least sufficient to protect the Company's and Nabob's Possessions. Had this Opinion been followed, the Troops which were separated, would have been formed into a Body within the Space of a Month, without Obstruction or Difficulty; they would have marched unmolested into the very Heart of the Carnatic, and would have been ready to have faced the Enemy on their first entering the Ghauts.——But the seasonable Precautions pointed out in this Minute were disregarded; the Apprehensions about Hyder were thought groundless; and the Opportunity was lost, which might have possibly prevented the Invasion of the Carnatic.—Had, indeed, a Peace been concluded with the Marattas, or had there been the Prospect of so desirable an Event, the Rumour of Hyder's Intentions might have been disregarded; but when we had the clearest Proof before us, the Declaration of the Maratta Court itself to General Goddard's Proposition, it no longer became a Matter that could admit of further Hesitation; a Pacification with that Government seemed to be as distant as ever, whilst every Exertion that we might be enabled to make, would unavoidably create an Expence of both Blood and Treasure, which must infallibly exhaust us in the End.—The Disposition of the Troops belonging to this Establishment, was likewise a Circumstance of considerable Disadvantage to us;—one Part, under the Command of Colonel Braithwaite, was at Pondicherry; Lieutenant Colonel Baillie had a fine Detachment to the Northward of the Kistna; and Colonel Brown had One Battalion of Europeans, One Company of Artillery, and One Battalion of Sepoys, acting under the Orders of General Goddard.

"Our Force being in this Manner dispersed, no Moment could have been more favourable for Hyder to have entered the Carnatic than the Moment he embraced.—We were unusually weak from the different Detachments we had on Service.—Bengal was plunged into the most serious Difficulties, and the Treasures of the Company in every Part of India, were reduced to the most alarming Situation.

"Since the 5th of November, when General Coote arrived, every kind of Exertion hath been made to insure to us Success in the next

"Campaign. The General himself is now encamped at St. Thomas's "Mount; and we have every Reason to expect that we shall reap the "most signal Services from his Conduct and Ability. Circumstanced as "General Coote is, the Commander in Chief of your Forces in India, "and more particularly, having the entire Direction of General God- "dard's Army on the other Side of India, where Hyder is most vulne- "rable, we could not, we conceive, have acted with greater Attention "to your Interest, than in entrusting to him the general Management of "the War, as we have done in public Orders.—The Orders which Sir "Eyre Coote informs us he has sent to General Goddard, will we "trust, draw that Officer from his offensive Measures against the Ma- "rattas, and enable him to make a Diversion in the Ridamore Country, "where the Nairs even, we are told, are ready to revolt and join us: "They have kept the Garrison of Tellicherry closely confined to the "Walls of their Fort for a considerable Time past. The Presence of "Sir Edward Hughes also renders it more probable; the Squadron he "has under his Command being at Hand to co-operate, and transport, if "necessary, both Men and Stores to Mangalore."

They then proceed to acquaint the Court of Directors, that Mahomed Nudjif Cawn the Nabob's Manager in the Arcot Province, insinuates, that the Capture of that Place was owing to the Conduct of the Company's Officers; who assert on the other Hand, that it was owing to the Nabob's People, especially to Rajah Beerbar, who had the supreme Authority at Arcot, and is now in the Confidence of Hyder. They also acquaint them of an Offer from Fazel Beg of Four or Five thousand disciplined Cavalry, which they had not positively accepted, by reason of the great Expence, and by reason of Expectation of Assistance from Moodajee Bouncello, but had kept the Negociation open. They likewise state, that repeated Representations to the Rajah of Tanjore had not been able to procure either Money or Cavalry, and that nothing but empty Words and Professions had hitherto been the Fruit of their Applications; and proceed to acquaint the Directors, that they had been informed by Sir Edward Hughes (by Letter, dated December the 4th), that his Majesty's Fleet had arrived safe at Tellicherry, where he had landed, for the Reinforcement of that Garrison, 1 Captain, 4 Subalterns, and 108 Marines; and that he had supplied them with 80,000 Rupees, and a Quantity of Grain, and that he had directed Two of the Company's Ships to remain there, for the Purpose of keeping the Port open for a Supply of Provisions, until a Reinforcement should arrive.

N° 5. Supplemental Appendix to 1st Report.

Your Committee judged it expedient to examine William Petrie, Esquire, touching the Grounds for expecting that Hyder's intention was to invade the Carnatic long before that Event took Place. That Gentleman, having served the Company several Years in the different Capacities of Commissary, Secretary to the Council, and Resident at Tanjore, informed Your Committee, that, from the long Misunderstanding and Jealousy which had subsisted between Hyder Ally and the Madras Government, he never doubted but that we should be involved

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in War with that Power, as soon as he should find an Opportunity, which could only have been prevented by a positive Alliance between him and the English, a Measure which he had frequently courted; that Hyder viewed our Attack on Pondicherry with a jealous Eye, and would, in his Opinion, have given Assistance to the French, but for a favourite Enterprize which he was engaged in at that Time. Our Attack at Mahé, and the subsequent Operations in the Guntoor Circar, he believes, were considered by Hyder as Acts of Hostility; and that he would venture to say, that that Prince certainly meditated an Attack as early as the Time of the Siege of Pondicherry; which Mr. Petrie heard at Tanjore, from a Man who had formerly been in Hyder's Service, and who had visited him at Nagore, at a Time when this Man was acting as an inferior Vackeel with the Dutch at Negapatam. It may be proper for Your Committee to state, that Mr. Petrie expressed himself to Your Committee, as of Opinion that the Rajah of Tanjore is well inclined to the Interests of the Company; and imputed all Difficulties which he met with, during his Residence there, to the Jealousy and general bad Conduct of his Ministry (co-operating with the Rajah's mild and indolent Turn of Mind), to whom he has entirely resigned himself.—Upon the Subject of the State of Affairs in Tanjore, Your Committee beg Leave to attract the particular Attention of the House to Mr. Petrie's Testimony, which affords much clear and essential Information on this important Point.

On a subsequent Occasion, Mr. Petrie informed Your Committee, in Addition to his former Testimony, that he knew Hyder had been inimical to the English since a short Time after the Peace of 1769; at which Time the Madras Board withheld from him the Succours which he thought he had a Right to claim (in consequence of that Treaty), when his Country was invaded by the Marattas. That the Misfortunes of that War, in which he lost his Army, and a considerable Part of his Dominions, Hyder charged to our Breach of Engagements; from which Period he eagerly looked for a favourable Opportunity of making War upon the English. That the Transactions of that Time gave rise to his subsequent Connection with the French; but that, finding he could expect no essential Support from them, and apprehensive of a second Visit from the Marattas in the Year 1773, he again solicited the Friendship and Alliance of the English against the Common Enemy, as he then termed the Marattas, and made such advantageous Offers to the Company, that had the Madras Board deemed it expedient in other Respects, to accede to his Request, the most solid commercial Advantages might then have been obtained for the Company. Mr. Petrie further acquainted them, that he was at that Time Secretary to the Board at Madras, where the Subject was often debated; but that at last it was resolved to decline the proposed Alliance, and to observe a strict Neutrality between Hyder and the Marattas. His Resentment on this Occasion, Mr. Petrie believes, cemented his Connection with the French, and not improbably gave him the first Idea of an Alliance with his old Enemies the Marattas; and that from this Period the Correspondence between Hyder and the Company's Government he believed to have been merely civil, certainly not cordial. That on Sir Thomas Rumbold's Arrival at Madras, he understood some Correspondence had taken place on

the Subject of an Alliance; yet when Pondicherry was attacked, it was generally imagined, and justly, as he believes, that Hyder would have tried to raise the Siege, had not his Arms at that Time been employed in another Quarter. That the subsequent Attack on Mahé, and the Operations in the Guntoor Circar, were considered by Hyder as positive Acts of Hostility, who from that Time seemed to make no Secret of his hostile Designs against the Carnatic. That his own Reflections upon all these Circumstances, added to his Information from Mr. Schwarts, who had just returned from Hyder's Durbar, and from other Channels of Intelligence, made him conclude, when he was about to leave India, that a War was not far distant, and that Hyder only waited for an Opportunity to begin Hostilities; and that he was sorry to see that the Maratta War, by exhausting the Company's Resources, and dispersing their Force, was likely to afford him a very favourable one; so that he never doubted of the Carnatic's becoming the Theatre of War. That although the Affairs of the Guntoor Circar, and of Mahé, were powerful Provocations, yet Hyder would not have involved himself in the War, had there been Peace in Hindostan, until he had received the Troops promised him by France; and does not think Hyder would have trusted his Infantry and Guns in the Carnatic, had the Madras Government only assembled the Forces under that Presidency in proper Time, and ordered the Army to move towards the Western Passes, when they heard of Hyder's Approach from Bengalore.

As the Facts contained in Mr. Petrie's evidence appear to Your Committee to be material, they have inserted his Evidence much at large, without meaning to pass any Judgment upon the Conduct of the Madras Government, relative to the Alliance with Hyder Ally, alluded to by Mr. Petrie.

Your Committee, in the Course of their Researches, have met with a Transaction which originated with the Governor General and Council; in which, however, the Government of Madras was interested, and which they think it necessary to state to the House, though not directly connected with the Subject Matter of their First Report.

They find, by Dispatches from Calcutta, dated 7th January 1781, that the Governor General and Council (then consisting of Mr. Hastings and Mr. Wheler only), after stating the Necessity of using every Means to relieve the Carnatic, acquainted the Court of Directors with a Treaty set on Foot with the Dutch, whose Possessions at Cochin and its Neighbourhood had been attacked by Hyder Ally, and which had been formed under the Advice and Direction of Mr. Ross, Director of the Dutch East India Settlements in Bengal. These Gentlemen represent the Force actually stationed at Cochin and near it, as able to furnish the Proportion of European Infantry and Artillery therein stipulated, as well as of Mallays, who might be quickly marched by a near Route into the Carnatic, if the Governors of Columbo and Cochin should accede, who have no regular Powers to bind their Company; being subject to the

N° 6. Supplemental Appendix to 1st Report.

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ſupreme Government of Batavia. They therefore ſtate this as a Reaſon for having offered to the Dutch Director more advantageous Terms than would otherwiſe have been expedient in an equal and formal negociation, or adequate to their Share of the common Intereſt in the War. But that no Time is to be loſt, and inſtant Relief is required, and that the dependent State of thoſe Perſons, whom they ſolicit to be the immediate Parties, claims ſome additional Conceſſions to indemnify them, and win the Concurrence of their Superiors: This they ſay has induced them to offer the Tinnivelly Country to the Dutch, "which may be ſeparated from the "Carnatic, without either Embarraſſment or Danger of future Competi-"tion; and, from its Contiguity to the Dutch Poſſeſſions in Ceylon, "would prove a greater Acquiſition to them, than Loſs to the Nabob:" That the Treaty had been ſuddenly prepared, and "without his Knowledge, "and of Courſe without his Conſent, though they know that the latter is in-"diſpenſably neceſſary to that Article of the Treaty in which the Ceſſion "of Tinnivelly is ſuggeſted;" but that a Ceſſion of a minute and diſtant Part of his Dominions, is but a ſmall Sacrifice for the Preſervation of the Whole, as the Nabob of Arcot is the Principal in the War. In this Letter, the Supreme Government incloſe Copies of the Treaty executed by them, and of their Letters to the Preſidency of Madras, the Nabob, the Director of Cochin and Columbo, and the Supreme Government of Batavia.

No. 7. Supplemental Appendix to 1ſt Report.

The Minute of the Governor General and Council of the 4th January 1781 (recapitulating the Reaſons above mentioned) contains the "Propo-"ſal for a Treaty of Alliance between the Engliſh and Dutch Eaſt India "Companies, and the Nabob Wallah Jaw Behader;" and after reciting the Invaſion of Hyder Ally, his Attack on the Dutch Settlements, the common Intereſt of the Nabob, and the Advice and Suggeſtion of the Dutch Director, declares, that the Treaty ſhall be propoſed to the ſeveral intended Parties to it, and that it ſhall be binding on the Engliſh Company as ſoon as it ſhall have received the Seals and Signatures of the other Parties. The Subſtance of this Treaty appears to be, that the Governments of Columbo and Cochin ſhall furniſh 1,000 European Infantry, 200 European Artillery, and 1,000 Malays, with their Complement of Officers, ſubject to the Engliſh Commander until the Concluſion of the War and their Re-delivery to their proper Government, and receiving their preſent Pay, together with their Field and Garriſon Expences. That it ſhall be propoſed and recommended to the Nabob of Arcot, to grant proper Sunnuds to the Dutch Eaſt India Company, transferring to them his Right and Property in the Province of Tinnivelly, together with the excluſive Right of the Pearl Fiſhery on all the Coaſt lying to the South of Remſirem: That the Dutch Eaſt India Company may make ſuch Conqueſts in the Neighbourhood of Cochin as they ſhall be able, without the Participation of the Nabob, or of the Engliſh: That if further Aſſiſtance is required, the Dutch ſhall engage to obtain it from the Supreme Government of Batavia, on the ſame terms: That the Treaty being executed by the Supreme Council of Bengal, ſhall be forwarded to the Nabob of Arcot; and if executed by him, to the Directors of Columbo and Cochin; but liable to no Diminution or Alteration. Your Committee

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find, that their Letter to the Nabob represents the perilous State of their common Affairs, and the great Sacrifice made, by relinquishing the Prosecution of the Maratta War, almost in the Moment when they had Reason to expect, from the Success which had attended it, that it would have speedily terminated in an honourable and advantageous Peace; and that the Necessity of the utmost Expedition must apologize for the Want of his previous Consent. The Letter intended for Columbo and Cochin, represents to the Governors of those Settlements, the Impossibility of corresponding with Batavia, by reason of the Time which would thereby be lost; and holds out the great Advantage accruing to the Dutch, as an ample Indemnification for their Want of Authority from their Superiors. In the Letter intended for the Supreme Government of Batavia, the same Arguments of Advantage are urged, to secure their Ratification, and the Necessity of Expedition offered as an Apology for having applied themselves, in the first Instance, to subordinate Governments. In the Letter from the Governor General to that of Madras, accompanying this Treaty, Instructions are given to press the Nabob to a Compliance, by representing his Necessities, his Obligations, and the Justice of the Claims which they have upon him; and no Doubt is entertained but that, from Motives of Policy as well as Justice, the Nabob will accede to the Terms offered in his Name.

On the 12th of January 1781, the Government of Madras acquainted the Court of Directors, that they had particularly attended to his Majesty's Order in Council, of the 17th of April last, and should vigilantly guard against any Consequences which might eventually arise from the Measures that His Majesty had been under the Necessity of adopting; and on the 17th of February, transmit to the Directors their Sentiments on the Treaty above stated. They observe, that the Cession of the Tinnivelly Country and Pearl Fishery, which are to be perpetually ceded for a temporary Assistance, are estimated at 35 Lacks of Rupees, equal in that Country to 385,750 £. Sterling. That a Scheme of Assistance from the Dutch had been intimated some Months before, but that the weighty Consideration of Expence seemed alone sufficient to deter them from accepting it, though they had not absolutely declined it; more especially as the requisite Sum might be more advantageously applied, by entertaining a Body of Cavalry, the Want of which had been severely felt. In Addition to these Arguments, they hold themselves not to have been warranted in forwarding the Treaty, as Sir Eyre Coote's Success had been so considerable, as much was to be expected from General Goddard's Operations, and as the Reinforcement expected from Bengal would enable them to act with Effect on the Offensive; but above all, as the Revenues of the Southern Provinces were almost the only Resources left to the Nabob, and as his Highness had assigned them over to the Company (reserving some Share for his Houshold Expences), and were the most considerable Part of their Funds for carrying on the War, the Cession of so much Revenue in Perpetuity would strip them of their best Means of supporting themselves in the Carnatic. To this they add, that his Majesty's Declaration in Council, of the 17th of April 1780, rendered the giving to the Dutch an Opportunity of acquiring so much

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Influence in that Country, a Measure both highly impolitic and detrimental to the Company's Affairs.

Your Committee find, That the Directors of the East India Company, in their General Letter to Fort St. George by the Ships now under Dispatch, have expressed their Opinion of this Transaction in the following Terms: "It is needless to enter upon an Examination of the proposed "Treaty with the Dutch for the Tinnivelly Country. Nothing but the "most desperate Necessity could have warranted such Cession of Territory to the Dutch; however, as Great Britain and the States General are at open War, every Effort must be continued to guard against, "and, if possible, to reduce and destroy the Power of the Dutch in "India."

Supplement to the Second Report.

THE Abolition of the Committee of Circuit, and calling down of the Zemindars to Madras, was the Point first attended to in Your Committee's Second Report. In Addition to what they have already stated on that Subject, it appears to them, That on the 5th May 1778 (about Three Months after the Arrival of Sir Thomas Rumbold at Madras), a Letter was written to him by Mr. Sadlier, then Chief of Masulipatam, representing, "That he always had in Mind how much "the Governor seemed to have at Heart the Coming "of the Zemindars to the Presidency:—My utmost Endeavours (says he) have been used to facilitate your "Wish; but less sanguine than you appear, of the Eligibility of undertaking suddenly great Reformation of "System, and aware of the Difficulties in which you may be involved. "As I could not, consistently with the warm Support Gratitude and "Inclination prompt me to, flatter you of the immediate Succes of your "Measures, I thought it best to be silent, and not awake Distrust in "you, till a full and compleat State of the Settlement and our Situation were sent you: Such is now compleated, and goes this Night to "Council.

No. 1. Supplemental Appendix to 2d Report.

"If it had pleased you to have reposed Confidence in me, and apprised me of the State of this Settlement previous to my Departure "from Madras, and intrusted to me after I could have communicated to "you my Opinion on your Plan, and the Time fittest for its being undertaken, possibly our Treasury might have been replenished, and the "Scheme forwarded. But having, previous to my Knowledge of your "Intentions, written to the Zemindars, I found my Influence and the "Influence of the Board here, annulled, and nothing to be done till you "have the Zemindars with you, or till this Government is invested with "their usual Authority."—Upon these Grounds Mr. Sadlier proceeded to state the Necessity of losing no Time in putting the Measure in Execution, after the Subject should have had due Consideration, and the Governor should have satisfied himself how the Calls on Masulipatam for Money were to be satisfied; and states, that Sepoys might be necessary to enforce the Order, "as it commonly requires such an Exertion to get "the Zemindars from their respective Countries," and make them fulfil their Engagements to Government.

It appears also, that this Letter contains a Description of the Characters and private Circumstances of some of the principal Zemindars in that Settlement, which Your Committee think it necessary to state shortly, as affording Matter for judging of the Necessity, Policy, or Propriety, of calling down the Zemindars to the Presidency, in preference to the Measure

sure which was ordered by the Court of Directors; namely, that a Committee from the Presidency should enquire upon the Spot into every Circumstance which affected the respective Interests of the Peasants, the Zemindars, or the Company; and also, as tending to throw Light upon the Suggestions made by the subordinate Settlements, and by the Zemindars themselves, of their Inability to afford the Expence of a Journey to the Presidency, and a Residence there for some Length of Time, and of the Detriment which would thence arise to the subordinate Treasuries, and ultimately to the Company.

Tripetty Rauze is represented as very punctual in his Engagements to the Company, as an able and frugal Manager of his Country; useful to the Company, by assisting them in settling with others of his own Class, but a greater Sufferer by having become Security for the Countries under his Management, insomuch as to be reduced to "a Manœuvre," to endeavour to extricate himself from his Difficulties: Thus embarrassed as he now is, Mr. Sadlier knows not how he can settle his Affairs to the Satisfaction of the Presidency of Madras.

Opporow is represented as having a fine Country, great Part of which is under the Management of others; but that his Affairs are in so unprosperous a State, that nothing short of the Sequestration of his Country, and giving him an Allowance for his Maintenance, can enable him to pay off his heavy Debts, and restore him to his former Situation.

Jagapetty Rauze is represented to have the Name of being able to settle with the Company, either at Masulipatam or Madras, but that a close Connection is said to have taken place between him and Sitteram Rauze: "That Vackeels and Correspondence are in use between them, "and that there is Cause to imagine that there are Intrigues on Foot "between the Zemindars of Chicacole and those of this District, from "this Man's Influence. This (says Mr. Sadlier) should be discouraged, "and may cause a Combination of the Whole of the Zemindars to distress and embarrass your Plan. To overcome such Confederacy, you "might settle the Affairs of the different Districts separately and at different Times, and not hazard the Effects of Intrigue, by bringing the "Whole of them together."

Row Vencata Row is represented as having paid up his Kists; and a Renewal of his Agreement, in the usual Mode, it is thought may be effected.——Ram Chundre Rauze is said to wish to have his Pretensions to the Cotah Country (now in Charge of a Fouzdar for the Company) settled before he pays his Instalments. Costant Ram and Vellereddy Ram, as having been always punctual, and likely so to continue.

The Chief of Masulipatam then proceeds to draw the Governor's Attention to the Effects which this Measure would, in his Judgment, have upon the Treasury of the Settlement under his Charge. "By the Estimate (continues he) of probable Receipts and monthly Disbursements, "sent

" sent to the Board, you will find we have Hope of receiving very lit-" tle; and our Disbursement not less than 33,000 Pagodas monthly " (£. 13,300 Sterling), besides which, we owe to the Soubah, 31st " March last, 77,922 Pagodas, on Account of his Tribute; which Sum " is increasing monthly, at the Rate of 10,822 ½. The Payment of the " last Money was compleated by the Soucars only a few Days since, " which occasioned the Soubah, by one of his People, to write Vencata " Royloo, as you will perceive by Translate of the Letter now sent. " It becomes an Object of your most serious Attention, in case the Ze-" mindars proceed as at present intended, to find Means by which our " Treasury may be supplied; the most valuable Part of the Company's " Investment depends on it, and the Zemindars with-holding, as they do, " Assistance of any Kind, leaves little Hopes of Resources in ourselves; " for whatever may appear due, such is the State of Credit, and such " the Uncertainty of Payment, I do not at this Hour know where I " can apply with Certainty for the smallest Sums, and all I expect to " be able to do, will barely furnish the Demands of the present Month, " independent of our Silver, which may amount to about a Lack of " Rupees, which will be sold to great Loss.——Thus, Miscarriage in " any of the Affairs dependent on this Settlement, may therefore be im-" puted to the Change of System, and what Disappointments ensue " justified by the Council here on this Plea, and all Misfortunes incident " to it imputed to your Board.—If too, by improper Management here-" tofore, Deficiency in Payment of the Kists now due, and the Revenue " of this Country, according to the present Settlement, should happen, " may not the Cause, by its Effect of giving the First Shock, too com-" mon and long practised Credit in the Mode of Securities in those " Countries, be also ascribed to the present Plan? In short, if it should " happen that the Settlement, by bad Seasons and Causes alleged by " the Zemindars, is on the Decline, would it not be prudent to leave the " Government, hitherto charged with Responsibility, to justify its Mea-" sures, and bear the Censure it deserves? are Questions with Deference " I submit to your better Judgment.

" The Period of Settlement by Mr. Floyer, expires the 25th Septem-" ber next; a new Jamabundy must then be agreed on; that Time or " October may be better suited, and the People better prepared to visit " the Presidency. In Case then no Change is intended in the present " Settlement, such Season may be equally convenient for the Company " for a future Plan; and the Board here, by being left to accomplish its " present Payments, may possibly at that Time have its Treasury in a " State to answer the Exigencies, and the Plan proceed without Incon-" venience.—I am led to these Observations, by a sincere Wish to pro-" mote the Success of your Measures; and stimulated by such Motives, " led to a Freedom of Remarks I would not have used, but to the Per-" son whose Honour and Success highly interests me; I trust therefore I " shall not have given Offence:—You have now, (if you think the Sub-" ject deserves it) but to afford it due Consideration, and signify your " further Wishes to ensure in me an arduous Desire to second them, by

"the most implicit Obedience to your further Commands. The present "Letter is meant as a private one, but whatever Observations concern "the Public, may be used as you have Occasion."

Supplemental Appendix to 1st Report.

Your Committee, upon this Point respecting the Abolition of the Committee of Circuit, and calling down the Zemindars, examined William Petrie, Esquire; who acquainted them, that he went first to Madras in the Company's Civil Service about Seventeen Years ago, and had acted in the Stations of Commissary and Paymaster to the Army, during the last War with Hyder Ally, at the First Siege of Tanjore, and in the subsequent Campaigns: That he was afterwards appointed Secretary to the Government of Madras, in which Department he remained till his Return to England in 1776; that in the succeeding Year he returned to India with Sir Thomas Rumbold, and was appointed Envoy or Resident to the Rajah of Tanjore, and to the Chiefship of Nagore and Caricole. That he again left India in January 1780; was prosecuting his Journey over Land, but was obliged, on Account of the Plague in Turkey, to return to Bombay; was present at the Capture of Bassein by the Bengal Army; and on the Malabar Coast, had an Opportunity of hearing of Hyder Ally's alarming Success in the Carnatic, and the distressed State of the English Government at Madras. That he left the Coast of India on the 11th February, on board of a Portuguese Ship, and arrived in England, September 1781.——Mr. Petrie informed Your Committee, That he remained with Sir Thomas Rumbold about Twelve Days after his Arrival at Madras, and was not in that Place when the Committee of Circuit was abolished, but heard of it at Tanjore, which is distant from Madras Three Days Journey by Post, and Six or Seven in the usual Way: That most of the Zemindars, he believes, were at Madras when he returned to the Presidency, but that he had no Communication with them: That he was acquainted with the Objects of the Committee of Circuit, and knew of its Dissolution; and from his Knowledge of the Affairs of that Presidency, and the Objects of that Committee, he is clearly of Opinion, that they were more likely to be attained by the Continuance of the Committee, than by calling down the Zemindars; because the Committee was directed to proceed to the Northern Circars, and investigate the various Matters which had been complained of in that Branch of the Company's Government; and because the Instructions given to them for their Guide, appear to him well calculated to accomplish the Purposes of Reformation; whereas, by calling the Zemindars to Madras, the Board could only have partial Evidence, and must be liable to Imposition and Deception from those Men whose Interest it was to keep them in the Dark. From his Knowledge of the Men appointed to form that Committee, Mr. Petrie thought they were very capable of that Trust; and being asked Whether there were other Gentlemen fit to supply their Places in case of Vacancy? he answered, "A great many indeed." With Respect to the Zemindars having complained of the Hardship of being brought down to the Presidency, Mr. Petrie informed Your Committee, that he did not know it, so as to warrant him in calling it personal Knowledge; but that it was the notorious and universal Sense of the Presidency, that they had so complained.

Vide Report on the Revenue.

Vide Supplemental Appendix to 2d Report, No. 7.

Mr. Cotsford, who as Chief of Mazulipatam for upwards of Two Years subsequent to the latter End of 1778, and whose Departure from thence, on board of a Danish Ship, without waiting for the Approbation of the Government, had given Offence, was examined by Your Committee to this Point; and informed them, That great Inconvenience had arisen from the Measure of calling down the Zemindars; that the Collections had thereby been impeded, and that they had complained of the Expence incurred by their Journey, their Residence at Madras, and the Necessity of leaving their Zemindaries in the Hands of Servants. That he never had any Conversation with any of the Zemindars respecting Presents given to any Members of the Government at Madras, although he had met with all the Zemindars on their Return, and although, had they not been called down, he should have accepted of certain Advantages which were customarily in his Station, after having first discharged his Duty to the Company. Mr. Cotsford, upon the Subject of the Utility of the Committee of Circuit, seemed to think the Chiefs and Councils at the subordinate Settlements ought not to have been superseded by that Institution, and that a single Person might have done the Duty of that Committee; of which he seemed to have too limited and inadequate an Idea, confining it merely to surveying and letting the Lands; whereas the Company's Letter of the 12th April 1775 (stated in the Second Report), comprehends many great and important Objects of public Policy, from the governing Power down to the lowest Subtenant.

Private Transactions of the Members of Government.

Your Committee, in their Second Report to which this Supplement is offered, after having digested the Materials with which they were furnished, respecting the Nature and Effects of abolishing the Committee of Circuit, and calling down the Zemindars in Person, stated the Manner of dealing with them, and the Remittances which were made to China by Sir Thomas Rumbold during that Period. In Addition to the former Materials on this Head, they have been furnished with the following Evidence:

Supplemental Appendix to 2d Report, No. 2.

Captain Johnston, of the Granby, informed them, That he sailed from Britain on the 7th March, 1779, for Madras; arrived there on the 18th January, 1780, when Sir Thomas Rumbold was Governor; that he remained there about Five Months, and sailed for China about the 18th June, where he arrived about the 29th August; that he carried with him Treasure belonging to Individuals, and among the rest 8,000 Pagodas (£. 3,200 Sterling) belonging to Sir Thomas Rumbold, which he delivered to Messrs. Bradshaw and Pigou; that Messrs. Oakley and Proctor, Sir Thomas Rumbold's Attornies, had applied to him to take it on Board, about Fourteen Days before he sailed. That the Treasure was not regularly entered in the Books where other Effects are entered, and that a Bill of Lading was given. That he had 30,000 Pagodas besides, belonging to different Individuals, but none belonging

to any Member of Government, except that above mentioned. That the Seahorse Man of War sailed in Company, as Convoy to the Ships, and had Money and Jewels on board to a large Amount, as he learned from Captain Panton (Captain of the Seahorse), whom Your Committee find to be since deceased; of which 16,000 Pagodas (£. 6,400) were the Property of Sir Thomas Rumbold. That in Conversation with Captain Panton, on Board of his own Ship, that Gentleman asked him, What Quantity of Pagodas he had of Sir Thomas Rumbold's? And that upon his answering, that he had 8,000, Captain Panton replied, that he had double the Number.

Captain Parker, Captain Montgomerie, Captain Blanchard, Captain Wakefield, Captain Peirce, and Captain White, informed Your Committee, That they had carried small Quantities of Treasure to China, on Account of Individuals (specifying the Sums and Names of the Owners), no Part of which appears to have been on Account of any Member of the Government of Madras.—Mr. Farrington Butterfield, Purser of the Sandwich, which sailed to China with most of the Captains above mentioned, informed Your Committee, That less than 30,000 Pagodas were on Board of that Ship belonging to Merchants; but that the Seahorse had carried a great deal of Money, for which Three *per cent.* Freight was paid to the Man of War, while the Company's Ships had but One.

Your Committee proceeded to examine Thomas Bevan, Esquire; who informed them, That he was Second of the Select Committee at China, appointed at the End of the Year 1778: That he sailed on the 6th or 7th of March 1779, and arrived in China on the 3d or 4th of October in the same Year: That he had left Canton on the last Day of January 1781, and came home in the last Ship.—Having been informed by Captain Johnston that 15 or 16 Country Ships had sailed from Madras to China in the Year 1780, Your Committee interrogated Mr. Bevan with respect to the Remittance of Treasure by Individuals, by Means of those Vessels; and were informed, that the Board at China had Money tendered to them, from private Persons as well as Servants of the Company, from all Parts of India: That there were several Remittances from Individuals, which he had Opportunity to know of; but that they never asked whose Property it was, but only the Name of the Person to whom it was wished it should be remitted: That the Cash paid in does not always belong to the Person who pays it in: That he heard of Money being sent by Country Ships, but that the Board takes no Notice of Country Ships, having no concern with them; and that they sometimes pay into the Company's Cash, sometimes to Foreigners; and that large Sums are frequently paid into foreign Treasuries, which, though a difficult Matter, should be put a Stop to from Home, as that would benefit the Company. Mr. Bevan also informed Your Committee, that he did not of his own Knowledge know of any specific Sums remitted by, or on Account of, any Individuals from Madras or Bengal.——Matthew Raper, Esquire, another Supercargo, confirmed Captain Foxhall and Mr. Pigou's Account, respecting the Sum stated in the 2d Report (Page 32) to have been paid in to him and his Partner, on Sir Thomas Rumbold's Account; and proved, that the Portion belonging to Sir

Sir Hector Monro, was of the Value of £. 466 10s. 3d. He also confirmed the preceding Testimony, respecting the Importation of Money by the Seahorse; which, having been sent up to the Factory, "He did not "know what it was, as it was not all Public Money."

Some further Light was afforded to Your Committee, by the Testimony of Mr. Petrie, respecting the Present of a Lack of Rupees, stated in the 2d Report (P. 34.) to have been secured to Mr. Redhead, the private Secretary of Sir Thomas Rumbold, by Sitteram Rauze, whilst he was at Madras.

Supplemental Appendix to 1st Report. D.

That Gentleman acquainted your Committee, That he was One of the Executors of Mr. Redhead; that there was a disputed Article in the Will, relating to a Sum of Money claimed from Sitteram Rauze; and that it appeared to be a Sum of Money promised by Sitteram Rauze, or his Agent, to Mr. Redhead, for certain Services to be rendered by him. But that, being absent from Madras on Public Service, he left the Executorship entirely to Mr. Brodie, his Co-executor, and could therefore only say, that he believed the Services to have been the accomplishing of certain Points for Sitteram Rauze at the Presidency, through his (Mr. Redhead's) Influence; that he had a Copy of the Agreement itself, translated from the Original by a Person whom he knew well, and believes to be exact; with which Mr. Petrie furnished Your Committee, and which they find to be as follows:

Translation of an Agreement granted by Seeteramraz Maharaz to Mr. Redhead, dated 1st July 1778.

I Seeteramraz Maharaz do hereby agree to pay One Lack of Rupees, as a Present to Mr. Redhead, on Account of his Assistance in the following Affair; viz.

That he should cause to procure or get Cowls what I want from the Company to my Raja, in the Name of Gajapatee: That he should procure Cowls of Jamabundy, in the Name of Gajapatee:

That he should cause to adjoin the Countries of Anachapallee and Sechaveram with my Country or Jemeendary, and to grant the Cowl for the same:

That he should cause to remove the Sepoys from my Fort, and deliver the Fort to me to be as my own, with an Order; and also to cause me and my Brother to be in friendly Manner with one another, and to assist in such several other Affairs:

And as for the above-mentioned One Lack of Rupees, he has received a Bond of 10,000 Pagodas of the Shamarawoo; the Particular of which is as follows:

He

He took upon himself, on Account of Captain Lysaght, to pay to Shaw (Shamarawoo) Pagodas 2540; which, upon deducting out of the above 10,000 Pagodas, there remains 7460 Pagodas, and the Interest of which is 400 Pagodas, both together is 7860 Pagodas, which makes, at 356 Rupees per 100 Pagodas, is Rupees 27981. 8 Anas. For this Sum I caused my Brother to give him a Receipt; and as for the Remainder of Rupees 72018. 8 Anas, I shall pay him Rupees 22018. 8 Anas at the Time of my setting out from hence to my Country; and the rest of the Balance of 50,000 Rupees, I shall send it by the Way of Bills of Exchange upon Soucars, and then I shall redeem my Agreement from him.

Thus I willingly give this Agreement to him, signed by
Jemeeander Raja Seetaramraz Bahadar,
Muna Sultan.

By what has been stated in the Second Report already presented to the House, it appears, that Sitteram Rauze had been successful in carrying the Points which he was desirous of Mr. Redhead's good Offices in the Prosecution of; and his suspicious Conduct soon after this Success, when a dangerous Revolt broke out at Vizagapatam, has been adverted to, which is further evinced by the following Documents. The Chief of Ganjam wrote, on the 7th October 1780, the following Letter to Vizeram Rauze, whose Conduct towards the Company had met with their Commendation.

"I have heard with Astonishment of the Mutiny at Vizagapatam, and "the Confinement of the Chief and some other Gentlemen. In order "to suppress and punish this wicked Act, I have ordered a Force to proceed immediately to Vizagapatam, under the Command of Captain "Bruce; and I charge you, as you value the Company's Favour, and "consider your own Welfare, that you render every Assistance in your "Power, by sending your Troops to join ours in reducing these faithless, "ungrateful Villains. There is an Opportunity for you to distinguish "and recommend yourself to the Favour of the English, and I have not "a Doubt but you will acquit yourself in an honourable Manner to the "Satisfaction of the honourable Board at Madras. Let me hear of your "Welfare, that I may rejoice."

"Ganjam."

Notwithstanding the Urgency of the Necessity which this Letter and other Documents evince, the Conduct of Sitteram Rauze, who had been in every Instance favoured at his Brother's Expence, did not correspond with the Degree of Favour which had been shewn him, but agrees with the Character given of him by the Committee of Circuit, stated in the Second Report. On the 24th October 1780, the Chief and Council of Vizagapatam, in a Letter of that Date, treating of the Mutiny which had broken out there, state the following Particulars: "Without the least "Partiality of our Opinions, the Behaviour of Sitteram Rauze, from the "Time of his Return to this District, now upwards of Twenty Days, is

"by

"by no Means satisfactory; he has observed a Reserve, which at this "Time betrays at any Rate an Indifference that is inconsistent; Two or "Three unmeaning Letters accompanying some Horses and Plunder "thrown away by the Mutineers; and observing in another Address, "that he was collecting Money; is all that passed between the Chief and "him. He acknowledges the Receipt of a Letter, desiring the Mutineers "should be intercepted; and says, that he has written to the Zemindars "under him: Yet not one of the Mutineers has been taken by the Ra-"jah's People, although they had timely Advice, and we know for a "certain Fact it has been in their Power. All these Reflections have "induced us to direct the Chief to write to Sitteram Rauze, to state the "Account of Arrears, and to make a sufficient Demand to answer all "immediate Expences."

Your Committee find, That Mr. Sadlier above mentioned, who was suspended from his Office in Council * by the casting Vote of Mr. Whitehill, joined by Sir Hector Monro, against those of Messrs. Johnson and Smith, for the Reasons and in the Manner stated in the First Report (Pages 13, 14, 15, 16, and 17), addressed himself to the Chairman of the Court of Directors, acquainting him by Letter with his whole Conduct, from the Time of his Entrance into the Company's Service, down to the Time of his Suspension; the Cause of which he alleges to have been the Freedom with which he gave his Opinion in Council upon the bad Conduct of the Government, but which his Adversaries allege to have been necessary by Reason of his Intemperance, which tended to sow Sedition and Despondency among the Inhabitants of Madras. In stating the whole Course of his upright Conduct and Fidelity to the Interests of his Employers, Your Committee find, That this Gentleman dwells particularly on the early Proof which he gave of his own Disinterestedness, and of his Desire to put an End to the Practice of receiving undue Emoluments in the Chiefship of Masulipatam, to which he had been appointed in April 1778; and complains that his Endeavours were rendered fruitless, by the Neglect of Sir Thomas Rumbold, then Governor, to take Advantage of the Information which he communicated to him.

On the 13th of January 1781, Mr. Sadlier wrote the Letter alluded to, from Madras to the Chairman of the Court of Directors, which was accompanied by a Copy of a Letter which he had addressed to Sir Thomas Rumbold, when Governor, dated 5th of May 1778, in which he told him, "The inclosed Paper will let you into the Arcana of the "Sweets of this Chiefship; it is communicated to you in Proof of the "Confidence which I repose in you, and in Testimony that I mean not "to keep Secret any Action which you may suppose can influence my "Conduct; your honourable Support of me against Volumes of the "basest Defamation, claims, and it shall have it, this honourable and "candid Conduct from me—The Rapacity and Pecolation of Men has "nearly ruined this Country; the Misfortune it is now involved in ori-"ginates from such Principles, and its Effects may have brought in Dis-"tresses, possibly not to be reformed.

* See Pages 13, 14, 15, 16, and 17, of First Report, where this Transaction is fully stated.

"The

"The Paper, if you please may be destroyed, it is intended but to shew "the unsound Ground you tread in.

"Interest with me towards you bears no Sway. I consider my Situa-"tion but temporary. I hope ere long to afford you a better Testimony "of the hearty good Disposition which actuates me for promoting the "Honour of your Government; you have therefore but to signify to me, "without Reserve, what you wish, and depend on its becoming my "Guide."

No. 3. Supplemental Appendix to 2d Report.

The Paper which is referred to as inclosed by Mr. Sadlier, appears to be an Account delivered to him by Vencatarogaloo, the Company's Dubash and Chief Interpreter; Translations of which were sent to Sir Thomas Rumbold.

This Account appears to be intituled (according to the Translation) "The private Account receiving from the Zemindars for settling Three "Years Jemabundy (or Tribute.)" It commences with the Account of Mr. Floyer's private Bargains for Gratuities, on his own Account, on a Settlement of Three Years with the Zemindars and Renters during the Years 1186, 1187, and 1188. according to the Computation of that Country, and corresponding to the Years 1773, 1774. 1775 of the Christian Computation, or thereabouts. In the Supplemental Appendix, the Account itself will be found, wherefore Your Committee will here only state the Totals from that Account; by which it appears, that the total Sum stipulated to be paid to Mr. Floyer, by the different Tributaries, for his own private Use, amounted to 135,886 Pagodas and a Fraction (i. e. £. 54,354 Sterling), of which 50,364 Pagodas were paid (£. 20,144 Sterling), and 85,522 Pagodas (about £. 34,210), were owing at the Time when this Account was made up. By a separate Account, Mr. Floyer's further Stipulation for his own private Advantage. appears to have amounted to 11,010 Pagodas (equal to £. 4,409 Sterling) of which 7,055 Pagodas were received (£. 2,822 Sterling), and 8,955 Pagodas due (i. e. £. 3,582 Sterling).——Mr. Statham, the Salt Renter of this District, is also stated to have paid 6,000 Pagodas (£. 2,400) for One Year's Lease. So that by this Account it appears, that Mr. Floyer's Secret Emoluments actually received, including the Gratuity from Mr. Statham, amounted to £. 25,360; and that the Arrears at the Time of making up this Account, in May 1778, amounted to £. 37,742.

The same Paper also contains an Account of the private Emoluments paid to Mr. Whitehill, on Account of a Settlement made for three Years preceding the former one; viz. the Years 1183, 1184, and 1185, corresponding to 1770, 1771, 1772, amounting in the Whole to 192,261 Pagodas and a Fraction (*i. e.* £. 77,405 Sterling).

It further states, that Mr. Q. C. (which Your Committee find means Quintin Crawfurd) received on his own private Account 38,100 Pagodas (£. 15,240); and that the Opportunity afforded to Mr. Crawfurd for

receiving

receiving these Emoluments, is thus expressed in the Translation transmitted by Mr. Sadlier to Sir Thomas Rumbold? "Mr. Q. C. who not settled "Zemabundy, only collected the Six Kists of the Third Year of Mr. "Whitehill's Zemabundy, and also the Three Kists of Second Year.'— From whence it should seem, that if one Chief settled the Tribute for a given Space of Time, and upon his Removal another should collect it, new and additional Perquisites were demanded of the Renters and Zemindars by the new Collector.

Your Committee also find, that this Account contains further Receipts of Mr. Floyer's, amounting to 27,875 Pagodas (£. 11,146), under the following Title: "Mr. Floyer came the Third Year of Mr. Whitehill's "Zemabundy, who collected the Three Kists of the Third Year Zema- "bundy at the Time, who demanded to receive private Business, as Mr. "Crawfurd."

When Your Committee compared the Names of those Zemindars as above mentioned, whom Mr. Sadlier describes as very greatly embarrassed in their Circumstances, and thereby distressed for Means to obey the Summons to Madras, with those by whom the private Emoluments of Mr. Floyer, Mr. Whitehill, and Mr. Crawfurd, were furnished (in their respective Capacities of Settlers or Collectors), they were found to be comprehended in both Catalogues.

No. 4. Supplemental Appendix to 2d Report.

Your Committee find, that the Receipt of the Letter above mentioned, containing this important Information, was acknowledged by Sir Thomas Rumbold, in a Letter dated the 20th May 1778, in the following Terms:

"I should have replied to your Letter of the 5th Instant sooner, had I "not observed that there was no Probability of our Orders to the Zemin- "dars not having the Effect we expected, and that ultimately they must be "convinced of the Propriety of an implicit Obedience to the Orders of "this Government; and I have no Doubt will experience the Advan- "tages of the new Measure. I am much obliged by your Account of the "Zemindars, the State of their Countries, Finances, &c. Your Inform- "ation has thrown much Light upon this Subject; and though I cannot "see the bad Consequences that are to follow from the Zemindars being or- "dered here to settle their Jummabundy, instead of fixing it at the differ- "ent Chiefships, yet I beg you will be assured, I am no less sensible of "the good Intention with which you have freely given me your Opinion. "—If any Failure happens in the Payment of their Kists, the Exigencies "of your Government must be supplied from hence; but I am willing to "believe you will not require our Assistance.

"As to the Money due to the Soubah, you will receive our Instruc- "tions on this Head before you discharge the Balance."

No. 5. Supplemental Appendix to 2d Report.

In another Letter, dated 27th of May 1778, Sir Thomas Rumbold expresses his Obligation to Mr. Sadlier, for his Zeal in forwarding the Measure of obliging the Zemindars to repair to Madras.

 Your

No. 3. Your Committee also find, that the Authenticity of the Letters and Accounts above mentioned, were verified by Mr. Sadlier, by an affidavit to be found in No. 3, Supplemental Appendix.

Your Committee do not find, that the official Intelligence communicated by Mr. Sadlier, was made the Ground of any Inquiry or Reformation during the Government of Sir Thomas Rumbold or Mr. Whitehill; on the contrary, they find that Mr. Sadlier addressed a Letter to the Council of Madras, on the 8th of January 1781, ascribing the Poverty of the public Treasury to the Peculation practised by Individuals, while the Balances due at Masulipatam amounted to upwards of Four Lacks of Pagodas, as would appear by the Accounts, to which he referred. In this Letter he urged the Council with great Earnestness, to enquire into the Conduct of his Predecessors, which had, in his Opinion, contributed greatly to the present Distress; declaring, that a Neglect of Enquiry and Prosecution would be Treachery to their Employers. "Mr. Whitehill, "says he, is now at Madras, and is upon the Point of Departure for "Europe, and if the Government allow him to depart with such Information against him, before he is acquitted by the Forms of Law, I submit it to the Opinion of the Board, how far their Employers may think "them responsible for the Consequences.

"If the Company's Servants have been guilty of Peculation in Office, "—if they have abused the Trust reposed in them,—if by these Abuses "they have brought Dishonour upon their Country; let it be imagined "how much the Opinion of their Treachery may have laid the Foundation of our present Reverse of Fortune, and what Influence it may "have in future, not only to check the Company's Credit, but, from a "Want of Dependance upon our Government, to prevent those Alliances "with the Country Powers, which at present seem so essential to our "Affairs.

"I have already urged, that the best Foundation for Public Spirit is "Public Justice. Mr. Whitehill held the first Station in the Company's "Service upon this Coast at the Time when their Affairs suffered the "greatest Reverse; and if it is proved, that he is one Cause from which "our Evil has originated, I submit it to the Board, whether he should "not receive Punishment according to Law, both as an Example to those "who hold Trust, and that we may give our Friends and our Enemies "an Opinion of our Justice."

From these Documents, it appeared to Your Committee, that early in Sir Thomas Rumbold's Government, Information was communicated to him of the Practices by which the Chiefs of Masulipatam enriched themselves, to which the Poverty and Distress of that Settlement were in a great Measure ascribed—That this Communication was made by the Chief himself, whose Station gave him the best Opportunity of discovering those Practices, and whose Duty made it incumbent on him to disclose them to the Government; and that his Information was derived from the Company's Dubash, who was necessarily acquainted with the Transactions which took place on settling the Tribute with his Predecessors: Notwithstanding which, no Steps appear to have been taken by the Governor

either to inquire into the Abuses stated by Mr. Sadlier, or to lay this Information before the Select Committee or Council at large, or in any way to proceed upon it, or that it was ever communicated to the Court of Directors by the Governor.

No. 7. Supplemental Appendix to 2d Report.

That the Presidency of Madras was in fact much distressed, by reason of the inconsiderable Collections of Territorial Revenue under Masulipatam, appears to Your Committee, from Paragraph 7. of the Letter in their Civil Department from thence, dated 9th January 1781. "The "Disappointments we experienced from the inconsi-"derable Collections made for some Time past of your "Territorial Revenue under Masulipatam, and the heavy Charges incur-"red of late by the War with Hyder Ally Cawn, having laid us under the "Necessity of appropriating all our Resources to the defraying Military "Expences, have been the Means of impeding your Investment, and have "even obliged us to put a Stop to the Provision of it for the present; in-"deed, the Troubles now subsisting in the Carnatic, render it impossible "for the Weavers about Madras and Cudalore to work; we have, how-"ever, been able to give almost a full Loading to the Duke of Kingston, "and hope to send your Honours 12 or 1300 Bales more, in the Course "of next Month, or in the Month of March, should the Governor Ge-"neral and Council be able to supply us with Tonnage for that Purpose, "agreeably to a Request we made them in our Letter 8th ultimo."

This further appears to Your Committee, from another Passage in the same Letter, in which the Select Committee observe, "That when the "enormous outstanding Balances of the Zemindars and Renters, instead "of being greatly decreased as they flattered themselves would have been "the Case, had on the contrary been suffered to augment considerably, "and at this Time actually amount, including Teeps, to M. Pagodas "15,28,597; they cannot agree with Mr. Cottesford, that nothing has "been left undone which the Chief and Council had the Power of doing." And in this Letter they express themselves as greatly disobliged at Mr. Cottesford's Determination to return to Europe on Board of a Danish Ship, on Account of his alleged bad State of Health.

No. 8. Supplemental Appendix to 2d Report.

Your Committee find, that a Revenue Letter of the same Date, affords a very striking Proof of the Difficulty with which the Collection of the Revenue was made in Masulipatam. The Select Committee in that Letter represent, that the Zemindars having been collected there in 1780, to settle their Payments due, had so often evaded the delivering of their Teeps (or Promissory Notes), that it became necessary to try what Effect a Shew of coercive Measures would have; and that Sepoy Guards were actually placed upon their Persons; and that "it was hoped this "Appearance of Severity would induce the Zemindars to exert themselves "in the Discharge of their Balances; but lest it should not, they had "authorized the Chief and Council, in the last Extremity, to adopt a "Plan which they had themselves suggested, which was, either to take "Possession, in the Name of the Company, of their several Countries, "until

"until they procured Bills for their several Payments, in order to force "them to employ every Resource they possessed, to satisfy the just De- "mands of the Company; or to impress them with an Idea, that if they "did not provide their Teeps at a certain Period, shortly after the gather- "ing in of Harvest, the beginning of the ensuing Year, they had given "Authority to the Chief and Council to seize on the Crops, and to keep "Possession of them until the Teeps were produced." This Letter states, that, after much Dispute, Five Teeps had at length been obtained, amounting to Pagodas 388.988 (which deducted from 15,28.597, leaves a Balance behind of 11.39,609 Pagodas); and complains of Want of Vigour in the Chief and Council, in the Matter of Collections.

Your Committee further find, from a Letter of Mr. Sadlier to the Chairman of the East India Company, dated 30th November 1780, that upon the Eve of Sir Thomas Rumbold's Departure, an Interview took place between Sir Thomas, Sir Hector Monro, Mr. Whitehill, and Mr. Sadlier; which is here stated in Mr. Sadlier's own Words:

"A few days before the Departure of Sir Thomas Rumbold for Europe, "and quite unprepared for the Event, I was called into a private "Room, where Sir Thomas, Mr. Whitehill, and Sir Hector Monro, were "assembled before me. In this Situation I was accosted by Sir Thomas "to the following Purport: "That he heard I had joined Messrs. Smith "and Johnson in the Intention to oppose his Measures after his Departure, "and if he thought that this really was my Design, he would, before his De- "parture, take a bold Step by preventing my succeeding to Council."—Thus "then I found myself in Danger of being deprived of a Station to which "I was entitled by my Standing, and by Years of Service; I was to be "robbed of the honest Advantages which the Company has annexed to "that Station; and my Character was in Danger of being murdered, to "vindicate this Triple Act of Baseness, Injustice, and Cruelty.

"Though my Feelings were strong, I had Reason to rejoice that I was "able to conceal them: I asked Sir Thomas, Where he had his Informa- "tion? he said, From Report only.—I asked, If I deserved Censure in "the Station held under him as Chief of Masulipatam? and whether he "could draw any Inference to my Prejudice, from my Manner of con- "ducting myself in that Station? he answered, That so far from it, I "deserved Praise.—I asked him, Whether I had at any Time communi- "cated with him about Measures, or whether he was informed I sent for "Records and Papers, or used any other Means by which I might acquire "Information? he said, He did not think me so communicative concern- "ing Measures as I should have been, and that he did not know I had sent "for any Papers.—I put the same Questions to Mr. Whitehill and Sir "Hector Monro, and both answered me in the Negative; upon which I "assured them, that I had maintained an equal Reserve with Messrs. "Smith and Johnson.—I then asked Mr. Whitehill, Whether during the "Time I had served with him in Council, previous to the Arrival of "Messrs. Smith, Johnson, and Perring, he had seen any Thing in my "Conduct which deserved Censure? and he assured me, That he had not. "—Thus ended the Inquisition, before whom I neither declared or disa-

"vowed my Sentiments—The Inquisitors however seemed to go away satisfied; and a few Days after, upon the Departure of Sir Thomas, I was sworn in as a Member of Council."

Your Committee having perused and examined all the Materials which have been transmitted to the Directors of the East India Company, since the Conclusion of the last Session of Parliament, respecting the Treaty concluded with Bazalet Jung by Sir Thomas Rumbold, and the Negociation with the Nizam during that Gentleman's Government, find, that Sir Eyre Coote, in a Minute entered upon the Madras Consultations, 12th January 1781, ascribes the Invasion of the Carnatic, in a great Degree, to those Measures.—Sir Eyre Coote's Minute was occasioned by a Passage in the General Letter from that Presidency, dated January 9th 1781, which ascribes the Calamities of the Carnatic, in strong Terms, to the Maratta War; which they consider as visionary in itself, as tending to unite Hyder Ally and that Power, who were before at constant Variance with each other, and as laying the Foundation of the Confederacy formed against the British Interests in Hindostan. "At the same Time (says Sir Eyre Coote) "that I put my Signature to the General Letter of the "9th of January 1781, I must, in Candor and in Conformity to those Opinions which I have both held "and expressed, except against one Part of it, and which ascribes all our "present Misfortunes to the Maratta War.

Vide Supplemental Appendix to 1st Report, No. 4.

No. 9. Supplemental Appendix to 2d Report.

"That that Measure may first have given birth to the Idea of a general Combination of the Powers of Hindostan against us, I will not endeavour to disprove; but that to it alone we owe the formidable Incursion of Hyder Ally into the Carnatic, I cannot admit: First, because long after we had commenced Hostilities against the Marattas, Hyder himself continued to make Conquests upon them, and which our Operations no Doubt facilitated. It was his favourite Object, and which I am confident he would never have quitted, or fought for a Union with the Marattas against us, had not our Negociations with Bazalet Jung, about the Guntoor Circar (on which he had also Views), and the Mode in which they were carried on, awakened his Jealousy, and very naturally made him apprehend, that our ultimate Intentions were to possess ourselves of some Part of his Country.—Whilst it answered his Purpose to make Peace with the Marattas, in order that his Attention or Strength might in no Shape be diverted from providing effectually for the Security of his own Territories, it was entirely suitable to the Marattas in their then Situation, as it enabled them to direct their whole Force against the Operations of our Army under Brigadier General Goddard. We alarmed his Fears for the Safety of his own Country; crossed his Views upon the Guntoor Circar, which he was desirous of obtaining in Form from Bazalet Jung. That an able Agent might not be wanting to foment these Offences, we deliberately gave Umbrage to the Nabob Nizam; first, by seeking and actually subscribing to a Treaty of Friendship with his Brother and Subject Bazalet Jung, without asking his Consent or Approbation; and next, by de-

"manding

" manding of him a Remission of the Peſcuſh, or Tribute, which for " these eleven Years and upwards we have paid him, as in Treaty bound, " on Account of the Northern Circars. To prevent any bad Consequences " arising from the Delay in the Payment of the Peſcuſh, which was owing " in the first Place to a temporary Inability, created by the heavy current " Expences, which were unavoidably incurred by the Siege of Pondichery; and in the next Place perhaps by Mismanagement; I was induced, " when I stopped here in my Way to Bengal, to recommend the Mission of Mr. Hollond, as Ambassador to the Nizam's Court, to assure " him, that the Peſcuſh should be paid, and to explain to him the Cause " of its Detention.

" The Nizam has, in his Letters to this Government, and in his Conversation with Mr. Hollond, who communicated them to the Governor General and Council, avowed his Displeasure, on Account of our " Behaviour with regard to the Peſcuſh and the Guntoor Treaty; and " has, without Scruple, acknowledged his having, for these Reasons, encouraged and connived at a Combination of the Powers against us.

" With all these Circumstances before me, to which the Records both " here and in Bengal bear Testimony; and further, knowing it as a " Thing certain, that at the very Time the Treaty was carrying on with " Bazalet Jung, Hyder would have entered into an offensive and defensive Alliance with us; I should do an Injury to myself, and a still " greater one to our Superiors, who are to pass their Judgment on Men " and Measures by the Documents handed them from their respective Governments in India, did I tacitly subscribe to that Part of the General " Letter to the Court of Directors, which I have hereby excepted against; " and not also elucidate the other Causes, besides the Maratta War, which " have assisted to hasten our present Distresses.

" I request that this may go a Number in the Packet now under Dispatch."

In a Letter dated 2d December, 1780, from the Governor General of Bengal to the Chairman of the Court of Directors, he acquaints

No. 9. him, that " Another interesting Occasion has now called for " the Exertion of this Government, in the Preservation of that " of Fort St. George: This at least, says he, will not be imputed to the " Government of Bengal. If the extorted and palliated Confession of " the Nabob Nizam Ally Cawn may be credited, and we have the Evidence of the most public Notoriety to confirm it, it was the sole Effect " of a Confederacy formed at his Instigation, and dictated by his Resentment at the Infringements made by the Select Committee of Fort " Saint George, on his Rights, obtained by the Treaty subsisting between " him and the Company, and his natural Apprehension of Hostilities intended by that Government against him. Whatever be the Cause, such " have been the Effects, and it is our Duty to do all that may be in our " Power to avert them."

Your Committee have thus laid before the House, the different Positions maintained by the Governor General and Council on the one Hand; who assert, that the Confederacy which preceded the Invasion of the

the Carnatic, was entirely owing to the Resentment conceived by the Nizam against the Proceedings of the Government of Madras, in the Affairs of the Guntoor Circar and the Peshcush;—and by the Presidency of Madras on the other hand; who maintain, in their General Letter, dated 9th January 1781, that it is entirely to be ascribed to the Maratta War;—and also the Opinion of Sir Eyre Coote, who admits that the Maratta War may have given Birth to the Idea of a general Confederacy; but maintains that it is a Thing certain, that Hyder was solicitous to enter into a Treaty with the Company, at the Time when his Views were crossed, and the Nizam was disgusted, which he considers as One immediate Cause of the Invasion of the Carnatic.

Conduct of the Governor of Fort Saint George respecting Mr. Hollond.

Your Committee, in their Second Report, have laid before the House (from Fol. 49 to 61) the Conduct of the Presidency of Madras respecting Mr. Hollond, whom they had sent as a Public Minister to the Nizam's Court, originally for the Purpose of apologising to that Prince for their not having observed a strict Punctuality in the Payment of the Tribute due to him by Treaty. They have also stated the subsequent Instructions sent to Mr. Hollond, to obtain an entire Relinquishment of the Tribute both for the Time past and Time to come. This Gentleman, it will there be found, was recalled on the Motion of Sir Thomas Rumbold, 14th December 1779; but on the 14th February 1780, he was appointed to remain at Hydrabad, as Resident from the supreme Government. Your Committee, from the Loss of the Madras Records, from 31 December 1779 to 2 April 1780, were not enabled to pursue this Transaction to its Conclusion, excepting so far as a Minute of Mr. Johnson's afforded some Light; but are now enabled to state the remaining Part of this Transaction, from a Letter of the Supreme Government in their Secret Department, dated 29th November 1780, addressed to the Court of Directors. From this Letter it appears, that, in consequence of a Minute and Recommendation left by Sir Thomas Rumbold, Mr. Whitehill moved for Mr. Hollond's Suspension; which was carried. This does not appear to have had the Effect of disappointing the Supreme Council of the Services of Mr. Hollond, but, on the contrary, proved the very Means of enabling them to continue him in his Station; he being then no longer a Servant bound to the Settlement of Madras. The Letter abovementioned contains this Passage:

No. 10. Supplemental Appendix to 2d Report.

" You were duly informed, in our Address by the Swallow, of the Re-
" cal of Mr. Hollond from the Court of his Highness the Nabob Nizam
" Ally Cawn, by the President and Select Committee of Fort Saint
" George; of the Reasons which induced us to wish for his Continuance
" there, and of the Application which we made to the President and Se-
" lect Committee, for their Permission to him to remain at Hydrabad, as
" the Public Minister of this Government. This Application was re-
" fused, and Mr. Hollond was directed, in peremptory Terms, to obey
" the Orders of Recal before sent him. These Orders were as unrea-
" sonable

" sonable as they appear to us ill-grounded. They proclaimed to all India a Disunion and Separation of Interests between the Two Presidencies, and, in particular, affected the Insurances which we had given to the Nabob Nizam Ally. We were, however, obliged, though very reluctantly, to acquiesce, and Mr. Hollond was left at Liberty to conform to them. He was directly subject to the Authority of your Servants at Fort Saint George, and it was not in our Power to indemnify him from the probable Consequences of Disobedience to it. But the Restraint upon our Wishes to be availed of the Services of Mr. Hollond at Hydrabad, did not continue long; for the same Temper with which he had for some Time before been treated by his immediate Superiors, inducing them to suspend him from your Service, we were enabled to confirm our Appointment of him, and did accordingly appoint him to be Resident on the Part of this Government only, at the Nizam's Court. The high Opinion which we entertain of Mr. Hollond's Merits, our Sense of his Services, believing him as we do to have been the Means of preventing a Breach of the Alliance subsisting between the Company and the Nabob Nizam Ally Khan, at a Moment when the Company's Affairs were very critically situated, and it became of the utmost Importance to secure even the Neutrality of the Nizam; the Obligations, moreover, under which we deem ourselves to indemnify Mr. Hollond, by every Means in our Power, from the Effects which he has unjustly sustained of the Resentment of his Superiors at Madras, for his Obedience to Instructions transmitted to him by us, in consequence of those which he had received from them, and which were notified to us by them, call upon us to recommend him strongly to you; and in doing so, we make it our Request that you restore him to the Service, and to his Standing on the Madras Establishment, or that he be transferred, with his Rank, to this.

" Mr. Hollond being placed under our immediate Authority at Hydrabad, our Endeavours have been strenuously exerted to secure the Friendship of the Nabob Nizam Ally Khan, or to prevent him at least from taking Part against us; but it has not been without great Difficulty, that these Endeavours have hitherto been exerted with a good Effect. That Power in the English Governments which was settled in his Neighbourhood, and with whom of Course his Correspondence had always been principally held, had made Demands on him, which in his Conception of them were derogatory from the Faith of the Treaty subsisting with him; and had committed one Act. which was a direct and undoubted Violation of it; and the general Tenor of their Conduct had made him distrustful of their Intentions to preserve the Peace with him. Such indeed was his Conviction of their unfriendly Disposition towards him, that he found it necessary to be prepared for Hostilities; or such was his Resentment of their Conduct, that he was determined to use the most likely Means within his Compass, of crushing their Ability to do him further Mischief; and under the strong Influence of those Impressions, it is a well known and undenied Fact, that he had not only combined with the principal Powers of Hindostan against the Company, but was the chief Promoter of the Alliance. For the Particulars of this History, we beg Leave to refer you to a Minute,

" which

"which has been delivered by the Governor General, and is entered in "the Consultations noted in the Margin, as well as to a "Letter from Mr. Hollond to the Governor General, forwarded by the Tryal Packet, in which the Nabob's "Avowal is declared, of his being the Author of the Confederacy "against us, and his Justification of it, on the Plea of Self-defence, against "the supposed Intention of the Presidency of Fort Saint George to break "with him.

6 September.

"To obviate a Prejudice so rooted, and the Effect of an Engagement "so promising of Success as that in which the Nizam is combined, would "of itself have been no easy Task; but the Difficulty has been so much "augmented, as to have been nearly invincible, from the Unwillingness "of the Presidency of Madras to use the only Means of reconciling him "to us, and their Inattention to the Advice and Orders which are sent "them for this Purpose. It was the Belief of the Nizam Ally, that we "were actually vested with the Controul which we declared ourselves to "possess; but he distrusted the Effect of that Controul, since the Orders "which we had repeatedly given, and declared to him, for the Restitution of the Circar of Guntoor, had not only been disregarded, but Mr. "Hollond, who had been the Instrument of the Negociation, had been "punished by them for the Part which he had taken in it.

"We have recited the great Difficulties which opposed our Accommodation with the Nizam, of which we had much reason to complain, "so much, that it became an Object of Necessity to remove them. The "controuling Power, with which we are vested by an Act of the British "Legislature, had been, in repeated Instances, treated by the Gentlemen "at Fort St. George with Slight and Disrespect; but in the present Instance, they thought proper to take more upon them: They defeated "our Acts by their Refusal to conform to them, and comply with our "Orders, where we had especial Right to them. The Faith of this "Government had been pledged to the Nabob Nizam Ally Khan, for "the Restoration of the Guntoor Circar to Bazalet Jung; they were so "informed, and required to restore it.—They did not restore it.—We "had no Alternative but by a tame Acquiescence to sacrifice the Trust "reposed in us, and suffer your Interests to be involved in a War by a "Breach of public Faith, or to maintain both by an Application of the "Powers which had been given us for such a Purpose. Upon these "Grounds we resolved, on the 10th ultimo, to give Effect to our Commands, and determined to exert the Authority with which we were "vested, in suspending Mr. Whitehill, the President of Fort Saint "George, from the Company's Service. Our Reasons for this Measure "are particularly stated in our Letter to the President and Select Committee at Fort St. George, of the 10th ultimo, which goes a Number "in the Packet, and to which we beg Leave to refer you for them: "And, at the same Time that we are led to hope that the best Effects "may be derived from it, in establishing for the Company the Neutrality "or Friendship of the Nabob Nizam Ally Khan, during the present "Troubles, and in saving our Authority in his Estimation, and that of "the other Country Powers, we are under no Fear that the Councils of "your Presidency of Fort St. George will be less ably or successfully

" conducted hereafter, than they have been during the Period in which " Mr. Whitehill directed them.

" You will observe, by our Consultations of the 13th ultimo, that we " were then informed, by Letter from the President and Select Com- " mittee of Fort St. George, dated 23d September, of the Measures " which they had at length been pleased to adopt, for giving Effect to " our Requisitions of the 12th of June, by immediate Orders to their " Officer commanding in the Guntoor Circar, to deliver over that Country " to Bazalet Jung's Agent; and by procuring an Order also from the " Nabob to his Amildars, to relinquish all Concern in the Management " of the Revenue."

These additional Materials Your Committee humbly offer, as tending to complete that Information respecting the different Subjects treated of in their First and Second Reports, which they have endeavoured, in Obedience to the Commands of the House, to procure.

Supplemental Appendix to the First Report.

N° 1.

Fort Saint George.

Copy of a Council of War held at Head Quarters, Great Mount, 30th December 1780.

At a Council of War, held at Head Quarters, near Fort Saint George, the 30th December 1780,

PRESENT;
Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote, K. B.
Major General Sir Hector Munro, K. B.
Brigadier General James Stuart,
Colonel John Lord Macleod.

LIEUTENANT General Sir Eyre Coote.—In the present very critical Conjuncture of the Affairs of the East India Company, and the very near Concern which I perceive the Operations of the Army under my Command must have, in bringing the Whole either to a favourable or unfavourable Crisis, I am induced, equally from a Sense of Duty, and a sincere Regard for the future Welfare of the Public, to request your Attention, Gentlemen, to a few Circumstances, which I shall state as briefly as possible, and whereon I must also beg to be favoured with your Opinions.

In the first Place, I lay before you an Abstract Return of the effective Strength of the Army which I can depend on carrying with me into the Field; and which, Infantry, Cavalry, and Artillery, you will observe, amounts to in all 6,885 Men. There is besides, One Battalion of Sepoys, about Five hundred Men, which I may perhaps be able to draw from Fort Saint George.

In the next Place, I submit to your Perusal my latest Letters from the Garrisons of Vellore, Wandewash, and Permacoil, by which you will perceive, they are all besieged, or very closely invested by the Enemy.

From the Assurances given me by the Officer commanding at Vellore, and from the Difficulty with which he observes the Enemy must make their Approaches, I am under no great Apprehension of its being in immediate Danger, from any Efforts of the Enemy against it, unless assisted by some treacherous hidden Villainy of that Kind which he has

so fortunately discovered in the Nabob's Renter, and which I am happy he has checked in so effectual a Manner, by putting him in Irons; in which State I have directed him to keep him, as he may be instrumental to the Discovery of those dark Designs which I have long suspected to exist in the Court of a native Power, living under the very Walls of our Garrison of Fort Saint George.

Permacoil, with a very small Garrison, and but one Officer, as you will observe, made as yet a very spirited Resistance, and done more than could well have been expected from so small a Body of Men. They cannot possibly, however, long bear up, under such constant Fatigue as they must be subjected to, by the fresh Resources which Hyder can daily bring against them. I conclude then, that in a very short Period of Time they may be reduced to the utmost Distress.

The Garrison of Wandewash I conceive to be in a critical Situation. Batteries are already raised against it, and I fear must play upon it with great Success, unless its Defences have been made much more sufficient than when I knew it. The Number of Men in the Garrison are, considering its great Extent, in no Shape adequate to its Defence, there being only Two Companies of our own Sepoys, and a few Sepoys belonging to the Nabob, who are by no Means to be relied on, several having already deserted, and the rest dissatisfied and discontented for Want of Pay, and on Account of the Arrears due to them. Under these Circumstances, and not having those Advantages of Strength by Nature which Permacoil possesses, I fear much, notwithstanding I have the most perfect Confidence in the Bravery of the Officer in Command, that it cannot long resist the reiterated and spirited Attacks which the Force Hyder has sent against it will undoubtedly make. I am informed there is in it a very large Stock of Grain, which is certainly an Object to be looked towards.

I consider the Safety of these Two Garrisons, and throwing ample Stores and Provisions into the Garrison of Chingleput, which you will observe by a Letter from the Officer in Command is also invested by the Enemy, as Objects of the utmost Importance; and I am therefore extremely desirous, if possible, to apply Means towards their immediate Relief; but how far it may be prudent, under the following Circumstances, to attempt it, is the Point to be determined.

The Forces of Hyder are very numerous; and although his Infantry, dispersed and engaged as they at present are, in the Siege of the Garrisons before mentioned, and also in that of Amboor, cannot speedily be called together, yet his Cavalry, of which he has got a very large Body, not less than from Twenty five to Thirty thousand, may soon be assembled; and I doubt not, before we proceed Two Days March from hence, will be all around us, and will exert their utmost Endeavours to harass and impede us in our March, and thereby gain that Time which may be necessary to draw his Infantry together, and enable him to force us to a Battle.—If he should make this his Object, notwithstanding our Inferiority in Numbers, I think, with the Strength we have in Artillery, we are equal to engage him. It is to be observed, that he too cannot be deficient in this very essential Military Equipment; as, besides what he brought with him into the Carnatic, he obtained, by the Capture of Arcot, and the Garrisons which have fallen to him in the Course of the War, a very ample Supply of all Kinds of Ordnance and Stores.

Our Force is too limited to admit of a Detachment adequate to the proposed Service; if then a Movement is to be made, it must be of the whole Army. Every Article of Provision for its Support, together with the Stores necessary for the Garrisons in question, must be carried from hence. The Town of Madras and Fort Saint George, the very Foundation of the Interests of the East India Company and the English Nation on this Coast, must be left in a Manner invested; of course, all Communication with it will be entirely cut off, and no Support of any Kind can be drawn from it.

If we are fortunate enough to arrive in Time to save Wandewash, we shall, I am confident, have no Difficulty in finding good Ground to take Post, and on which we may engage the Enemy to Advantage, should they offer us Battle. If, on the contrary, they decline a general Action, and look to detaining us there, by constantly harassing us with their Cavalry, they may reduce us to much Distress, as, after the Provisions we carry from hence are expended, we shall have no other Means of Subsistence, but from the Grain in Wandewash; whereof, I understand, there is enough for the Expenditure of the Army for many Months.

I have already mentioned Fort Saint George as the Sheet Anchor of the Interests of the East India Company and the English Nation on this Coast; and of course consider it as the first Object of my Care and Attention. Whether, in taking the Step I have

been

here submitted to your Opinions, exposed to all the Events I have above suggested, I shall be able to consult the Security of that Object, is what I wished to be satisfied in; and whether a Return of the Army to their present Station, without deriving any other obvious Advantage than merely the Relief of the aforesaid Garrisons, might not be productive of Effects pernicious to the general Interests of our Affairs?

The present Disposition of the Inhabitants of the Country is not unknown to you. We have not only to combat against Hyder, but against the whole Carnatic; and have therefore no Reason to hope for the least Assistance in any Part of the Road we may march, or in any Part of the Country we may go into.

Permacoil and Wandewash I should be sorry were they to fall into the Hands of the Enemy, because of the great Advantage they might be rendered of to the French, should they arrive on the Coast during the present War with Hyder.

I recommended a Reinforcement of Sepoys being sent me by Sea from Bengal; but, by my latest Letters from thence, I have not the smallest Encouragement to hope that my Proposal will be in any Shape adopted. The Detachment of Six Battalions of Sepoys, resolved by the Supreme Council to be sent by Land as a Reinforcement to the Army here, not having commenced their March on the 14th Instant; and their Movement, as I am informed, depending chiefly upon the favourable Issue of some Negociations now carrying on with the Raja Moodajee Boosla, to whom that Body of Marattas laying at Cuttac belongs, there is no Certainty that that Detachment will ever leave the Bengal Provinces. Any Expectations of Addition to our present Force that might have been entertained from that Quarter, cannot therefore weigh in the present Deliberation.

I have now, Gentlemen, stated to you Circumstances, in as explicit and at the same Time as concise a Manner as the Importance of the Subject will admit of. I shall be happy in having your candid Opinions, as I mean that my Conduct on the Occasion should be, in a great Measure, regulated thereby.

(Signed) Eyre Coote.

Colonel John Lord Macleod.———Sir Eyre Coote, Commander in Chief in India, having mentioned the present Posture of public Affairs in Indostan in general, and particularly on the Coromandel Coast at this Period; that is to say, that Vellore, Permacoil, and Wandewash, are at this Time invested or besieged by Hyder Ally's Troops; that Colonel Lang, who commands in Vellore, writes with Assurance that he will hold out for a considerable Time; but that Permacoil and Wandewash, from being garrisoned principally by the Nabob's Troops, cannot be expected to resist long: And Sir Eyre having been pleased to ask my Opinion, whether he should march the whole Army to the Relief of Wandewash, &c. as it is impossible to act by Detachment, the whole Force of our Army not amounting at present to 7000 effective Men? I have to mention, that the Security of Fort Saint George, and our sure Communication with that Place, is, in my Opinion, at present the grand Object of this Army, and the Hinge upon which every Thing turns. I form that Opinion from the unaccountable Conduct of the Durbar, from the first Commencement of the present Hostilities, from the Knowledge we all have of the hostile Mind of all the Natives of the Carnatic to the English Interest, and of their Attachment to Hyder Ally; which fully convinces me, that we have no Reinforcement to expect from this Country, and that all our Succours must come from the other Settlements, and from Europe.

I therefore think, that in any March this Army may during the present State of Affairs take, a Hold of the principal Object ought always to be kept; that is, having it in our Power at any Time to return and cover Fort St. George. This being in our Power, I approve much of the Army's marching as soon as possible to the Relief of Chingleput, Permacoil, and Wandewash, and afterwards to return and cover Madras.

(Signed) Macleod,
Col. 73 Regiment.

Brigadier General James Stuart.———After attending to what the General has been pleased to communicate, I am of Opinion, that the immediate Reinforcement and Supply of the Garrisons of Chinglepur, Wandewash, and Permacoil, so as to enable them to hold out for Two or Three Months, or until it shall be known certainly with what Force this War is likely to be carried on by both Sides, is of such Consequence, that I have no Difficulty in declaring it, according to my Judgment, to be a most adviseable Measure, to proceed immediately with the whole Army that can be spared from Fort St. George, on Purpose to throw Succours into those Garrisons, carrying with them every

Means

Means of Subsistence, without the Necessity of making Detachments on any other Account whatever.

I am also of Opinion, that so soon as those Succours are sent into these Garrisons, the Army should return to their former Encampment at the Mount, there to wait the Arrival of News from Europe, according to which, the future Operations in this Country ought to depend, whether to be offensive or defensive, keeping in constant View the great ultimate national Object, namely, the Preservation of Fort Saint George, with the Shipping and Property of the East India Company in the commercial State.

I think that Hyder cannot in the Time assemble any Force sufficient to dispute the direct Progress of our Army to or from Wandewash, even though his Cavalry may attempt to dispute the Passage of the Palar, which no Doubt will be attended to.

I am also of Opinion, that the Fame of the British Arms will not suffer by the Appearance of a Retreat to the Presidency, after the Object of the Reinforcement to the Garrisons is answered.

In case it should so happen that Wandewash shall have fallen before the Army reaches that Place, I think that Volunteers from the Army should be encouraged to throw themselves both into Permacoil and Tiagar, in separate Bodies; but that the main Object should be to strengthen and supply Chingleput, as the only immediate Means to enable us to form Magazines for the Recovery of Arcot, to which, as to the Principal Object, all our future Operations should be directed, without attending to the Nabob's Hill Forts, so lately lost by the Cowardice or Treachery of his Highness's Officers or Servants.

(Signed) James Stuart.

Major General Sir Hector Munro, K. B.——The Commander in Chief having laid before Lord Macleod, General Stuart, and myself, a State of the Troops in Camp, as well as Letters which he received from Officers in some of the Garrisons in the Carnatic, setting forth some of the Operations carrying on by Hyder's Army; the Commander in Chief having at the same Time told us, that the Reinforcement expected from Bengal had not by late Accounts began their March, and desiring to have our Opinions respecting the Army's marching to the Relief of Wandewash, &c. I am clearly of Opinion that the Army should march as soon as possible, not only to throw in Succours to Chingleput, Permacoil, and Wandewash; but to know if the Enemy will come to Action; and if he should, I am confident the Army will be successful under their Leader.

There are many Reasons why this Event ought to be wished for; and as the Army will always be able to make good its Retreat to Madras or the Mount, the Time of its Return ought to depend on various Circumstances, and the Pleasure of the Commander in Chief; and the Informations he may from Time to Time receive.

(Signed) Hector Munro

A true Copy.

Wm. Tierney,

Secretary to the Commander in Chief in India.

Extract from the Minutes of the Select Committee, dated January 1781.

The Committee are sensible of the Attention of the Commander in Chief, in laying before them the aforegoing Deliberations of the Council of War. In intrusting Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote with the immediate Management of the War, the Committee felt that they were committing the most important Trust into Hands in every Respect qualified for the great Object which they had in View, the Safety of not only the Company's and the Nabob's Possessions, but even of the dearest Interests of the English in India. Anxious for the most spirited, at the same Time that they would have the least hazardous Exertions on the Part of the Army, they entirely acquiesce in the General's Opinion, and in that of the experienced Officers whom he consulted. The carrying that Opinion into Execution, rests with the Commander in Chief himself. All that is left for the Committee to say upon the Subject, is, that the like public Zeal which hath hitherto prevailed in all their Deliberations, shall still continue to manifest itself in their Councils; that the General shall find every Support which it is in their Power to give him; and that as he and they have had but One Mind since his Arrival upon

 this

this Coast; they cannot but assure themselves, that the Consequences of that Unanimity will be highly beneficial to the Interests of their Employers, whose Welfare is inseparable from that of the Nation at large.

A true Extract.

R. I. Sulivan, Sec.

Minute of Sir Eyre Coote.

Sir Eyre Coote.——Reflecting on the present very critical Situation of the Affairs of the East India Company, and of the Interests of the English Nation on this Coast; and sensible how near a Concern any Movement I might make of the Army under my Command, must have therein; for which, from the Nature, Progress, and Spirit of the Operations carrying on by the Enemy, there appearing to me a Necessity; at the same Time not chusing, in a Matter of such real and weighty Importance, to trust entirely to my own Judgment, as to the Expediency and Propriety of the Service to be performed, and my Ability, with the Forces I have, when compared to those of the Enemy, to execute it; I held a Council of War, at which was present, Major General Sir Hector Munro, Brigadier General James Stuart, and the Right Honourable Colonel Lord Macleod, to whom having stated Circumstances with as much Explicity as Time would permit, I had the Honour to receive their respective Opinions and Approbations of the Service I proposed should be undertaken.

However unusual it is to disclose the Proceedings or the Result of Councils of War, before or even after the Purposes of them have been fulfilled, and how far I may be justifiable in a Deviation from what are the Rules prescribed in such Cases, are Points, which in the present Instance I do not conceive it material to enter upon a previous Discussion of; but it shall rest the future Judgment, to be formed by the World, of the Rectitude of the Action, first upon the Declaration of the perfect Confidence I have in your Zeal for the Public Service, confirmed by the Support you have already afforded my Exertions, and the Desire you have professed to continue it; and next upon the Claim which the Political Trust, reposed in you by our Superiors, gives you to know, whatever is likely to affect the Interests of the Honourable Company in that Particular; and which, as my late Deliberation may in a very essential Degree do, I therefore cheerfully lay before you Copies of the Proceedings of the Council of War, in the full Persuasion, that the Purport thereof will in no Respect be divulged, and in the Hope, that the Measures therein determined on, may also be honoured with your Approbation.

No. 2.

(COPY.)

Letter from the Chief and Council to the Court of Directors.

To the Honourable the Court of Directors for Affairs of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies.

May it please your Honours,

A SNOW, called the Hibernia, dispatched Express from Madras to Bombay, passed this Port on the 8th Instant, when her Commander, in pursuance of Orders he had received, sent ashore an attested Copy of a Letter from the Select Committee at the former Presidency, addressed to the Resident, &c. Factors at Tellicherry; a Copy of which

which we herewith transmit, judging, that as this is the most precise Mode of communicating the very interesting Intelligence it contains, the same will prove more acceptable to your Honours than a Recital of its Contents.

Lieutenant Hughes, who commands the Seahorse Frigate, which left Madras on the 21st Ultimo, and touched here on her Passage to Bombay, informed us, that the Army under Sir Eyre Coote, consisting of between Nine and Ten thousand Men, marched from its late Encampment near Madras about the 17th Ultimo, in quest of Hyder Ally; and by a private Letter which the Resident has just received from the Commandant at Palamcotah, dated the 8th Instant, we learn, that Sir Eyre Coote's Approach towards the Enemy, compelled them to withdraw from Carangoly and Wandewash, which Places they had besieged.

Your Honours Ship Royal Admiral, we have Advices, sailed from Goa on the 31st Ultimo, on her Way to the Presidency; and your Five Ships from Bengal, which left England in Company with the Royal Admiral, arrived at Madras the 10th Ultimo.

We have likewise the Pleasure to add, that we are now informed by Mr. William Petrie, of your Civil Service on the Madras Establishment, that Amol surrendered on the 25th Ultimo, to your Army under Brigadier General Goddard, who, subsequent to this happy Event, was preparing to march towards the Gauts.

Sir Edward Hughes, with His Majesty's Ships under his Command (except the Seahorse, which has not yet joined him), we have Reason to believe was at Bombay the latter end of the last Month.

As these Advices are of so important a Nature to your Honours Interest, we now deliver a Duplicate hereof to Mr. Petrie, together with the Original, in separate Packets; and have requested him to use his Endeavours for forwarding One of them from the Cape of Good Hope, by some other Ship than that on which he proceeds.

We are, with the greatest Respect,
May it please your Honours,
Your most faithful and
Obedient humble Servants,

Anjengo,
the 11th February 1781.

Ja. Morley,
Auther King,
J. Hutchinson.

Extract of a Letter from the Chief and Factors at Anjengo, to the Court of Directors of the East India Company, dated the 6th August 1781.

The Morning Star Cruizer, from Bombay, having called here on her Way to Bussorah, we embrace the Opportunity of communicating to your Honours, the pleasing Intelligence of Sir Eyre Coote having entirely defeated the Army of Hyder Ally Cawn, in a general Engagement, between Porto Novo and Mooteapollam, on the First of last Month; the Particulars of which your Honours will be fully informed of, by the accompanying Extract of a Letter from Sir Eyre Coote to Colonel Braithwaite, at Tanjour, dated the 6th Ultimo, which was transmitted to the Resident by Captain Edingtoun, the Commandant at Palamcotah, who has likewise advised him of the following Particulars:——That the Swallow Packet reached Madras on the 2d June, and the Rodney Packet also on the 12th Ultimo, the latter having parted from the Fleet she sailed with from England on the 5th of April, in Latitude 28° Nº.——That the Army commanded by Sir Eyre Coote passed Permacoil on the 18th Ultimo, with a View of effecting a Junction with the large Detachment of Bengal Troops, which, with Three Battalions from the Northern Circars, had for some Time been on their Way to Madras, where, by the last Accounts, they were nearly arrived.

Extract of a Letter from Sir Eyre Coote to Colonel Braithwaite, dated 6th July 1781.—— Referred to in the above Letter.

The 3d Instant I had the Pleasure to acquaint you of the Success of our little Army, in a general Action on the 1st Instant, with Hyder Ally, between Porto Novo and Mooteapollam.—It lasted Eight Hours, and was a hard-fought Day on both Sides.—— The Enemy's Force consisted of Twenty-five Battalions of Infantry, 400 Europeans, from

from 40 to 50,000 Horse, and above One hundred Thousand Matchlock Men, Peons, and Polygars, with 47 Pieces of Cannon well served.

Our Second Line having occupied some Heights, by which our Rear was secured, I advanced with the First towards the Enemy's Guns, many of which, had we had a Body of Cavalry, must have fallen into our Hands. They made repeated Attempts to force us with their Horse, and kept up a brisk Cannonade, which for a long Time our heavy Fire could not silence; yielding at length to the Steadiness, Spirit, and Bravery of our comparatively small Body of Troops, they retreated precipitately, and left us Masters of the Field.—Meer Saib received a mortal Wound; and among Four thousand killed, are many of the principal Officers.—On our Side, we lost very few Officers, and have only Three or Four hundred killed and wounded. You will be pleased to communicate this fortunate Event to all the Southern Garrisons.

No. 3.

To the Honourable the Secret Committee of the Honourable the Court of Directors for Affairs of the United Company of Merchants of England, trading to the East Indies.

Honourable Gentlemen,

1. YOU receive herewith an Address, dated the 31st Ultimo, containing a short Abstract of the System we had adopted for our Conduct in the present Situation of Affairs.

2. We had made every necessary Arrangement for putting in Execution our Resolution for withdrawing Tellicherry; and the Time fixed for the Departure of the Fleet was arrived within Two Days, when, on the 18th Instant, we received a Letter from the Governor General and Council, dated the 7th of January, which might and ought to have reached us Seven or Eight Weeks sooner, wherein they acquainted us of their having sent round Five Lacks of Rupees for the Service of this Presidency, on the Duke of Portland; and gave us Authority to pass Draughts upon them for such further Sum as we might stand in need of.—We had also private Intimation of their having provided a large Quantity of Rice for the Service of this Presidency, of which we actually received a Part, by the Vessel that brought their Letter.

3. These Resources in View, we immediately determined, late as the Season was, to use our utmost Exertion to preserve Tellicherry, and make a Request to the Admiral to postpone his Departure for a few Days, in order to give us Time to collect Troops, and the necessary Supplies for the Garrison, to be sent down in Company with the Fleet, without whose Assistance could not have executed our Measures. The Admiral expressing great Satisfaction in our Resolution, cheerfully acquiesced in our Request; and, by a vigorous Dispatch, the Royal Admiral and Royal Charlotte were equipped for Sea; Troops brought from the Foot of the Gauts, and, with Stores and Provisions, embarked within Seven Days upon different Vessels, which, with the Fleet, sailed from this Place the 27th of the Month.

4. The Royal Charlotte has been detained a few Days, to wait for Rice, to compleat a Stock for the Rains; that Ship, as well as the Royal Admiral, will proceed from Tellicherry to Fort Saint George, to assist in transporting Major Cotgrave's Detachment to the Coast of Coromandel, and will then pursue her Voyage to China; whilst the latter will return to Bombay, from whence she will be dispatched to England early in the ensuing Season.

5. The Prime will shortly sail for England, and will carry our Advices and Proceedings at full Length.—We shall not now enter into a Detail of the Operations of the Army, but shall only mention, that General Goddard has, in pursuance of our Advice, relinquished Possession of the Pass of Bhore Gaut, where he had proposed forming a fortified Post, marched the Army to Panwell, in order to lodge his Stores and heavy Baggage, and pro-

ceed in his future Operations according to the System of Defence we had concerted with him in March.—This, a Country favourable for the Mode of Attack, observed by the Enemy; the Army was extremely harassed by numerous Bodies of Horse and Foot, which had poured into the Concan Country, and pressed upon our Troops with a Degree of Boldness, which can only be imputed to their Exultation at the Appearance of a Retreat. Our Troops in this Situation behaved with their accustomed Firmness and Resolution, and baffled every Attack of the Enemy, to make an Impression either on the Line or Baggage, though our Loss, from such continual Attacks, could not fail being considerable, and we find, from our Returns, that during the Two Days taken up in the March, Three Officers and Fifty-five Men were killed, and Fifteen Officers and Three hundred and Ninety three Men wounded; though we derive some Satisfaction, that amongst the Privates killed and wounded, few or none were Europeans. We are very sorry to add, that on the last Day's March Colonel Parker, who commanded the Rear Guard, was mortally wounded, and died in a few Hours.

6. Arrived at Panwell the 23d Instant, when the General immediately, upon our Requisition, sent over the Troops we had appointed for the Garrison of Tellicherry, and will next proceed upon a Plan for securing the Country from the Ravages of the Enemy, in the best Manner possible, until the Lateness of the Season shall compel them to retire. For this Purpose, the Army will immediately change its Position, and move near Callian, a more central Situation, and where it is proposed to canton them during the Rains. The Europeans and Bombay Troops will be brought into this Garrison.

7. We very much wish we had any late authentic Account to give you of the Situation of Affairs on the Coast of Coromandel, the Hopes of which were the principal Cause of our detaining the Mercury so long.—We can only now acquaint you, that it is certain the French left the Coast of Coromandel in February, without landing any Assistance for Hyder, or doing any other material Damage; and that they were much distressed for Provisions, the Position of General Coote's Army, and his burning all the Boats at Pondicherry, preventing their getting any Supplies from the Shore.—Country Intelligence, collected by Mr. Stewart at Goa, mentions that Hyder had quitted the Carnatic.

8. We have the Pleasure to advise you of Colonel Carnac's having gained a very compleat Victory over Mhadjee Scindia; which is the more agreeable, as the Colonel had been obliged to retreat, and was harassed Four Days together by a very powerful Army. After the Fourth Day's Retreat, the Colonel countermarched a Detachment from his Army in the Night, with which he got in the Rear of the Enemy, and attacked their Camp, which was forced and plundered, and Two Guns, Four Elephants, and a large Booty, fell into our Hands.—Several Accounts concur that the Enemy's Loss amounted to Eight thousand Men, and Scindia himself escaped with Difficulty to Seronga, attended by only . . . . Horsemen.

We have the Honour to be,
with Respect,
Honourable Gentlemen,
Your faithful and
obedient humble Servants,

Bombay Castle,
30th April 1781.

Wm Hornby,
D. Draper,
N. Stackhouse.

No. 4.

Extract of a Letter from the President and Select Committee at Fort Saint George to the Court of Directors of the East India Company.—Dated the 9th January 1781.

FROM the invariable Term of our Advices to your Honours, you will perceive a strong, and we are sorry to believe, a just Opinion of the ruinous Consequences which would sooner or later fall upon the Company, from the War which your Servants, at the other Presidencies, had unnecessarily entered into with the Maratta State. Bordering upon each other's Dominions, and heated by Jealousy and a Desire of Plunder, Hyder and the Marattas never could have remained on amicable Terms. Every Year, unless when we stepped in to suspend their Operations, the Country of the one or the other was the Theatre of War. Their Success was various, but the Effect, to the English Interests, was the same. They reciprocally wasted their Strength, and found a Sufficiency of Employment at Home, to hinder their disturbing the Tranquillity of their Neighbours.

Vide Letter 19. 3d April 1780. by General Barker.

20. While these Two Governments, the most powerful in Hindostan, were thus weakening themselves by an inveterate War, which, from the known Disposition of the Parties, was never likely to have an End, your Settlements were at Peace, and your Prosperity was making the quickest Advances to its fullest State. Unhappily for your Interests, the Flame of Dissention at length broke forth at Bombay; the Seeds of War which were then sown in Support of the Cause of Ragonaut Row, and which were afterwards nourished in the most unbounded Manner by the Government of Bengal, gave a Respite to these rival Powers. They soon began to slacken in their Opposition. The Pretensions of each became every Day more moderate. At length they combined against us, and from being Enemies, cemented the strongest Ties of mutual Assistance and Support against a Competence, which they had every Reason to consider as too formidable and interfering for the Repose of India.

21. The Effect of this very early began to shew itself. So far back as October 1779, Sir Thomas Rumbold informed the Committee, that the Letters and Messages received from Hyder Ally, for some Time past, were couched in Terms so hostile and unfriendly, that he could scarcely conceive them to be the genuine Productions of that Prince:—That he had in Consequence sent the Reverend Mr. Swartz to the Court of Seringapatam, with private Instructions, to learn the real Disposition of Hyder; but that the Issue of his Secret Negociation was such, as left him no Reason to doubt but his Intentions were hostile both to the Company and to the Nabob.

Committee, 23d October 1779.

22. Alarming as this Information was, no Resolution was taken, more than that the Government at Bengal should be made acquainted with it; and that General Goddard should be advised of it also. About three Weeks after, the same Matter was again agitated, and a Member of the Committee moved, That the most vigorous and spirited Measures should be adopted; and submitted, Whether it would not be proper to collect a strong Body of Troops at Vellore or Conjeveram, where they might be cantoned in Readiness to act as Occasion might require. This, however, met with a similar Fate; nothing more was done than had been in the former Instance.

Committee, 12th Nov. 1779.

23. From this Time until about the Beginning of June, no further Notice is taken of the Measures of Hyder and the Marattas, although the Intelligence communicated by the Nabob, gave us every Reason to suppose that he meditated some formidable Blow against the Carnatic. Then indeed the Letters which came in daily from the Frontier Garrisons, were ample Confirmation of what had been apprehended; and to encrease our Difficulties, the Select Committee of Bombay advised us, under Date the 18th of May, that the Maratta Durbar had declared, in positive Terms, to General Goddard, "That they would not make Peace "with the English unless Salset was restored, and the Person of Ragobah was given up."

Committee, 17th July 1780.

24. The undoubted Information which was then received of the Warlike Preparations that were making by Hyder Ally Cawn, induced Mr. Johnson, in a Minute, seconded by Mr. Smith, to recommend to the Committee, to take into Consideration the Means for maintaining an Army in the Field; and if that were impracticable, that they would deliberate upon Measures for reinforcing

Committee, 19th June 1780.

maintaining our Garrisons, and for keeping up a Force at least sufficient to protect the Company's and the Nabob's Possessions.

25. Had this Opinion been followed, the Troops, which were separated, would have been formed into a Body within the Space of a Month without Obstruction or Difficulty; they would have marched, unmolested, into the very Heart of the Carnatic, and would have been ready to have faced the Enemy on their first entering the Ghauts. But the seasonable Precautions pointed out in this Minute, were disregarded; the Apprehensions about Hyder were thought groundless; and the Opportunity was lost, which might have possibly prevented the Invasion of the Carnatic.

26. It is not our Intention here to throw an uncandid Censure on the Conduct of the Majority of our Committee, in this early Stage of the Business. We gave our Opinions at the Time, and they stand recorded for your Honours Information.

27. Had indeed a Peace been concluded with the Marattas, or had there been the Prospect of so desirable an Event, the Rumour of Hyder's Intentions might have been disregarded. But when we had the clearest Proof before us, the Declaration of the Maratta Court itself to General Goddard's Propositions, it no longer became a Matter that could admit of further Hesitation. A Pacification with that Government seemed to be as distant as ever, whilst every Exertion that we might be enabled to make, would unavoidably create an Expence of both Blood and Treasure, which must infallibly exhaust us in the End.

28. The Disposition of the Troops belonging to this Establishment, was likewise a Circumstance of considerable Disadvantage to us. One Part, under the Command of Colonel Braithwaite, was at Pondicherry; Lieutenant Colonel Baillie had a fine Detachment to the Northward of the Kistna; and Colonel Brown had one Battalion of Europeans, One Company of Artillery, and One Battalion of Sepoys, acting under the Orders of General Goddard.

29. Our Force being in this Manner dispersed, no Moment could have been more favourable for Hyder to have entered the Carnatic, than the Moment he embraced. We were unusually weak, from the different Detachments we had on Service. Bengal was plunged into the most serious Difficulties, and the Treasuries of the Company, in every Part of India, were reduced to the most alarming Situation.

44. Since the 5th November, when General Coote arrived, every Kind of Exertion hath been made to insure to us Success in the next Campaign. The General himself is now encamped at Saint Thomas's Mount; and we have every Reason to expect that we shall reap the most signal Services from his Conduct and Ability.

45. Circumstanced as General Coote is, the Commander in Chief of your Forces in India, and more particularly having the entire Direction of the Army under General Goddard on the other Side of India, where Hyder is most vulnerable; we could not, we conceive, have acted with greater Attention to your Interest, than in entrusting to him the general Management of the War; which we have done in the amplest Manner in public Orders.

46. The Orders which Sir Eyre Coote informs us he has sent to General Goddard, will, we trust, draw that Officer from his offensive Measures against the Marattas, and will enable him to make a Diversion in the Ridanore Country, where the Nairs even, we are told, are ready to revolt and join us, although they have kept the Garrison of Tellicherry closely confined to the Walls of their Fort for a considerable while past. The Presence of Sir Edward Hughes also renders it still more probable; the Squadron he has under his Command being at hand to co-operate, and transport, if necessary, both Men and Stores to Mangalore.

47. While Measures for the general Good are thus pursuing here, at Bengal, and at Bombay, we have not been inattentive to the Resources which it is reasonable to imagine we should be enabled to draw from those in Alliance, and those who live under the immediate Protection of the Company.

The Surrender of Arcot comes in another Point of View, Mahomed Nudjif Cawn, who though not the first, was yet a Man of considerable Consequence in the Management of the Nabob's Interests in that Province, has, since his Return, delivered in a Narrative of the Siege to his Master. In this Narrative your Honours will observe a Degree of Insinuation, tending to cast a principal Share of Blame on your officers who commanded there. Your Officers, on the contrary, complain of the Nabob's People, and especially of Rajah Beerbur, who had the Supreme Authority at Arcot, and who is now confidentially employed by Hyder.

Committee, 29th Nov. 1780.

55. A Matter of this Nature is of great Importance. Individually it carries a Stain, which in all Military Services, it is necessary should be cleared up; and as it relates to the public Welfare, it is fraught with Consequences of the most serious Moment. Were the Parties concerned in any other Situation than that to which they are reduced by the Capitulation, a strict Enquiry should be had into every Part of this Affair: as they are at present, we must patiently wait, until an Opportunity shall favour the Investigation.

56. The Nabob, who has uniformly kept up a close and friendly Correspondence with Fazul Beg Cawn, the Commander in chief of the Nizam's Forces, some Days ago informed our President, that he had Offers from the Side of the Decan, of Four or Five Thousand well-disciplined Cavalry. These Offers, we had Reason to conclude, had come from Fazul Beg. The Expence, however, was too heavy for our present Resources. Moreover, there appeared a Probability of Assistance from Moodajee Bonsalah, the Rajah of Berar; and until we were certain of his Intentions, it seemed the more prudent Line to refrain from any positive Engagements which might lead us into pecuniary Difficulties, that our Means were in every Respect inadequate to.

57. The Door of Negociation with Fazul Beg Cawn for this Body of Cavalry, it was still politic to keep open. We impowered the Chief of Masulipatam, therefore, to enter into a Correspondence with that Sardar, on the Subject; but to determine on nothing until he had our final Directions.

58. Early in our Proceedings of the last Year, your Honours will be pleased to observe, that we resolved upon raising a Corps of Sibbendies, for the Purpose of collecting the Revenues in the Circars dependant upon Masulipatam, to consist of Five Companies; and that we likewise directed, that these Companies should be raised and incorporated at Vizagapatam, with the Two Independent Companies of Sepoys there on the same Account.

Committee, 22d May 1780.

59. This Force leaving our regular Sepoys more to the Detail of real Military Service than they were before in the Circars, and the Circars themselves being far from any Appearance of Disturbance, we resolved, on a Representation from our President, that the Northern Zemindars should be ordered to furnish a certain Quota of Troops to join the Detachment, if necessary, expected from Bengal. The Zemindars have accordingly been written to; and their Numbers in Cavalry, Sepoys, and Pikemen, it is supposed, will amount to 13,900 Men. With regard to their Pay, that is to be accounted for, and deducted from the Tribute of the Zemindars when the present Troubles are over, at the same Rate the Zemindars themselves pay their People during the Time they keep them in Employment.

Committee, 4th Dec. 1780.

Committee, 13th Oct. 1780.

60. The Tranquillity indeed of the Chicacole District, received a dangerous momentary Shock, from a Mutiny amongst the Grenadier Sepoys, who were ordered from Vizagapatam to this Presidency, and who, refusing to embark, turned upon their Officers, and all the Europeans of the Garrison. (The Particulars of this unfortunate Revolt, are entered in the Proceedings referred to in the Margin.) Lieutenant Crisp, Mr. Venner, a Cadet, and Mr. Rutherford, one of your Civil Servants, were killed upon the Spot. Mr. Casamajor, the Chief, with several other Gentlemen, were seized, and closely confined for several Hours.

61. The Plunder of the Place was the principal Object of the Mutineers; that accomplished, they left the Fort in a Body. We lost no Time however, in sending every Assistance in our Power to their Relief. We sent a Party of Fifty Invalid Europeans by Sea, and ordered the Resident at Ganjam to reinforce them with Thirty Coffrees from that Garrison.

62. Before this Accession to their Strength had arrived at Vizagapatam, the Revolters had pursued their Way inland towards the Hills. They then met with Opposition from some of the Zemindars, and were drove to the Necessity of dispersing. In the mean while, considerable Rewards having been offered for apprehending any of those concerned, particularly the Ringleader Sheik Mahomed Soubahdar, several of them were detected. The Consequence was an immediate and exemplary Punishment.

63. The Conduct of Guzziputty Narrain Doo, on this Occasion, was such as to merit the highest Marks of our Favour. We accordingly reinstated him in the Zemindary of Kinnedy, on Terms to the Advantage of the Company, as your Honours will perceive, on Reference to our Proceedings on that Head in the Revenue Department.

64. The Letter from your Honours to the Rajah of Tanjore, which came by your Ship Lascelles, we deputed One of your Civil Servants to deliver to him. The Rajah received this Mark of your Friendship with the strongest Professions of Attachment to your Honours, and of Reliance upon your Protection. But the main Object proposed by the

Deputation

Deputation of Mr. Lewin, that of procuring a Supply of Money, was not effected; the Rajah declaring himself totally unable to make any further Exertions on that Head. Mr. Lewin's Report is entered on the Proceedings of the Committee referred to in the Margin.

Committee, 2d Oct. 1780.

65. The Backwardness of the Rajah to raise the inconsiderable Sum required of him, was the Cause of some Dissatisfaction to us; at the same Time, we conceived it our Duty to assure him, that every Thing in our Power should be done for the Security of his Fort and Country. But as it would be absolutely necessary, during the Continuance of the present Troubles, to get a sufficient Force into the Field to act against the Enemy, we informed him, we expected his ready Acquiescence in every Thing that should be proposed to him for our common Safety. We told him, that finding great Difficulty in carrying on our Military Operations for Want of a Body of Cavalry; we were using our Endeavours to procure a sufficient Number, and that we should take it as a Favour, if he would give us his Assistance.

Committee, 20th Oct. 1780.

66. We again explained to him the heavy Disbursements necessary for the Support of the War, and earnestly desired he would assist us in the Article of Money. We pointed out to him how strongly you had written to him on this Subject in your last Letter, and hoped that he would want no other Inducement to exert himself in giving you an extraordinary Aid at this Conjuncture, when you were called upon for the Defence of your own and your Allies Possessions, against a formidable Power.

67. We even went so far, lest he should have any Colour of Excuse, as to tell him, if he could not possibly find Means of procuring ready Money on this Occasion (which we trusted however could not be the Case), that in such an Event, we had no Doubt of his being able to put into our Hands a Quantity of Grain, with Liberty to mortgage or dispose of it, in such Manner as might enable us to raise the necessary Supplies.

68. To all these Representations, the Rajah of Tanjore has returned nothing but empty Words and Professions, which he does not seem inclinable to realize.

Country Correspondence 26th Dec. 1780. No. 141.

69. This being the Case, another Letter had been since written to him. We have told him, that the numberless Difficulties which have presented themselves to him, to the raising a Body of 1000 Cavalry, are astonishing to us, especially as he had concluded the Expence of it would be deducted from his Subsidy.—That our former Letters to him on the Subject of Cavalry was wanted, and as one immediately under the Protection of the Company, he was the first looked to for Assistance. We told him, the Day of Difficulty was the only one in which real Friendship could be shewn; that Procrastination manifested a Want of Warmth in those, who, from the Peculiarity of their Situation, might be naturally supposed concerned in the Want of public Affairs. That had Means been taken in the Beginning, the small Corps he had been solicited to raise might have been now complete; but that those Means had been unaccountably neglected, until it was almost too late to undertake any Thing in a Matter of so much Importance to your Affairs. That the Tanjore Country, however, having heretofore escaped every Kind of Ravage and Devastation, we still placed the greatest Dependence upon the Assistance in both Men and Money, which it was peculiarly incumbent upon him to give, who enjoyed the amplest Benefit of your Protection.

70. Possibly this Representation to the Rajah, may have the Effect upon him we desire; we have enclosed a Copy of it to the Commanding Officer at Tanjore, with Directions to enforce the Spirit of it firmly, but at the same Time with the greatest Delicacy, lest the Rajah's Fears should be alarmed.

93. Involved as your Affairs are in every Quarter of Hindostan, the Accusation of wantonly adding to the Flame, carries in its Consequences a Degree of Criminality, which every Government, satisfied with the Rectitude of its Actions, is warranted to clear itself of, and even to retort upon those who are primarily and principally concerned.

94. We have already said, and we again repeat it, the Maratta War is the sole Cause of all the Mischiefs which hitherto have been felt, or hereafter may befal the Interest of England in India.—The visionary Pursuit of that Scheme, hath plunged you into the most complicated public Calamity. The Country Powers, tired of the Yoke, rejoice at the ruinous Measures which, to the Expenditure of all your Treasure in Bengal, and of all that hath been borrowed, hath been offensively carried on against the combined Maratta Empire. Nor shall we hesitate in declaring it our Opinion, that unless a Peace is speedily concluded with that Power, the hard-earned Supremacy of your Situation will sink under a Blow, the most severe that it hath ever yet received.

97. Shortly,

Committee, 26th June 1780. 119. Shortly, upon the Departure of Sir Thomas Rumbold, we were solicited by the Nabob, to assist him with a small Loan he was in want of, for discharging a Demand made upon him by Colonel James Capper. As the Nabob appeared very anxious that this Debt should be cleared off, and as he engaged that the Company should neither sustain Loss nor Risk by the Transaction, we acquiesced in the Proposition made to us by his Highness; and accordingly granted Colonel Capper a Bond for the Amount, as is particularly set forth in our Proceedings of the Day referred to in the Margin.

30th May 1780. 120. In consequence of an Address, which we received from our Surgeon General, in which he recommends a Plan for the Hospital Expences of his Majesty's 73d Regiment, we came to the Resolution, although there was no Precedent for the Mode recommended by him, to adopt it, it appearing the most equitable, until your Pleasure should be known. The same to be carried to a distinct Account, under the Head of Expences incurred for his Majesty's 73d Regiment.

Committee, 1st May 1780. 121. Towards the latter End of the Year 1777, a Memorial was given in to us by the Captain Lieutenants of Artillery, relative to their Rank in the general Line of the Army; and again, in May 1780, they presented us another Petition, and begged we would write to the Gentlemen of Bengal, for Information of the Regulations they had thought proper to establish in a similar Case, as the Recommendation of your Commander in Chief in India.

17th July 1780. 122. We accordingly wrote to Bengal on the Subject.—The Answer from thence was full as to the Artillery Rank they had established; we therefore resolved, that the Officers who held Commissions as Captain Lieutenants of Artillery on this Establishment, should be put on the same Footing with the Captain Lieutenants of Artillery in Bengal, viz. that such Officers as held Commissions as Captain Lieutenants on the 17th April 1775, should take Rank as Captains in the Army from that Day; and that such Officers as had been appointed Captain Lieutenants of Artillery since that Period, should take Rank as Captains in the Army, agreeably to the Date of their Captain Lieutenants Commissions.

123. Captain Robert Wood, whom your Honours were pleased to nominate to the Town Majorship of Fort Saint George, during the Government of Sir Thomas Rumbold, having been disappointed in his Expectation of filling that Office again, applied to us on the Departure of the General Barker, and solicited the Appointment agreeably to the Tenor of your Orders.

124. This Matter had already been agitated at our Board, and it had been submitted Home to your Consideration; we therefore agreed, as our President, in consequence of your military Instructions 7 March 1774, and the Latitude given him by the Company's Orders relative to Captain Wood's Appointment, had nominated Captain Sydenham to act in the Office of Town Major, and the same had been given out in General Orders, that no further Step should be taken in it until your Pleasure should be known.

125. Captain Harcourt Woodhouse having been recommended to us by Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote, we have granted him a Certificate to partake of the Military Fund, he having sworn that he was not directly or indirectly possessed of 2,000l.

126. We have granted our Permission to Captain Charles Fraser and Captain Thomas Bagot, to proceed to Europe for the Re-establishment of their Health.

127. Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Fletcher, agreeably to your Commands, succeeded to his Rank on this Establishment; but we are concerned to inform your Honours, that that brave and valuable Officer was amongst those who fell in the Action of the 10th of September.

128. Major Alexander Maclellan, after a short Illness, died on the 20th of last August. In consequence of which, we appointed Colonel Brathwaite to the Command of the Fort and Garrison, and of the Troops stationed in the Tanjore Country.

129. Mr. Robert Smith Bird, one of your Surgeons on this Establishment, has requested our Permission to accompany Mr. Whitehill to England, on the Duke of Kingston; we have accordingly granted Mr. Bird our Leave to attend Mr. Whitehill, and we take this Opportunity of recommending him to your Honours, that he may return with his Rank in the Line of Surgeons.

Committee, 9th Oct. 1780. 130. Sir Edward Hughes having recommended that a proper Person should be stationed at the Danish Settlement of Tranquebar, for the Purpose of collecting Intelligence there with respect to the Enemy, and having at the same Time mentioned Mr. Edward Mackintosh, as a Gentleman well qualified for that Employ; we have accordingly appointed Mr. Mackintosh our Resident at Tranquebar, with an Allowance of 100 Pagodas per Month.

131. Your

138. Your Honours have been frequently advised of the Distresses, in which Colonel James, your Commanding Officer of Artillery, hath been involved, from a Failure on the Part of the Nabob, in Payment of a considerable Sum of Money, advanced by him to his Highness's mutinous Troops in 1776 and 1777. The Particulars of his Case are worthy of your Attention.

139. In November 1776, the first dangerous Mutiny broke out in the Nabob's Second Regiment of Cavalry. Colonel James was then Commandant of Trichinopoly. As soon as he received Intelligence of the Revolt, he sent Parties of Sepoys with Letters wrote in different Languages, to learn their Route, and with Offers to them of 5,000 Pagodas immediately on their returning to their Duty, and of 1,000 Pagodas per Month, until the Nabob's Pleasure should be known. "I did this, "(says he), because, on my Appointment to the Command of Trichinopoly, I had an Opportunity of visiting the Cavalry, "which was then in that well-disciplined State, as to command Applause from every Gentleman who saw them, many Encomiums having been paid "them by Officers of Cavalry formerly in his Majesty's Service. From their Appearance, and the Pains that were taken by their Officers to render them complete, I "could not but duly consider the very extensive Service they would be of to the Carnatic, in case of Trouble, and therefore I was fully determined to give every Assistance "in my Power to relieve them in their Distresses."

Committee, 10th April 1780.

140. For this first Advance, Colonel James received the Thanks of the Board, under Date 4th December 1776. This induced Colonel James to make further Advances of Cash; which he continued until the 1st April 1777, when a Second Mutiny broke out in Captain Campbell's Regiment, cantoned at Zepherabad, a few Miles from Hyder Ally's Country, and which had every Appearance of being productive of fatal Consequences, the Regiment being completely equipped for Service, with Eight Field Pieces, and every Thing else in Proportion.

141. The Intelligence of Captain Campbell's Situation, he and his Officers being made close Prisoners, was carried to Colonel James by the merest Accident. He, however, saw no Time was to be lost; and accordingly, considering nothing but his Duty, immediately sent to them, and bound himself for the Payment of so much of their Arrears as he possibly could provide Funds for. His Obligation they looked upon as sufficient. They released their Officers, and shortly afterwards went upon Service, having received their last Dividend of 6000 Pagodas from Colonel James the 1st of June, 1777.

142. Considerable as these Advances were, they were yet inadequate to the Payment of all the Arrears due to the Cavalry, as appeared from the very alarming Conduct of the other Regiments who surrounded the Nabob at Chepauk, and obstinately refused retiring, unless they were satisfied in what they had a Right to demand, in consequence of their Agreement on entering his Service. The Loan made by Messieurs Taylor and C°. on this Account, hath repeatedly been stated to your Honours in the fullest Manner.

143. Colonel James had indeed another Reason for making the considerable Advance he did to these Regiments of Cavalry. "I was encouraged to do this (says "he), by the Directions of the Commander in Chief to me to raise more "Money; and he had full Powers from the Honourable Board, to take every "Measure he saw necessary to quell the Mutiny."

Ibid.

144. Under these Sanctions, therefore, Colonel James advanced all the Money he could raise. The Nabob, however, was slow and uncertain in refunding either the Principal or Interest. This drew a Remonstrance from Colonel James. We saw and felt for his Distresses, and, sensible of the Justness of his Demand, interested ourselves for him with the Nabob; but his Highness still continued dilatory. He promised, indeed, that Colonel James should be repaid; but yet the Day was at a Distance, and Colonel James, though suffering under a severe Complaint, had the painful Prospect of being obliged to remain in this Country, when a Change of Climate was become absolutely necessary to his Recovery.

Ibid.

145. Thus reduced, he made us several Applications, and at length got the Nabob to request we would, on his Account, satisfy Colonel James for the Money he had advanced.

146. Sensible of the Merit which Colonel James manifested at the Time of making the Advances, and of the real Necessity there was for some spirited Exertion for the Preservation of a Corps which might have been of the greatest Utility, we readily agreed, that on the Nabob's engaging to repay the Company within a short Period of Time, a Bond should be granted to Colonel James for the Balance which should be due

due to him. Accordingly, the Nabob having acquainted us, through our President, that the Amount should be discharged as expeditiously as possible, we have granted a Bond to Colonel James for Pagodas 40,742. 25. 60, the Sum now owing to him by his Highness.

148. The Proceedings of a Council of War, held by the Commander in Chief of your Forces, now go a Number in the Packet, together with our Sentiments on the Subject. To these Proceedings we beg your particular Attention.

149 We have the Pleasure to acquaint you, that, by a Letter from Sir Edward Hughes, dated the 4th December, we are informed of the safe Arrival of his Majesty's Fleet at Tellicherry, where he landed for the Reinforcement of that Garrison, 1 Captain, 4 Subalterns, and 108 Marines, and of his having supplied them with 10,000 Rupees for their Disbursements, and a Quantity of Grain. Sir Edward has likewise informed us, that, at the earnest Solicitations of the Chief and Factors, as well as of Major Colgrave, who commands the Troops at Tellicherry, he had directed the Captains of the Company's Ships Porsbane and Contractor, to remain there for the Purpose of keeping open the Port for Supplies of Provisions, until Reinforcements should arrive.

150. From Tellicherry Sir Edward proposed proceeding with the Squadron towards Bombay, touching in his Way at Mangalore, to see if any thing effectual could be done against Hyder's Vessels in that Part.

151. By a Letter from our Resident at Ganjam, we are acquainted that a French Privateer, mounting 18 Guns, and supposed to be in Concert with another, had been cruising off the Northern Ports of this Coast for some Time past, and had taken some few Country Vessels.

No. 5.

WILLIAM Petrie, Esquire, attending, according to Order, was called in; and examined.

I went first to Madras in the Company's Civil Service, about 17 Years ago.—Have acted in the Stations of Commissary and Paymaster to the Army during the last War with Hyder Ally,—at the first Siege of Tanjore, and the subsequent Campaigns.—I was then appointed Secretary to the Government at Madras; in which Department I remained till my Return to England in 1776.—The succeeding Year I returned to India with Sir Thomas Rumbold—Was appointed Envoy or Resident to the Rajah of Tanjore—I was next appointed to the Chiefship of Nagore and Carricole—I left India again in January 1780, and being coming over Land, was obliged, on Account of the Plague in Turkey, to return to Bombay.—I was present at the Capture of Bassein by the Bengal Army; and on the Malabar Coast had an Opportunity of hearing of Hyder Ally's alarming Success in the Carnatic, and the distressed State of the English Government at Madras.——I left the Coast of India the 11th of February, returned to Europe upon a Portuguese Ship, and arrived in England September 1781.

How long did you remain at Madras, after your Arrival there with Sir Thomas Rumbold?

About 12 Days.

How many Days Journey is it from Madras to Tanjore?

By going Post, it may be done in Three Days;—in the general Way, it requires Six or Seven.

Was you at Madras when the Committee of Circuit was abolished?

No, I was then at Tanjore; I heard of it there.

Were the Zemindars at Madras at your Return then from Tanjore?

Most of them I believe were there—I had not any Conversation or Communication with them.

Had you Reason to know that the Committee of Circuit had been abolished?

Yes.

Were you acquainted with the Objects of the Appointment of the Committee of Circuit?

Yes.

From your Knowledge of the Presidency of Madras, and the Affairs under their Administration, is it your Opinion, that the Objects of the Committee of Circuit were most likely to be accomplished by the Continuance of the Committee, or by calling the Zemindars to Madras?

I am clearly of Opinion, by the Continuance of the Committee of Circuit, for the following Reasons; viz.

Because the Committee of Circuit was directed to proceed to the Northern Circars, and investigate the various Matters which had been complained of in that Branch of the Company's Government, and because the Instructions given them for their Guide, appeared to me well calculated to accomplish the Purposes of Reformation; whereas, by calling the Zemindars to Madras, the Board could only have a partial Evidence, and must be liable to Imposition and Deception from those Men whose Interest it was to keep them in the Dark.—From my Knowledge of the Men who were appointed to form that Committee, I think they were very capable of executing that Trust.

Were there other Gentlemen in the Service under that Presidency, capable of supplying the Place of any Member of that Committee, in case of a Vacancy?

A great many indeed.

Had you Reason to know that the Zemindars complained of the Hardship of being brought down to the Presidency of Madras?

I do not know it, so as to warrant my calling it Personal Knowledge; but it was the notorious and universal Sense of the Presidency, that they had so complained.

Was it your Opinion, or the general Belief, either at Madras or Tanjore, that Hyder Ally meant an Invasion of the Carnatic a considerable Time before his Irruption there?

From the long Misunderstanding and Jealousy which had subsisted between Hyder Ally and the Madras Government, I never doubted but that we should be involved in War with that Power, as soon as he should find a favourable Opportunity, which could only have been prevented by a positive Alliance between him and the English, a Measure which he had frequently courted.—He viewed our Attack on Pondicherry with a very jealous Eye; and would, in my Opinion, have given Assistance to the French, but for a favourite Enterprize which he was engaged in at that Time.——Our Attack on Mahé, and the subsequent Operations in the Guntoor Circar, I believe he considered as open Acts of Hostility;—but in Answer to the Question, I will venture to say, that he certainly meditated War as early as the Time of the Siege of Pondicherry, which I heard from Tanjore, and from a Man who had formerly been in Hyder Ally's Service, and who had paid me a Visit at Nagore; at which Time I believe he was acting as an inferior Vakeel with the Dutch at Negapatam.

Are you one of the Executors of Mr. Redhead's Will?

Yes.

Is there a disputed Article in that Will, relating to a Sum of Money claimed from Sitteram Rauze?

Yes.

Had you Occasion to know any Thing of the Foundation of the Debt claimed by Mr. Redhead's Executors from Sitteram Rauze?

It appeared to be a Sum of Money promised by Sitteram, or his Agent, to Mr. Redhead, for certain Services to be rendered by him.

What were those Services?

Being absent from Madras on Public Service, during all the Time alluded to in the Question, I was under the Necessity of leaving the Executorship of Mr. Redhead's Will to Mr. Brodie, who was the other Executor; I can therefore only say, that I believe the Services were the accomplishing of certain Points for Sitteram Rauze at the Presidency, through his (Mr. Redhead's) Influence.

In what Station was Mr. Redhead at that Time?

Private Secretary to Sir Thomas Rumbold the Governor.

Do you know, from any Circumstance whatever, at what Time the said Present was promised to Mr. Redhead?

I cannot

I cannot positively say the Time; but I have a Copy of the Agreement, which was translated from the Original by a Person who I know well, and believe to be exact, which I will send to the Committee.

What Defence did Sitteram make against the Claim made by Mr. Redhead's Executors?

I cannot clearly answer, on Account of the Distance of Time, and my being then absent from Madras.

At the Time I left India, I shortly suspected that Hyder Ally was meditating an Attack upon the Carnatic, and I will now state to the Committee my Reasons for that Opinion.

Because I know Hyder has been inimical to the English, since a short Time after the Peace of 1769, when the Madras Board with-held from him the Succours which he thought he had a Right to claim in consequence of that Treaty, when his Country was invaded by the Marattas.——The Misfortunes of that War, in which he lost his Arms, and a considerable Part of his Dominions, he charged to our Breach of Engagements, and from that Period, I believe he has eagerly looked for a favourable Opportunity of making War upon the English in India.——It was the Transactions of that Time, which gave Rise to his subsequent Connections with the French. Nevertheless, finding that he could expect no essential Support from that Power in India, and apprehensive of a Second Visit from the Marattas, in the Year 1773, he again solicited Friendship and Alliance with the English against the common Enemy, as he then termed the Marattas, and made such advantageous Offers to the Company, that had the Madras Board deemed it expedient in other Respects to accede to his Request, the most solid commercial Advantages might then have been obtained for the Company.—I was then Secretary to the Board, where the Subject was often debated; but at last it was resolved to decline the proposed Alliance, and to observe a strict Neutrality between Hyder Ally and the Marattas.——His Resentment upon this Occasion, I believe, cemented his Connections with the French, and, not improbably, gave him the first Idea of an Alliance with his old Enemy the Marattas.—From that Period, until my Return to India in 1778, I believe the Correspondence between Hyder Ally and the Company's Governments was merely civil; I am certain not cordial.—Upon the Arrival of Sir Thomas Rumbold at Madras, some Correspondence I have understood took place, on the Subject of an Alliance; yet, when Pondicherry was attacked on the Commencement of Hostilities with France, it was generally imagined, and I believe justly, that Hyder would have tried to raise the Siege, had not his Arms at that Time been employed in another Quarter.

The subsequent Attack upon Mahé, and the Operations in the Guntoor Circar, was considered by Hyder as positive Acts of Hostility, and from that Time he seems to have made no Secret of his hostile Designs against the Carnatic.—I was then leaving India, and my own Reflections upon all these Circumstances which I have now related, added to the Information which I received from Mr Schwartz, who had just then returned from the Mysore Durbar, and from other Channels of Intelligence, made me conclude that a War was not far distant, and that Hyder only waited for an Opportunity to begin Hostilities, and I was sorry to see that the Maratta War, by exhausting the Company's Resources, and dispersing the Force, was likely to afford him a very favourable one, so that when I left Madras, I never doubted but that the Carnatic would very soon be the Theatre of War.—I must however add, that although I have mentioned the Capture of Mahé, and the Measures with respect to the Guntoor Circar, as powerful Provocations to Hostility; yet in my Opinion, Hyder would not have involved himself in a War with the English, had there been Peace in Hindostan, until he had received the Troops which were promised him from France; nor do I think he would ever have trusted his Infantry and Guns in the Carnatic, had the Madras Government only assembled the Forces under that Presidency in proper Time, and ordered the Army to move towards the Western Passes, when they heard of Hyder's Approach from Bengalore.

No. 6.

Fort William, Secret Department, General Letter, dated 7th January 1781.

To the Honourable the Court of Directors for Affairs of the Honourable United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies.

Honourable Sirs,

Par. 1. THE Departure of Major John Scott to Europe, by express Appointment from the Governor General, as his Private Agent, affording us an Opportunity of addressing you, we have the Honour to avail ourselves of it in transmitting to you, in Triplicate, our last Advices from this Department, by the Ships Fox and Walpole. Major Scott has taken his Passage on a Portuguese Ship, which being to stop in her Way at Fort Saint George, we have recommended it to the President and Select Committee at that Place, to embrace the same Occasion of transmitting to you a Relation of the Occurrences upon the Coast, to the latest Period of Major Scott's Stay. We beg Leave to recommend this Gentleman to your Favour, and that he may be restored to the Company's Service, without Prejudice to his Rank, if he should be hereafter desirous of returning to Bengal.

Dated 10, 19, 20 Nov. We send to you Numbers in this Dispatch, Copies of the Letters which we have received from Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote, since we had the Honour of addressing you by the Fox. We are much concerned that the Information contained in them obliges us to say, that we still continue in Expectation of more favourable Accounts of the State of your Affairs on the Coast. The Confidence which we place in the Exertions of Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote, in his Experience in Military Affairs, and in his Zeal for the Public Service, will not permit us to despond of a prosperous Change in it, while he continues at the Head of your Army, nor shall any Assistance be wanting which we can render, to give Effect to his Efforts. The Military Expences are indeed large, but we have promised to provide for them as long as we are able; and acting upon that Promise, we have ordered that the Sum of C. R^s 423672. 10. 3. should be remitted to Fort Saint George, in Specie, by the Ship Duke of Portland, now under sailing Orders. We have taken Measures to continue to that Presidency Supplies of Grain, and other Articles of which they are in Need, and shall in no Instance relax in our declared Resolution to relieve their Wants, as far as we may be able to supply them; but it is not in our Power to afford that Aid which the Army is said greatly to require, in an Encrease of its Strength in Europeans. The unfortunate Disaster which befel the Detachments from General Munro's Army near Conjeveram, in September last, was attended with an important Diminution of it, and we are not able to spare, from the Defence of our own Provinces, more than have been already detached from them.

2. This Consideration, added to others which arise from the present State of your Affairs on the Coast, and the Necessity which we feel of giving every Aid to your Presidency at Fort Saint George that can possibly be obtained, without too disproportionate a Sacrifice of the Possessions of the Company, or of those of the Nabob Walaw Jaw, have induced us to propose a Treaty of Alliance with the Dutch, whose Possessions at and adjacent to Cochin, have lately been invaded by Hyder Ally Khan. The Treaty itself appears on our Proceedings of the 4th instant, which go a Number in the Packet, and has been formed with the Advice and Correction of Mr. Ross, Director and Governor of the Dutch East India Company's Settlements in Bengal.

[illegible] th January.

3. It appears, from an Account, which the Governor General informs us has been communicated to him by Mr Ross, that the Force actually stationed at or near Cochin, will easily enable that Government to supply the Proportion, both of European Infantry and Artillery, which are chiefly wanted, and of Malays, specified in the Treaty; and these may be marched, at a very short Notice, and by a very near Route, into the Carnatic, if the Governors of Columbo and Cochin, on which they depend, will accede to the proffered Alliance. To engage their Assent, which will in such Case involve both

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in great personal Responsibility, as we understand that they have no regular Powers to bind their Company in such an Act without the Sanction of the superior Government of Batavia, we have offered to them much greater Advantages than perhaps are suitable to the common Interest which the Dutch Company have in the War, or than we should be inclined to yield in an equal and formal Negotiation; but for this we have no Time, the Necessities of the Company require an instant Relief, and the dependent State of those whom we solicit to be immediate Parties in the Treaty, claims some additional Concessions, both to indemnify them, and to win the Concurrence of their Superiors.

5. Urged by these Considerations, we have proposed in the Treaty the Cession of the Country of Tinivelly to the Dutch East India Company. Its Situation is such, that it may, as we conceive, be separated from the Government of the Carnatic, without either present Embarrassment, or Danger of future Competition; and from its Contiguity to the Dutch Possessions in Ceylon, will prove a greater Acquisition to them than Loss to the Nabob.

6. The Treaty has been suddenly prepared without his Knowledge, and of course without his Consent, and the latter is, we know, indispensably necessary to that Article of it, in which the Cession of Tinivelly is suggested, and which, on our Part, we can only propose, but it is the only Part which he is likely to have in the War, although the Principal in it; and we have, in our Opinion, a Right to claim at least this small Return, both from the Hazards which we incur, and the Exertions which we make, for the Support of his Cause—a Return, amounting only to the Sacrifice of a minute Portion of his Dominions, and that the most distant of them, for the Salvation of the Whole.

7. A Copy of the Letter, written by the Governor General to the Nabob on this Occasion, as well as of those addressed to the Governors of Colombo and Cochin, and to the superior Government of Batavia, appear on our Proceedings of the 4th instant; to which we have already referred you for a Transcript of the Treaty itself: The latter has received our Execution of it, and has been entrusted with our other Dispatches to Fort Saint George, to Mr. James Dighton, whom we have recommended to the President and Select Committee, to be employed to proceed with the Treaty and Letters, and such other Dispatches as they may have Occasion to add, to the Governments of Colombo and Cochin.

8. We think it proper to send, for your Information, an Extract of a Letter which we have received from the President and Select Committee of Bombay, under Date the 23d September, accompanied by a Letter to them from Mr. Henshaw, their Resident at Goa, it goes therefore a Number in this Dispatch; but we deem the Report therein, conveyed to us, unworthy of our serious Attention. We are generally inclined to believe, that although a Connection may subsist between the Portugueze and the Marattas, its Effect cannot be important: They have no Rank among the Powers in India; they have no Means of subsisting their Army in the Field; and no such Advantages are likely to be yielded to them, as can weigh against the strong Consideration of the Alliance which has long subsisted between our Nation and theirs. The Claims which they prefer are Claims of Form, and perhaps would be preferred by any other Nation having them, whether they were or were not justly founded.

9. With respect to the supposed Intention of asserting and maintaining the Claim on Bassein by Force, it seems to us nugatory; and it cannot be effectual, since we have received certain Advices that Brigadier General Goddard, with his Army, was before Bassein on the 18th November last; and we are informed, that there was no Force, excepting that in Garrison, to oppose his early Capture of the Place.

10. The Insults which have repeatedly been offered to the Portugueze by our common Enemy Hyder Ally; the Friendship and Alliance which has long subsisted between their Nation and ours, and independently of this last Consideration, the Interest which they have in common with us, in curbing an Encrease of Power in that ambitious Chief, have induced us to make Overtures to that Government, for an Union with us in distressing Hyder Ally, by sending a Body of Forces into his Country; and we have availed ourselves of the Services of Mr. Auriol, our Secretary, who had before received our Permission to proceed to the West of India, for the Re-establishment of his Health, by deputing him to Goa on this Occasion.

11. A Copy of our Instructions to Mr. Auriol goes a Number in this Packet: We confess that our Expectations of Success from the Overtures made to the Viceroy of Goa are not very sanguine; but there appeared to us a Possibility of adding to the Force engaged against Hyder Ally, by the Union of that Government with ours, and we were not willing to neglect even the remote Chance of such an Advantage.

12. The

12. The perfidious Conduct of those of the French Nation at Pondicherry, are represented in Sir Eyre Coote's Letter of the 29th November, suggesting to us the Necessity of taking immediate Measures for preventing the Example from having Effect among those resident at Chandernagore, and within the Provinces. We have given public Notice to the higher Class of Frenchmen, of our positive Requisition, that they all quit the Provinces, by Sea, on or before the 31st Instant, on Pain of being made Prisoners, should they be found in them after that Period; and we have given Orders for the immediate Seizure of those of the lower Class. They had been all required in June last to leave the Provinces by the 1st October, and our Indulgence had permitted their remaining in them to this Time; but the flagrant and hostile Conduct of their Countrymen at Pondicherry would not allow us to continue the Favour shewn to them any longer.

13. We have the Honour to send to you enclosed, Copies of the Letters which we have received from Brigadier General Goddard, since we addressed you by the Fox; the Information before quoted, of his Arrival at Bassein, will not be found in them, but it is sufficiently authenticated by our Receipt of a Bill of Exchange drawn by him, and dated the 18th December.

14. Excepting the Letter from Bombay before mentioned, and which is sent a Number in the Packet, we have received no Advices from that Presidency of a later Date than those transmitted to you in our Proceedings sent by the Ship Fox. We have remitted to them by the Ship Portland, Treasure to the Amount of Five Lacks of Rupees; and we have authorized them to draw Bills on us for any further Sums, at a reasonable Exchange.

15. The Provincial Commander in Chief, in the Persuasion that to derive from the native Infantry of our Establishment, those capital Advantages which can only result from exact Discipline, tempered with a strict Administration of the Rights of the Soldiery, it was positively necessary thoroughly to reform and new-model the Corps composing this Part of our Military Force, presented to us on the 26th ultimo, a Series of Propositions best calculated, according to his Judgment, for compassing so important and useful an End. These Propositions were accompanied with figured Statements, exhibiting, as nearly as might be, the extraordinary Expence which would be incurred by the new Sepoy Establishments, and the annual Saving which would accrue from the general Arrangements.

16. The Letters which we have received from Brigadier General Stibbert on this Subject, and Copies of the Statements and Propositions accompanying them, are sent to you Numbers in this Dispatch. After maturely considering the Principles on which the Plan submitted to us was obviously founded, after measuring the Extent of the Advantages it promised to produce, and after satisfying ourselves that it united Economy and Utility, we delayed not, in the Conviction that the late Military Constitution of our native Infantry was pregnant with Defects which, unless timely corrected, threatened the most serious and alarming Consequences, to pass the whole of General Stibbert's Propositions into Resolutions of our Council.

17. We will here delineate, as far as may be necessary, the general Ground-work of this new Superstructure; marking the less obvious Motive of particular Regulations, and distinguishing, in a concise Manner, the Advantages they possess over former Institutions and Arrangements.

18. The apparent Strength of the Battalions of the European Regiments being at all Times very inconsiderable (rarely exceeding three hundred Rank and File) and their positive or effective Strength being frequently below two hundred Men, the large Establishment of Officers annexed to these Corps appeared to be productive of an utterly irrequisite Expence, without yielding a single Advantage in a Military Point of View; influenced by these Reflections, we made it our Request to General Stibbert, to examine the Expediency of doubling up the Battalions of the Regiments; and accordingly we have had the Satisfaction of receiving his Concurrence in a Measure that, while it occasions in our monthly Expences a Retrenchment of 37,186 Sonat Rupees, furnishes us with a considerable Number of Officers towards completing our native Infantry on the new Establishment.

19. Although the Commander in Chief has, in the annexed Propositions, inserted a Clause expressing, that when the Strength of the European Regiments shall exceed 762 Rank and File, they shall revert to their former Constitution (because in that Case the Corps would be too unwieldy for the Purpose of manœuvring with Celerity and Exactness), yet we must remark, that it is by no Means probable that we should be reduced, during the Continuance of the War in Europe, to the Necessity of re-adopting this burthensome Asylum, on the Military Principle suggested; and that the Period at which

 alone

alone such a Necessity is likely to occur, will be the best suited to its favourable and easy Operation.

20. Having resolved, in consequence of the approaching Departure of a Division of our Army towards Madras, to augment our Military Force, we issued Orders for the raising of Six new Battalions; but the Commander in Chief having suggested to us the Expediency of new modelling the native Infantry, and of applying an immediate and effectual Remedy to the Abuses which had crept into the Corps composing this Part of the Army, to the great Detriment of the Service, we thought proper to recal those Orders, and to signify to him, that we were prepared to receive his Sentiments at large upon this important and interesting Subject; when he accordingly presented to us the annexed Propositions, explaining them as far as was requisite, in our Consultations of the 26th ultimo, at which he was present.

21. As the Advantages of the new Sepoy Arrangements, as far as relate to the Purposes of manœuvring and disciplining the Corps, as well as to the Effects which may be produced on the Minds of the Country Powers, by such an apparent Encrease of the Number of Battalions on our Establishment, are fully set forth in General Stibbert's Letter to us of the 31st of October, we beg Leave to refer you to the same for his Arguments on those Heads; which, we are to observe, had their due Weight with us. We must also request of you to seek, in the same Letter, the Reasons adduced by him for abolishing the Office of Native Commandant to the Sepoy Regiments; in the Propriety of which we entirely acquiesced, as well as in the Expediency of the Regulation, directing the Native Adjutants to be made from Jamautdars (instead of Subadars), with a View of preventing these Officers from succeeding to the dangerous Influence and Authority of the Commandants.

22. At the same Time that, in order to the correcting of the Abuses which had crept into the Army, and which were of a Nature tending directly to the Destruction of the Corps composing it, it was become necessary to fix such Checks, and to establish such rigid Rules with Regard to mustering and paying the Sepoys, as should put it totally out of the Power of the commanding Officers of Regiments, to derive any Emoluments from their Corps, and thereby engage their Attention wholly to the disciplining of them; it also became requisite to annex such Rank and Allowances to the Command of these Officers, as suited its Importance and the Length of their Services. For to have entirely excluded them from all Perquisites and Emoluments whatever, without advancing their Rank and Salary, would, supposing it possible to have established such a Regulation, have produced no other Consequence, than that of rendering them to a Man, disaffected to the Service; an Evil that must have necessarily been followed by an universal Relaxation of Discipline, for which the most violent Remedy would, under such Circumstances, be ineffectual.

23. This Danger however is avoided, by granting, as we have done, advanced Rank and Allowances to the Officers commanding Regiments of Sepoys; who no Doubt will, ere long, be reconciled to the Reform; and being disengaged from the Pursuit of other Objects, exert themselves more than ever, in training and disciplining the Corps committed to their Charge.

24 You will be satisfied, on examining the annexed Papers, that notwithstanding the great Encrease of Field Officers and Captains, consequent of the new Arrangements, there will still be an annual Saving on the Whole of near Three Lacks and an Half of Sonat Rupees, after allowing for the actual Encrease of Force gained to the Establishment. But as the Commander in Chief is aware, that exclusive of Pay and Batta, there may be some other Expences incurred by his Regulations, of which he has not taken any Notice, he does not rest their Propriety or Utility on the Head of Saving. He will be satisfied if they should not encrease the Disbursements on the Army Account, and though contrary to Appearances, as well as to his Hope, they should add in a small Measure to the Military Burthen, he assures himself confident, that the beneficial Consequences which will in due Time result from them, will be abundantly more than adequate to the extraordinary Expence they may occasion.

25. It is unnecessary for us to offer any Remarks on the other Parts of the annexed Regulations. We conceive that they will speak for themselves; and we are particularly hopeful, that the prescribed Forms for mustering and paying the Native Troops, will convince you that it was our Design (in these Arrangements) to strike at the Root of every Abuse that could possibly affect either the good Order and Discipline of your Forces, or the Rights of the Native Soldiery.

26. We send you herewith, a Return of the European Infantry and Artillery on this Establishment: It will serve to place before you, in a clear View, the alarming Dispro-

portion

portion of our Strength in Europeans, to the Number of Native Infantry; and at the same Time the Necessity of an early and strong Reinforcement of the former. We have before frequently suggested to you, the Necessity of preserving this Establishment entire; it was particularly submitted to your Attention in one Letter of the 13th October last; and we must now repeat to you, our most earnest Request, that you will give the Subject an early and particular Consideration. Your fixt Establishment of Europeans, even in Time of Peace, is not more than sufficient to give Respect to your Military Forces. In Time of War, it is greatly inferior to its Wants; and when the existing Numbers are below the Establishment, it is our Duty to declare to you, that your Possessions are in Danger of a Ruin as sudden as it may prove irretrievable. The essential Strength of this Country, and the only Strength on which you can depend, is in the Number of Europeans. You are not Strangers to this Fact; and although there is no late Proof, from Experience, of the Truth of the Assertion, it cannot be inferred, from this Instance of our good Fortune, that we may never experience the Reverse.

27. The Sum of Forty-five Lacks of Rupees, to which the First Loan on Bonds, bearing an Interest of eight per Centum per Annum, was restricted by your Resolution of the 2d October last, having been completely subscribed, we have determined to authorize the Receipt of such further Sums into the Treasury as might be tendered to it for like Bonds.

28. The State of our Treasury this Day is as follows:

Ready Money — — — — —	8,17,446	11	9
Bills receivable — — —	1,85,728	2	—
Mint General Treasury — — —	4,80,732	13	—
Unsorted Treasure — — —	6,58,964	14	6
Current Rupees —	21,42,872	9	3

Deduct the Amount of appropriated Sums as follows:

Balance Account Deposits — — —			11,00,900 8 5
Ditto Accomptant General of the Mayor's Court —			1,36,358 4 —
Amount of the old bonded Debt, in which the Interest has ceased by public Advertisement -		79,342 11 10	
Ditto, Ditto, on Account of the Churchwardens, bearing a running Interest, by Order of the Court of Directors — — — —		98,200 — —	
Ditto of the new bonded Debt — —	62,58,651 1 6		
Ditto 4 per Cent. Remitt. Loan -	14,55,550 — —		
Do. Annuit. 1780	94,720 — —		
		78,08,921 1 6	
			79,86 463 13 4
Rupees —			92,23,722 9 9

We have the Honour to be,
Honourable Sirs,
Your most faithful humble Servants,
Warren Hastings,
Edw. Wheler.

Fort William,
7 January 1782.

No. 7.

No. 7.

Fort William, the 4th January, 1781.

Secret Department, Thursday.

At a Council.

PRESENT,

The Honourable Warren Hastings, Governor General, President,
and
Edward Wheler, Esquire.
Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote, absent on Service.

THE Misfortunes which have attended the Company's Arms in the Carnatic, in the War with Hyder Ally, and the Disadvantages which attend the Prosecution of it, requiring that every Aid should be given to the Presidency of Fort St. George, that can possibly be obtained, without too disproportionate a Sacrifice of the Possessions, either of the Nabob or the Company, the following Draft of a Treaty has therefore been formed, with the Advice and Correction of Mr. Ross, the Director of Chinsura; the Expediency of it having been suggested by the late Hostilities which have been committed by Hyder Ally Cawn, upon the Dutch Dependencies at Cochin. The Force actually stationed at and near Cochin, as appears from an Account communicated by Mr. Ross to the Governor General, will very well enable that Government to supply the Proportion both of European Infantry and Artillery, which we chiefly want, and of Maleys, specified in the Treaty, and these may be marched at a very short Notice, and by a very near Rout, into the Carnatic, if the Governors of Columbo and Cochin, on which they depend, will accede to the proposed Treaty. To engage their Assent, which will in such Case involve both in great personal Responsibility, as we understand that they have no regular Powers to bind their Company in such an Act, without the Sanction of the superior Government of Batavia, we have proffered to them much greater Advantages than perhaps are suitable to the common Interest which the Dutch Company have in the War, or than we should be inclined to yield in an equal and formal Negociation; but for this we have no Time; our Necessities require an instant Relief, and the dependent State of those whom we solicit to be the immediate Parties in the Treaty, claims some additional Concessions, both to indemnify them, and to win the Concurrence of their Superiors. It is for this Reason we have agreed to propose the Cession of the Country of Tinnevelly to the Dutch. Its Situation is such, that it may, as we conceive, be separated from the Government of the Carnatic, without either present Embarrassment, or Danger of future Competition; and, from its Contiguity to the Dutch Possessions in Ceylon, will prove a greater Acquisition to them than Loss to the Nabob. His Consent, indeed, is essentially and indispensably necessary to this Article of the Treaty, which on our Part we can only propose; but it is the only Part which he is likely to bear in the War, although the Principal in it; and we have a Right to claim at least this small Return, both for the Hazards which we incur, and the Exertions which we make, for the Support of his Cause; that is their Sacrifice of a minute Portion, and that the most distant of his Dominions, for the Salvation of the Whole.

For all the foregoing Reasons, we have resolved, both on the Substance of the Treaty, as we have constituted it, and on its immediate Execution on our Part; and that it be transmitted, with the Letter entered on the Proceedings of this Day, to the President and Select Committee at Fort Saint George——Other Remarks, upon the Treaty itself, we presume will be unnecessary, as we conceive their Object and Tendency will be obvious.

Proposals for a Treaty of Alliance between the English and Dutch East India Companies, and the Nabob Walla Jab Bahâder.

Whereas the Nabob Hyder Ally Cawn has, without any Cause, invaded the Carnatic Payengaut, and the Possessions of the English East India Company which are situated therein, and attacked the Settlements and Forts of the Dutch East India Company dependent on the Government of Cochin, on the Malabar Coast; whereof it hath become the common Interest of the Nabob Wollajah Bahâder, who is the Sovereign of the Carnatic Payengaut, and of the Two Companies aforesaid, to unite in repelling and defeating the Attempts and Designs of the said Hyder Ally Cawn, the Governor General and Council of Bengal, with the Advice and Suggestion of the Directors for the Management of the Affairs of the Dutch East India Company in Bengal, do propose and offer the following Conditions of a Treaty to the Nabob Wallajah, and to the proper Agents and Representatives of the Dutch East India Company aforesaid; hereby declaring them to be, from the Time in which the said Conditions shall receive the Seals and Signatures of the other Parties to this Treaty, binding on the Governor General and Council, and on all the Governments and Dependencies of the English East India Company, in virtue of the Seal of the Company, and the Signatures of the Governor General and Council herein first prefixed, viz.

Article the First.

The Governments of Columbo and Cochin shall engage to provide and assign for the Quota of the Dutch East India Company in the War with Hyder Ally Cawn, at or near Cochin, a disciplined Force, consisting of not less than One thousand European Infantry, Two hundred European Artillery, and One thousand Malays, with their Complement of Officers, not exceeding the Rank of Captains, it being understood and agreed, that all the Officers of a superior Rank shall either be furnished by the President and Council of Fort Saint George, or appointed by Commissions from them. These Forces shall be delivered over to the Charge of such Officer or Officers as shall be appointed by the President and Council of Fort Saint George to receive them; who shall for that Purpose proceed to Cochin, to receive Charge and Command of the same; and from that Time the said Forces shall remain subject to the general Authority and Command of the Commander in Chief of the English Forces, in like Manner as the English Forces in India are subject to his Command, until the Conclusion of the War, whether by the final Conquest of the Dominions of Hyder Ally Cawn, or by Peace concluded with him, and their Redelivery, in Consequence thereof, to their original and proper Government; and their Pay, according to the Rates at which they are paid in the Service of the Dutch East India Company, together with all Expences of the Field or Garrison, shall be at the Charge of the English East India Company, from the Day on which they are transferred to the English Command, until the Day of their Return, and Re-delivery at Cochin, or such other Place as shall be mutually appointed for that Purpose.

Article the Second.

In Consideration of the Assistance granted in the Manner stipulated in the preceding Article, besides their Pay and Expence, which are to be defrayed by the Governor General and Council on the Part of the English East India Company, it is proposed and recommended by the Governor General and Council to the Nabob Wallajah Bahader, that he shall on his Part grant and assign, by proper Sunnuds, to the Dutch East India Company, his Right and Property in the Province or District of Tinnevelly, together with the exclusive Right in the Pearl Fishery of all the Coast lying to the South of Remiseram, to the Dutch East Company; who shall be permitted to take Possession thereof from the Day on which this Treaty shall receive its final Ratification, without any Let or Impediment on the Part of his Aumils or Officers, of whatever Denomination; and the said Province or District shall remain the Property of the Dutch East India Company for ever.

Article the Third.

It shall be allowable to the Government of the Dutch East India Company at Cochin, to carry on any separate Operations against the common Enemy with their own Forces, and

and to make Conquests of any Lands or Countries adjacent to Cochin, and to keep Possession of the same without any Claim of Participation on the Part of the Nabob Wallajah Bahader, or of the English East India Company.

Article the Fourth.

If a further Aid of Troops shall be required from the Dutch East India Company, for the Maintenance of the War, they shall engage to furnish the same so soon as they can be obtained from the supreme Government at Batavia, on the same Terms and in the same Manner as are stipulated in the First Article.

Article the Fifth.

This Treaty being first executed in the Manner above mentioned by the Governor General and Council of Bengal, for and on Behalf of the English East India Company, shall be next tendered to the Nabob Wallajah Bahader, for his Acceptance and Ratification; and having received the same, it shall be forwarded to the Governments of Columbo and Cochin, that it may, in like Manner, receive their Assent and final Ratification, without any Addition, Diminution, or Alteration whatsoever, to be made either by the Nabob Wallajah Bahader, or by the Government of Columbo and Cochin.

Ordered, That the Treaty above proposed be copied fair, and that it be circulated by the Secretary to the Members of the Board for Execution.

Agreed, That Mr. James Dighton be appointed Agent on the Part of the Governor General and Council on this Occasion, with the usual Allowances; that he be entrusted with the Care of our Dispatches to Fort Saint George, and recommended to the President and Select Committee, to be employed by them to proceed with the Treaty and Letters written to Columbo and Cochin, together with such other Dispatches as they may have Occasion to add to those Governments.

The Governor General lays before the Board the Draft of a Letter which he has prepared to his Highness the Nabob of the Carnatic.

To his Highness the Nabob Wallajah, &c. &c. &c.

May it please your Highness,

The very critical Situation in which the Affairs of your Highness are at present involved, by the Invasion of the Carnatic by Hyder Ally Cawn; the Disgrace which the British Arms have lately sustained on the Coast, and the consequent Necessity of every vigourous Exertion on your Part, not only to recover what has been lost, but to preserve what remains; are Points too closely connected with your Highness's Interest and Prosperity, to require many Arguments to enforce them.

From these Circumstances, which alone I conceive to be of sufficient Weight, but which derive greater Force from the Obligations your Highness is under to the Company, for the Benefit of their Protection and Assistance upon repeated Occasions, I cannot but entertain Hopes that your Highness will readily and cheerfully co-operate with us in any Plan which may be proposed for the common Advantage, and for the more successfully defeating the ambitious Designs of Hyder Ally Cawn. Especially when you reflect how much has been already done by this Government, and in how short a Space of Time, from the First Intelligence of the late heavy Disaster which has befallen our Arms on the Coast, to redeem, as far as it is in our Power, the national Credit, and with it to retrieve the particular Loss which your Highness has suffered; and the great Sacrifice we have made in relinquishing the Prosecution of the Maratta War, almost in the Moment when we had reason to expect, from the Successes which have attended it, that it would have speedily terminated in an honourable and advantageous Peace. Relying, therefore, upon the Effect which I doubt not these Considerations will produce on the Mind of your Highness, I proceed to acquaint you, that in consequence of the Information which has long since been received, of the Hostilities and Depredations committed by Hyder Ally Cawn, on the Territories belonging to the Dutch, at or adjacent to Cochin; and his late Invasion of the Carnatic, by which the Safety of your Possessions is endangered, equally with those of the Company; we have prepared the Draft of a Treaty of Alliance between the English and Dutch East India Companies and yourself; and having first tendered it for Approval to Mr. Ross, Director and Governor of the Dutch East India Company in Bengal, and obtained his Concurrence, we have affixed our Seals and Signatures to it, de-

declaring it to be binding on us, and have requested the President and Select Committee at Fort Saint George, to present it to your Highness for your Assent and Ratification, with an Apology for having introduced your Name into the Treaty, without the previous Sanction of your Authority; but as the Step would have required too tedious a Process, and would have opened a Channel of Negociation and Correspondence, by which the Ends proposed by the Treaty, which are immediate Assistance, would have been defeated; your Highness will perceive the Impossibility of an Application of this Sort, which otherwise that proper Respect and Attention which is due to your Highness would most certainly suggested. When the Treaty has been approved of and signed by your Highness, it will be transmitted to the Governments of Columbo and Cochin, for their final Ratification. Depending that your Highness, from your firm Alliance with, and Friendship for, the East India Company, and from the Confidence which you repose in them, will contribute cheerfully your Assistance, in the Manner and on the Terms which have been stated in the Treaty, I will conclude with wishing an Increase of Health and Prosperity to your Highness.

Agreed, to the Draft of the Letter proposed by the Governor General, and ordered that it be translated.

Agreed, that the following Letters be written to the Governors of Columbo and Cochin, and to the superior Government of Batavia.

To the Governor of Columbo.

Honourable Sir,

Having long since received Information of the Hostilities and Depredations committed by Hyder Ally Cawn on the Dutch Territories, at or adjacent to Cochin; and taking into our Consideration, the Circumstance of his being at present in open War against them, together with the Necessity of repelling his ambitious Designs upon the Carnatic, which involve your State equally with those of the Nabob Wallajah, and the English Company; we have prepared the Draft of a Treaty of Alliance between the English and Dutch East India Companies, and the Nabob Wallajah Bahader, upon such Terms as we trust will be accepted by you and the Governor of Cochin; having first tendered it to the Perusal of Mr. Ross, Director and Governor of the Dutch East India Company in Bengal, and obtained his Approval of it; and as the evident Advantage to be derived to the Dutch Company, from the Ratification of the Treaty on your Parts, must free you from every Apprehension of Responsibility to the superior Government at Batavia, for having acceded to it without the previous Sanction of their Authority, the Obstacle which might otherwise have been allowed Weight, will by this Means be removed.

The same Reason which prevented us from making an Application direct to Batavia, will be sufficient to evince the Impossibility of its entering into a Correspondence with your Government and that of Cochin, on the Subject, since in both Cases the Time which would be required for receiving an Answer respecting the Ratification of the Treaty, would have defeated the Ends of it, which are, immediate Assistance.

We have, therefore, for the greater Dispatch, affixed our Seals and Signatures to the Treaty, declaring it to be binding on us, and on all the Dependencies of the English East India Company, and have transmitted it to the President and Select Committee at Fort Saint George, requesting them to tender it to the Nabob for his Assent; and as soon as the Nabob shall have made himself a subscribing Party to it, that it may be forwarded with all possible Expedition to you; depending, that when the true Interest of your Nation is provided for so materially, you will not be the Cause of a Moment's Delay in the Execution of it.

We have the Honour to be, &c.

The same to the Governor of Cochin.

To Batavia.

To the Superior Government at Batavia.

Honourable Sirs,

In consequence of the Information which we have long since received of the Hostilities and Depredations committed by Hyder Ally Cawn on the Dutch Territories, at or adjacent to Cochin, and his late Invasion of the Carnatic, by which the Safety of your Possessions in that Part of the World is endangered equally with our own; and in consideration

sideration of the Necessity of a mutual Co-operation to repel the Designs of so ambitious an Enemy, we have prepared the Draft of a Treaty of Alliance between the English and Dutch East India Companies; and the Nabob Wallajah Bahader having first tendered it for Approval to Mr. Ross, Director and Governor of the Dutch East India Company in Bengal, and obtained his Concurrence in consideration of the Terms of it being so favourable to your Company; and we have now, to prevent Delay, dispatched it to the President and Select Committee at Fort Saint George, with our Seals and Signatures affixed, together with a Declaration, that it shall be binding on our Parts; and we have further requested, as soon as the Consent of the Nabob Wallajah shall have been obtained to the Treaty, that it may be forwarded with all possible Expedition to the Governments of Columbo and Cochin, for their final Ratification and Concurrence. As the Time which would be required for receiving an Answer from you respecting the Ratification of the Treaty would have defeated the Ends of it, which are immediate Assistance, the Impossibility of a previous Application for this Purpose will, we trust, be sufficiently evident, and apologize for our having Recourse to the only Method which could be effectual in so critical a Conjuncture, that of forwarding it to the Governments of Columbo and Cochin, who, we doubt not, will obtain your Approbation for having subscribed to a Treaty in which the manifest Advantages to your State will free them from every Share of Responsibility.

Fort William, the 4th January 1781, We have the Honour to be, &c. &c. &c.

Ordered, That Copies of the above Letters of the proposed Treaty, and of the Letter from the Governor General to the Nabob, be prepared for the Perusal of the Gentlemen at Fort Saint George, and that a Letter be written to them as follows:

To the Honourable Charles Smith, Esquire, President, &c. Select Committee, Fort Saint George.

Honourable Sir and Sirs,

Having long since received Information of the Hostilities and Depredations committed by Hyder Ally Cawn on the Territories belonging to the Dutch, at or adjacent to Cochin; and taking into Consideration the Circumstance of his being at present engaged in open War against them, together with the Necessity of defeating his ambitious Designs upon the Carnatic, and preserving, as far as in us lies, the Possessions of the Company and the Nabob; we have, with the Advice and Suggestion of Mr. Ross, Director and Governor of the Dutch East India Company in Bengal, prepared the Draft of a Treaty of Alliance between the English and Dutch East India Companies, and the Nabob Wallajah Bahader, upon such Terms as we have every Reason to hope will be accepted. But as the Time which would be required for receiving an Answer from the superior Government of Batavia, respecting its Ratification of, and final Assent to the Treaty, would entirely frustrate the Ends of it, which are immediate Assistance, we have resolved to make our Application direct to the Governments of Columbo and Cochin, for which Purpose we have affixed our Seals and Signatures to the Treaty, declaring it to be binding on our Parts; and we request, that on the Receipt of it, you will use all possible Expedition in dispatching it to those Governments, having first tendered it to the Nabob, and obtained his Assent to it. You will be pleased to accompany this Tender with an Apology for the Nabob, from us, for having introduced his Name into the Treaty without the Sanction of his Approbation; but as this Step would have been attended with too tedious a Process, and would have opened a Channel for Negociation and Correspondence, which would have impeded the instant Execution of the Measure proposed, upon which, in this critical Moment, so much depends, we trust he will perceive the Impossibility of our previous Application to him, which otherwise a proper Attention and Respect to him would not have suffered us to omit.

In the Event of a Refusal on the Part of the Nabob, we desire you will represent, in the strongest Terms to him, the Nature of his Situation, and the indispensable Obligation he is under of making common Cause with the Company, less to secure their Possessions than his own, from the Encroachments of the Enemy; that his very Existence is now at Stake; that he is more a Principal in the War than ourselves; that it is not by any Means which can be furnished by him, or by any Resources or Treasure of his, that the Carnatic is to be saved and defended, but by the Wealth of Bengal, and the Blood of British Subjects sacrificed in its Service; that therefore we expect his Assent to the Treaty, and urge it as a just Claim which we have upon him, in Return for the Protection which he has experienced at our Hands.

We

We shall wait to hear the Result of your Application; not doubting that, from Motives of Policy and Necessity, as well as Justice, he will accede to the Terms which we have offered in his Name.

We have appointed Mr. James Deighton to be the Bearer of our Dispatches, and have entrusted to his Care a Copy of the Letter addressed by the Governor General to the Nabob separately; together with Copies of the Letters to the Governor of Columbo and Cochin, for your Inspection; and we request that he may be employed to proceed with the Treaty and Letters, together with such other Dispatches as you may have Occasion to add to the Governments of Columbo and Cochin.

We rely upon your Zeal and Activity in this Business, and depend on receiving every necessary Information as early as it is in your Power.

We have the Honour to be,
&c. &c. &c.

Fort William, 4th January, 1781.

Warren Hastings.
Edwd. Wheler.

No. 8.

Extract of Postscript of Letter from the Select Committee at Fort Saint George, to the Court of Directors, dated the 12th January, 1781.

WE have particularly attended to his Majesty's Order in Council, dated the 17th of last April, relative to the Line he has been graciously pleased to take with the United Provinces; and shall be cautious to avoid becoming Aggressors in any Act against the Subjects of the Republic in India: at the same Time that we shall vigilantly guard against any Consequences which may eventually arise from the Measures which his Majesty has been under the Necessity of adopting.

Extract of Letter from the President and Select Committee at Fort Saint George, to the Court of Directors, dated 17th February 1781.

Par. 15. Alarmed at the Situation to which it was reported in Bengal we were reduced, and desirous, in every Event, that our whole Influence should not be lost in the Carnatic, the Governor General and Council conceive it of Importance, that a Treaty should be concluded with the Dutch Government of Ceylon and that of Cochin; whereby 1000 European Military, 200 Artillery, and 1000 Malays, to be paid by us, were to be brought to our Assistance by the Dutch, for the entire and perpetual Cession of the Tinnevelly Countries, and the exclusive Right to the Pearl Fishery; both of them estimated at about 35 Lacks of Rupees per Annum; and, that no Time should be lost by Negociation, they furnished us with a Treaty, ratified on their Part, and desired that we would prevail upon the Nabob to conclude it finally, by giving it the Sanction of his Signature and Seal.

16. A Scheme of Assistance from the Dutch, on certain Conditions, was some Months ago indirectly intimated to us; but although we did not totally lay aside the Consideration of it, we were well aware of some weighty Objections to which it appeared liable. The great additional Expence that such a Number of Troops would amount to, seemed alone sufficient to deter us from listening to the Proposal; and, even were that Impediment obviated, the Sum which would be required might, we were of Opinion, be employed to much more Advantage, by entertaining a Body of Cavalry; the Want of which had already been severely felt. But this was not the only Difficulty which occurred; the Disgrace that would probably attend such a Measure, in the Opinion

nion of the Country Powers, as well as the Danger to which our Affairs might in the Course of the War be exposed, through the Intrigues of so extraordinary and enterprizing a Character as Hyder Ally. There were such powerful Arguments against the Measure, that even such a Body of Troops have been ready to join our Army at a short Notice; and a Junction with them rendered certain, it was by no means clear that our Situation, distressing as it then was, would have warranted an Acquiescence on our Part.

17. These having been our Sentiments when the Posture of Affairs wore so very unfavourable an Aspect, we should have held ourselves highly reprehensible, were we in any Manner to have promoted the Ratification of the Treaty, at a Time when, from the spirited and prudent Conduct of General Sir Eyre Coote, your Affairs on this Coast were experiencing the most happy and favourable Turn; and, not to mention the good Effects to be expected from the Operations of General Goddard on the Malabar Coast, when the Approach of the respectable Body that is coming from Bengal, would probably work so material a Change in our Affairs, as to put it in our Power to act, and we doubt not with Effect, upon the offensive.

18. The Revenues of the Southern Provinces likewise, being almost the only Resources left to the Nabob, and his Highness having assigned them over to your Use, reserving only to himself such Part as should be necessary for his Houshold Expences; and as these form the most considerable Part of what we are to receive for carrying on the War, the making them over in Perpetuity to the Dutch, would be to deprive ourselves of the only probable Means we had left in the Carnatic, independent of which His Majesty's Declaration in Council, of the 17th April 1780, relative to the Subjects of the States General, rendered the giving them the Opportunity of acquiring an undue Influence in this Country; a Measure both highly impolitic and detrimental to your Affairs.

Supplemental

Supplemental Appendix *to the* Second Report.

No. 1.

Mr. Sadlier's Letter to Sir Thomas Rumbold, from Masulipatam, explaining the probable Consequences of summoning the Zemindars to the Presidency.—Dated 5th May, 1778.

To the Honourable Thomas Rumbold, Esquire, Governor of Fort Saint George.

Dear Sir,

BY my long Silence, I fear you may conclude I have been slack in my Promise, of giving you regularly the Information you might have expected. However much Appearances are against me, I trust the present Letter will remove such Impressions.—I have always had in Mind how much at Heart you seemed to have the coming of the Zemindars; and my utmost Endeavours have been used to facilitate your Wish, but less sanguine than you appear, of the Eligibility of undertaking suddenly great Reformation of System, and aware of the Difficulties in which you may be involved. As I could not, consistently with the warm Support Gratitude and Inclination prompt me, flatter you of the immediate Success of your Measures, I thought best to be silent, and not awake Distrust in you, till a full and complete State of the Settlement and our Situation were sent you:——Such is now compleated, and goes this Night from the Council.

If it had pleased you to have reposed Confidence in me, and apprised me of the State of the Settlement previous to my Departure from Madras, and intrusted to me after I would have communicated to you my Opinion on your Plan, and the Time fittest for its being undertaken, possibly our Treasury might have been replenished, and the Scheme forwarded. But having, previous to my Knowledge of your Intention, written to the Zemindars, I found my Influence, and the Influence of the Board here, annulled, and nothing to be done till you have the Zemindars with you, or till this Government are invested with their usual Authority.

The Zemindars having now consented to proceed to Madras, in Consequence of the Order sent to them, enforced by us, with every Mark of Submission and Obedience becoming our Station ——After giving the Subject referred to you its due Consideration, and satisfying yourself how the Calls on us for Money here are to be supplied, I humbly think

think no Time should be lost, in compelling the Zemindars Attendance at the Presidency, that you should even fix a Day for their Departure, and empower us here to enforce it with Sepoys.—The apparent Violence in such Measure ought not to deter you, as it commonly requires such an Exertion to get them from their respective Countries here, and when here, frequently in use to attain the End of Government in fulfilling their Engagements.

I have now the Pleasure to enclose you the necessary Statements requisite for a Compleat Knowledge of our Finances; viz.

No. 1. Compleat View of the Annual Zemabundy, and Amount of Kists to be accounted for at this Period.
2. Nett Balances now owing and unaccounted for of the present Year's Zemabundy, including Balances of the last Kists of the last Year.
3. An Account Kists due 31st August next, in full of Zemabundy, to 25th September.
4. Balances owing by Renters, in which is specified the Parts received since the 13th April last.
5. Particulars of the Soucars Bills now in Hand.
6. Account Money said by the Soucar to be owing them by the Zemindars.

Which Accounts will inform you of the Money owing and to be received to the 25th September next, or Expiration of the Year Phazula 1187, amounting to Six Lack and near Eighty thousand Pagodas.—The Payment of which Money will fall chiefly on Tripety Rauze of Muglatore, Juggapetty Rauze of Pedapore, Row Vencato Row of Pettapore, Opparow, and Ramchundra Rauze.—It is therefore proper to say something of these Men's Circumstances respectively.

Tripety Rauze, to the present Time, is a Man who has always punctually fulfilled his Engagements to the Company, is said to be a good and able Manager of his Country, well versed in Business, and at little Expence for Sibbendy.—Has been extremely useful to the Company's Revenue, in aiding different Chiefs to settle the Zemabundy, by substituting himself Security for Zemindars, who otherwise could not have found it; and has hitherto preserved great Influence among the Zemindars, in concluding the Company's Business.—He is said to have lost considerably by the Countries under his Management, for which he became Security; and has paid on this Account what Money he may have saved by his former good Management. At present he is much in Arrears to his Soucars and others; and the Failure of Payment of Narsanah Naik is imputed to this Cause.—Tripety Rauze's Intention was, I believe, to have changed his Soucar; to have let the Balance owing him remain till his Circumstances bore a better Aspect; and by this Manoeuvre might have settled his Affairs for the present with the Company.—Thus embarrassed as he now is, I know not how he can conclude his Affairs to your Satisfaction at Madras.

Opparow's Country has long been in the Management of other Hands; Three Pursgannahs of it under Tripety Rauze, and the Remainder under Messrs. Hodges and Pringle.——It is said to be a fine Country, capable of discharging its Tribute, when properly managed; but Opparow not thought equal to the Undertaking, being given up to Indolence, and pleased with the Name of a large Sibbendy; His Affairs were neglected, and unnecessary Expences incurred.——No Hope of this Man, if left to himself, settling by Soucars; nor do I see a Prospect of Prosperity to his Country, or Security to the Company, but by Sequestration, under the Management of proper Persons: And from his Conduct last Year, there is Reason to believe he will continue satisfied with the Produce of his Land Customs, for his Maintenance and Expences, until his Country has paid off the heavy Debts it is now liable to, and he can be established on the Footing he before enjoyed.

Juggapety Rauze has the Name of being able to settle his Affairs with the Company, according to the usual Mode, either here or at Madras; but seems to assume much, from the Name his Family have had of First Zemindar, and the Deference others shew him on that Account.—Knowing the pressing Occasions of the Company, he wishes to take Advantage of it; and before he will consent to give Bills, intends, as a Preliminary, to have settled Disputes which have long subsisted between his Family and that of Row Vencata Row.—It is said a close Connection has taken place between him and Sitteram Rauze; that Vackeels and Correspondence are in Use between them; and from this Man's Influence, I must remark here, that I have Cause to imagine an Intrigue on Foot between the Zemindars of the Chicacole District, Juggernaut Rauze, Sitteram

 Rauze,

Rauze, &c. and those of these Countries.—This should be discouraged, and may cause a Combination of the Whole of the Zemindars to distress and embarrass your Plan.—To overcome such Confederacy, you might settle the Affairs of the different Districts separately and at different Times, and not hazard the Effects of Intrigue, by bringing the Whole of them together.

Row Vencata Row, by Grants obtained of Mr. Whitehill, has his Country in Prospect of prosperous Cultivation, by the present Allotment of Water; which Allotment Juggapatty Rauze loudly complains of, and wants reversed. This Man's Soucar has paid up all his Kists; and I fancy his Credit such, that a Renewal of Agreement in the usual Mode may be effected.

Ramchundra Rauze has Claim to the Cotah Country; and has represented to us his Pretensions of Right.—At present, the Cotah Country is in Charge of a Tonadar for the Company.—He wishes, before he gives Bills for his Kists, to have this Matter decided; after which he may be able to settle his Business in the usual Way.

Codanı Ram and Vassereddy Ramanah have always been punctual in the Performance of their Engagements to the Company, and may be expected to continue so.

To such Letters as were written the Zemindar's, the Answers leave me entirely ignorant of the Mode by which they expect to manage their Affairs at Madras; nor am I able to give you other Account than Conjecture, of the Prospect of their doing it to your Satisfaction.—What I have said is my Opinion of their Circumstances; and the Conclusion to be drawn from it must now be submitted to yourself. When they are at Madras, I am humbly of Opinion you should first insist on their finding Security for the Money now owing, before you think of interfering in the Differences and Dissentions existing among them. It will be their Endeavour, and you will find them obstinately bent on it, to have these Matters settled previously.

In order to shew how anxious I have been to accomplish your Wish, and assist in its Success, I send you Copy of a Minute I read to the Council, and intending recording; but reflecting that any apparent Violence, in the Execution of Orders of so delicate a Nature might be liable to Misrepresentation, and the Intention misconstrued, I withdrew it.—The Council nevertheless would have concurred with me; and here I beg Leave to inform you, that all of them have afforded me publicly such Support as was proper and becoming their Situation.

By the Estimate of probable Receipts and monthly Disbursements, sent the Board, you will find we have Hope of receiving very little; and our Disbursements, no less than 33,000 Pagodas monthly; besides which, we owe the 31st March last, to the Soubah, Pagodas 77,922, on Account of his Tribute; which Sum is increasing Monthly, at the Rate of Pagodas 10,822 ½. The Payment of the last Money was compleated by the Soucars only a few Days since; a Delay which occasioned the Soubah, by one of his People, to write Vencata Royloo, as you will perceive by Translate of the Letter now sent.

It becomes an Object of your most serious Attention, in case the Zemindars proceed, as at present is intended, to find Means by which our Treasury may be supplied; the most valuable Part of the Company's Investment depends on it: and the Zemindars, with-holding as they do Assistance of any Kind, leave little Hopes of Resources in ourselves; for whatever may appear due, such is the State of Credit, and such the Uncertainty of Payment, I do not at this Hour know where I can apply with Certainty for the smallest Sums; and all I expect to be able to do, will barely furnish the Demands of the present Month, independent of our Silver, which may amount to about a Lack of Rupees, to be sold to great Loss, the Exchange being now near 400 P S. Pagodas—Miscarriage in any of the Affairs dependent on this Settlement, may therefore be imputed to the Change of System, and what Disappointments ensue, justified by the Council here on this Plea, and all Misfortunes incident to it imputed to your Board.

If too, by improper Management heretofore, Deficiency in Payment of the Kists now due, and the Revenue of this Country, according to its present Settlement, should happen, may not the Cause, by its Effect of giving the first Shock, too common and long justified Credit in the Mode of Security in these Countries, be also ascribed to the present Plan? In short, if it happens that the Settlement, by bad Seasons, and Causes alleged by the Zemindars, is on the Decline, would it not be prudent to leave the Government, charged hitherto with full Responsibility, to justify its Measures, to work out its own Misfortunes, and bear the Censure it deserves? are Questions, with Deference, I submit to your better Judgment.

The Period of Settlement by Mr. Floyer, expires the 25th September next; a new Zemabundy must then be agreed on; that Time or October may be better suited, and the People

People better prepared to visit the Presidency. In Case then no Change is intended in the present Settlement, such Season may be equally convenient for the Company for a future Plan; and the Board here, by being left to accomplish present Payments, may possibly at that Time have its Treasury in a State to answer its Exigencies, and the Plan proceed without Inconvenience.—I am led to these Observations, from a sincere Wish to promote the Success of your Measures; and stimulated by such Motives, led to a Freedom of Remark I would not have used, but to the Person whose Honour and Success highly interests me; I trust therefore I shall not have given Offence: You have now (if you think the Subject deserves it) but to afford it due Consideration, and signify your further Wishes to ensure in me an arduous Desire to second them, by the most implicit Obedience to your further Commands.

The present Letter is meant a private one, but whatever Observations concern the Public, may be used as you have Occasion.

I have the Honour to remain most respectfully,
My dear Sir,
Your faithful and most
obliged humble Servant,
Anth. Sadlier.

Masulipatam,
5th May 1778.

No. 2.

Captain Johnston, of the Granby, examined.

I SAILED from Britain 7th March 1779—went to Madras—arrived there the 18th of January 1780—Sir Thomas Rumbold was Governor—I remained there Five Months, and sailed about the 18th of June, and went to China—touched at Mallacca in my Way—arrived in China about 29th August 1780.

Did you carry any Treasure from Madras to China?

Yes, I did.

Was it belonging to the Company, or Individuals?

To Individuals—Sir Thomas Rumbold some of it—I had 8000 Pagodas for him—I delivered them to Mr. Bradshaw—there were no other Specie or Effects belonging to Sir Thomas Rumbold—His Attornies, Messrs. Oakley and Procter, applied to me to take it on board—Sir Thomas had quitted Madras—the Application was made to me about Fourteen Days before I sailed—the Treasure was not regularly entered in the Books where other Effects were entered—a Bill of Lading was given for it—I had besides this, about Thirty thousand Pagodas belonging to other Individuals—some to Mr. Cuthbert; I don't recollect the other—none belonged to either the Governor or Council, except the above of Sir Thomas Rumbold's; nor any Goods upon Freight.—I had some Cotton and Pepper belonging to other—no Jewels nor Pearls—the Seahorse Man of War sailed in Company, and was Convoy to the Ships, and had Money and Jewels on board to a large Amount as I understood from Captain Panton—the Treasure did not belong to the Company, but to Individuals.

Do you know to whom?

I heard from Captain Panton, that 16,000 Pagodas belonged to Sir Thomas Rumbold—In Conversation with Captain Panton on board my Ship, he asked me what Quantity of Pagodas I had of Sir Thomas Rumbold's? I told him 8000; and his Reply was, that he had double the Number belonging to Sir Thomas Rumbold—Five of the Company's Ships and the Seahorse sailed together—Captain Panton did not mention who the other Property in his Ship belonged to.

There were Fifteen or Sixteen Country Ships at China the Year I was there—I don't know they carried any Treasure, as they generally carry Cargoes belonging to different Persons, the Produce whereof they generally pay into the different Treasuries in China.

Withdrew.

Captain Parker, of the Bridgewater, examined.

I left Britain the 12th of February 1780—went to Madras—arrived there the 23d of July—remained there Twenty three Days—went from thence to China—arrived at Macao the 2d of August—sailed from China the 2d of February 1781, and arrived at Spithead the 12th of October.

Did you carry any Treasure from Madras to China?

I did.

Was it Public, or belonging to Individuals?

It belonged to myself and Richard Lewin, who was a Second Mate in the Company's Service—a little for an Armenian—Mr. Lewin's was about 8 or 9000 Pagodas—I had none other—I delivered Mr Lewin's Property into the Company's Cash at China—Mr. Bradshaw did it for me—I had nothing belonging to the Governor, Council, or any of the Civil Servants of the Company.

Withdrew.

Captain Montgomery, of the Besborough, examined.

I sailed from Britain July 15th 1777—went to Madras—carried out Sir Thomas Rumbold—arrived at Madras 8th February 1778—staid there about 14 Days—went from thence to Bombay—arrived there April 30th, and left it 12th July—Went back to Madras—arrived there the 29th July—sailed August 6th to join Sir Edward Vernon at Pondicherry—arrived there 11th—quitted him the 21st of October, and went to Madras again, and arrived there the 4th of November 1778—proceeded from thence the 19th to Bengal—arrived there the 31st December—sailed from thence the 24th of February 1779, and arrived at Madras the Fourth Time, the 16th of March 1779—from Madras I went the 23d of March to Bombay, and touched at several Places on the Coast, and arrived on June 17th—I sailed from thence 23d September, and returned to Bengal again, arrived there the 1st of November—left Bengal the 9th of January 1780, and arrived at Madras the 5th Time, the 21st of the same Month—I went from thence the 10th February—went to Pondicherry, where I arrived the 11th, to take in Sepoys for Surat—I arrived at Surat with 400 Sepoys the 19th of April—remained there Three Days—went to Bombay, and arrived there the 23d of April 1780—sailed from thence the 2d of July for Madras—arrived there the 6th Time, the 15th of the same Month—staid there till the 1st of August, when I sailed for China—arrived there the 16th of September—staid there till the 2d of February 1781, and arrived in the Downs the 20th of October.

Had you any Treasure or Jewels on board, to carry to Bengal, Bombay, or any other Parts of India, during the Coasting Voyages, mentioned in the First Part of your Evidence?

I had some Treasure—it was Public Treasure—I had some private, but can't remember for whom—it was a little.

When you last sailed from Madras to China had you any Treasure on board?

I had some private Treasure on Freight, *viz* Mr. Taswell 7,551 Pagodas, Mr Cuthbert 5,000, and Mr. Brodie 2,000 Pagodas, in all, 14,551 Pagodas—there was none belonging to the Governor or Council.

Withdrew.

Captain Blanshard, of the York, examined.

I left Britain the 12th of February 1780—went to Madras—arrived there the 23d of July—staid there 22 or 23 Days—sailed for China the 14th of August—arrived there the 9th of October, and sailed from thence the 2d of February.

Had you any Treasure on board when you went from Madras to China?

Yes, about 6 or 7,000 Pagodas, Part belonging to De Castro, a Jew, on Freight for China—it was delivered to Silvester Rose—1,500 of the Pagodas belonging to Mr. Young, and the Remainder to a Person, who I believe was an Armenian—I had none belonging to the Governor, Council, or Servants of the Company—the Whole belonged to Free Merchants.—I brought Home no Treasure from China to England—the London and Bridgewater sailed for England with me—I carried no Cargo from Madras to China for any one but myself—some Red Wood.

Withdrew.

Captain

Captain Wakefield, of the Lascelles, examined.

I left Britain the 13th of February 1780—went to Madras—arrived there the 29th of June—sailed from thence the 1st of August for China—arrived there the 11th of September—sailed from thence the 2d of February 1781, and arrived in the Downs the 12th of October.

Had you any Treasure or Jewels on board, when you went from Madras to China?

Yes, Treasure belonging to private Persons—about 16,000 Pagodas belonging to different People—9000 for Messrs. De Castro—5000 Mr Jones—Danish Company 1850—a Black Merchant 485 Ditto; in all, 16,335 Pagodas—I had none on Account of any of the Gentlemen of the Council at Madras.

Withdrew.

Thomas Bevan, Esquire, attending according to Order, was called in, and examined.

I was Second in the Select Committee appointed at the End of 1778, for China—I sailed the 6th or 7th of March 1779—I arrived there the 3d or 4th of October in the same Year, on board the Company's Ship the Worcester—We have Money tendered to us private, as well as Servants of the Company, from all Parts of India, which is admitted into the Company's Cash—I came Home in the last Ships—I left Canton the last Day of January 1781.

Had you Opportunity to know of any considerable Remittances of Individuals from Madras to China?

Yes; there were several Remittances from Individuals—we never ask whose Property it is, only the Name of the Person to whom they wish to have it remitted—the Cash paid in, is not always belonging to the Person who pays it in.

Have you any Knowledge of Money being sent by Country Ships?

I have heard so, but we don't take any Account of Country Ships—we have no Concern with them—they sometimes pay into the Company's Cash, and sometimes to Foreigners.

Have you any Knowledge of large Sums being paid by British Subjects into Foreign Treasuries?

It is frequently done, and should be put a Stop to if possible—that is a difficult Matter, it must be done from hence, and would be a Benefit to the Company.

Can you give any Account of the State of the Demands of private Persons on the Chinese Merchants?

Refers to the Book of private Debts, with particular Account of all private Debts due to British Subjects by the Merchants, Subjects of China; and also, the Application made by Captain Panton, of the Seahorse—and the Transactions between the Committee and Chinese Government.—

We never made Application for the Names of the Principals—the Agents gave an Account of the Amount of the Debts, but not the Names of the Principals.—I discovered the Names of some of those from the Chinese, but by their Mode of expressing themselves could not make out all, and that is the Meaning of the Blanks in the Diary—they are not many.

Do you know of any specific Sum remitted by or on Account of any Individuals, from Madras or Bengal?

I do not, of my own Knowledge.

The Committee were forbid at my last going out, from receiving any private Commissions of any Sort—all private Commissions were permitted to be received by the Gentlemen under the Select Committee jointly, not separately; but I never, from my First Employment, near Thirty Years ago, received any private Commercial Commission, from which I derived any Emolument.

The Court of Directors permitted, before I came to England in 1773, the receiving private Commissions by their Servants—they afterwards revoked it; now I understand every Gentleman under them in China, is permited to receive private Consignments.

Withdrew.

Mr. John Farrington Butterfield, Purser of the Earl of Sandwich, a Company's Ship, examined.

We sailed from England 17th June 1779, for Madras—arrived there 18th January 1780—went from thence for China 18th June 1780—the Seahorse Man of War, and Four

Four other Indiamen, went in Company with us—we arrived in China the 1st of September

Did you carry any Treasure from Madras to China?

Yes.

To what Amount?

We had less than any Ship, what we had mostly belonged to Passengers—some small Matter from Armenians, and some from a Jew House—the Seahorse carried a great deal of Money—we had under 30,000 Pagodas on board our Ship—can't say the Particulars—the Man of War had 3 per Cent. and we had but 1 per Cent. Freight.

Withdrew.

Mr. George Blachford called in, and examined.

I was Chief Officer on board the Sandwich—we sailed from England in June 1779—went to Madras—arrived there in January 1780—sailed from Madras about July 1780, for China, where we arrived the Middle of September—the Seahorse Man of War and Four Indiamen sailed with us.

Do you know of any Treasure carried on board your Ship from Madras to China?

A little—can't tell exactly—don't know of my own Knowledge what Treasure there was on board—I don't know of any Money being on board the other Ships.

Withdrew.

Matthew Raper, Esq; was called in, and examined.

I was Supercargo—went out in 1767, the first Time—returned, and went out in 1768, and remained in China till the Return of the last Fleet—I was of the Select Committee—before the Appointment of that Committee, the Company's Servant had Liberty of taking commercial Consignments—the first I had was in 1777 or 1778.

The only Transaction for Sir Thomas Rumbold was relating to 25,000 Pagodas, the Produce of which I remitted myself—It was ordered to be paid to me and Mr Cromline, by Branshaw and Pigou, on Sir Thomas's Account—this was the latter End of 1778—Mr Cromline being absent at the Time the Money was remitted, I sent it in my own Name, by a Bill on the Company, in January 1779, payable to Robert Mackreth, John Stables, and Thomas Raikes, Esquires, amounting to 10,769 *l.* 12 *s.* 11 *d.*

I had a Consignment from Madras to China, belonging to Sir Hector Munro, of Dollars, amounting to 466 *l.* 10 *s.* 3 *d.*

The Seahorse imported Money into China—it was sent up to the Factory, and I did not know what it was, it not being all public Money.

Do you know the Reason of the high Price of Gold in China?

Because it makes an agreeable Present to the Emperor, and because it is easier hid from the Mandarines—that Government is more oppressive now than it used to be—the Mandarines, on calling Merchants before them, if they do not comply with the Demands readily, Chains are produced, and the Merchants informed they will be put round their Necks, and they will be led to Prison, to remain there till they comply—Gold varies in its Price in China very much; sometimes Fifty per Cent in the same Year—The Difference between Gold and Silver is as 15 Ounces of Silver to One of Gold, but it has been up to 22 of Silver.

Withdrew.

Mr. Bevan attends again, and informs the Committee, That he recollects a Circumstance in his own Knowledge, of a small Sum of Money being remitted by Sir Eyre Coote to Mr. Pigou and himself—he does not recollect the Amount, nor what Ship it was sent in, it was the last Year—it came from Bengal—Sir Eyre Coote was there.

Before he arrived in China, there was a Box of Gold belonging to Sir Thomas Rumbold and Sir Hector Munro—it was stolen out of Captain Foxhall's Ship—the Committee was desired to apply to the Country Government, to endeavour to recover it. He spoke to the Magistrate, who told him, Endeavours would be used to recover it, but it was not recovered when he came away. He thinks it came by the Morse or Seahorse, but is not certain.

Withdrew.

No. 3.

Mr. Sadlier's attested Account of Monies said to have been received by Mr. Whitehill and others, in the Station of Chief of Masulipatam.

The Private Account receiving from the Zemindars, for settling Three Years Zemabundy.

	Mr. Floyer settled usual Presents for Three Years, for the Year of Phuzullee 1186, 1187, and 1188.	Mr. Floyer received an Account of usual Presents in last Year.	Mr. Floyer leave to collect in this Year the Remainder from the Zemindars.
Coldindee Trippetterauze, Zemindar of Muglafore — — 24,275 — —			
Gootalah, his Security 3,000 — —			
Pollaveram, ditto — 3,000 — —			
Chaar Mahalls, ditto — 6,000 — —	36,275 — —	18,100 — —	18,175 — —
Vassereddy Ramanah, Zemindar of Nundigamah — — — —	11,750 — —	5,000 — —	6,750 — —
Cullava Cullue, Timmanarow, and Ramarow, Zemindars of Bezeara —	1,500 — —	750 — —	750 — —
Mundapetty Trippetterauze, Zemindar of Corcondah — — —	2,100 — —	1,050 — —	1,050 — —
Kissero Vencataram, Despondah of Munagalah — — —	600 — —	300 — —	300 — —
Narahurry, Despondah of Langapree —	150 — —	75 — —	75 — —
Row Vencatarow, Surdar of Pettapore —	18,000 — —	9,000 — —	9,000 — —
Erlaguddah Codant Ram, Zemindar of Davercotah — — —	11,250 — —	4,625 — —	6,625 — —
Zupellah Vencatarow, &c. Zemindars of Chintalapoody — — —	1,500 — —	750 — —	750 — —
Velluntree Mullarow and Sunjeevarow, &c. Zemindars and Merassidars of Zumalavoy and Madoor Guttoo —	1 500 — —	375 — —	1,125 — —
Vechavoy Jaggapetterauze, Zemindar of Peodapore — —	28,761 27 —	9,587 9 —	19,174 18 —
Sooranany Nassinvarow and Vencataramrow, Zemindars of Mylavaram —	1,500 — —	— —	1,500 — —
Conatee Nassinvaloo, the Districts of Cortapillee —	1,500 — —	750 —	750 — —
Opparow, Zemindar of Noogud, ought to pay as the above People as former —	19,500 — —	— —	19,500 — —
Pagodas	135,886 27 —	50 362 9 —	85,524 18 —

The

The Private Account receiving from the Renters.

	Mr. Floyer settled for Three Years	Mr Floyer received on Account of Three Years.	Remaining on Account of Three Years.
Coldindee Trippetternuze, for the Farms of Tumedee, Peddan h Tundoroo, an Bondara, Nanapore Town, and Nanapore Salt — — — —	7 500 — —	3 750 — —	3,750 — —
Ditto, ditto, on Account Dooa — —	750 — —	375 — —	375 — —
Collava Collue Timmanarow and Kamarow, Renter of Vellore Semitoo —	900 — —	450 — —	450 — —
Muzumadar Vencatachillum, Renter of Condapelee Havelly only, he promised — — —	900 — —	— —	900 — —
Jellalah Ramajee Barow, Renter of Sir Island — — —	960 — —	480 — —	480 — —
Pagodas	11,010 — —	5,055 — —	5,955 — —
Ragogee Puntalon, Renter of the Havelly of Ellore, who not consented for Three Years, only for Two Years, at 2,500 Pagodas each Year, and paid Mr. Floyer only — —	— —	2,000 — —	3,000 — —
Pagodas —	11,010 — —	7,055 — —	8,955 — —

Mr. Samuel Stathom, Salt Renter of Masulipatam and Penracca, paid Mr. Floyer, for One Year of his Rents, Rupees 6,000, but this Year Governor and Council confirmed the same Rent for this Year, therefore was ought to pay for this Year as last Year.

	Present first.	For 3 Years Settlement	In lieu of and Customs.	Parcor.	Tatipaca.	Total.
	Pagoda.					
Culdindee Trippetterauze — — 5,000 — —						
Ditto, - at Muglatore — — 1,000 — —						
Gootalah Zemindar — — —	6,000 — —	20,000 — —	2,000 — —	4,275 — —	— —	32,275 — —
Pullaram ditto — — — —	5,000 — —	3,000 — —	1,300 — —	— —	— —	9,300 — —
Chahaar Mahalls Zemindar — —	2,500 — —	3,000 — —	1,000 — —	— —	— —	6,500 — —
Chintalapoody ditto — — — —	3,500 — —	6,000 — —	1,000 — —	— —	— —	10,500 — —
Zemalavoy and Mecnoor Guttoo Zemindars,	100 — —	1,500 — —	200 — —	— —	— —	1,800 — —
Part of Trippetterauze's Security — —	153 — —	765 — —	300 — —	— —	— —	1,218 — —
Macca Narsinva Opparow — — — —	5,000 — —	19,500 — —	3,000 — —	— —	— —	27,500 — —
Vacnevoy Juggapet erauze — — — —	4,000 — —	23,721 27 —	1,900 — —	— —	— —	27,500 — —
Pittapore — — — —	2,000 — —	18,000 — —	900 — —	— —	5,040 —	34,661 27 —
Erlagadda Codunt Ram — — — —	1,000 — —	5,250 — —	900 — —	— —	— —	20,900 — —
Ditto — arised this Year — — — — —	— —	6,000 — —	— —	— —	— —	7,150 — —
Vasireddy Ramanah. — — — —	1,000 — —	5,750 — —	125 — —	— —	— —	6,000 — —
Ditto — at this Year arised — — —	— —	9,000 — —	— —	— —	— —	6,875 — —
Ditto — M. Sulivan — — — —	— —	3,000 — —	— —	— —	— —	9,000 — —
Collava Collue Timmanarow and Ramarow — —	250 — —	1,500 — —	400 — —	— —	— —	3,000 — —
Ditto, —— ditto — — ditto, at this Year —	— —	3,000 — —	— —	— —	— —	2,150 — —
Conatee Trippetty — — — —	500 — —	1,500 — —	100 — —	— —	— —	3,000 — —
Kistna Vencataram D smooh — — — —	100 — —	600 — —	87 18 —	— —	— —	2,100 — —
Norharry — Ditto — — — —	— —	150 — —	12 18 —	— —	— —	787 18 —
Sweranany Narsinvaloo Zemindar — — —	500 — —	1,500 — —	100 — —	— —	— —	162 18 —
Mundapetty Trippetterauze, ditto — — —	700 — —	2,100 — —	600 — —	— —	— —	2,100 — —
Ramachendrarauze — — — —	— —	— —	900 — —	— —	— —	3,400 — —
Zumolavoy Guttoo — — —	147 — —	735 — —	100 — —	— —	— —	900 — —
						982 — —
	32,450 — —	135,571 27 —	14,925 — —	4,275 — —	5,040 — —	192,261 27 —

This private Business settled for Three Years, beginning from the Year of Phuzulke 1183 to 1185, Mr. Whitehill settled at Rajahmundry.

Mr Q. C. who not settled Zummabundy, only he collected the Six Kists of the Third Year of Mr. Whitehill's Zummabundy; and also the Three Kists of Second Year.

Row Vencata Row, Zemindar	4,000
Erlagudda Codant Ram, ditto	3,000
Vassereddy Ramanah, ditto	4,000
Conatee Rajapah	1,500
Conava Collue Timmanarow and Ramarow	1,000
Culdindee Trippetterauze	5,000
Chabaar Mahalls People	1,000
Gotala and Pollaram, Zemindars	2,000
Opparow	5,000
Zumolavoy and Madoor Guttoo	500
Chintalapoody	500
Mundapetty Trippetterauze	1,000
Munagala People	100
Juggapetterauze, not pay by my Means, but he paid separately	9,000
Mylavarum, Zemindar	500
M. Pagodas	38,100

Mr. Floyer came the Third Year of Mr. Whitehill's Zummabundy, who collected the Three Kists of the Third Year Zummabundy at the Time, who demand to receive private Business, as Mr. Crawfurd.

Vachavoy Juggapetterauze	6,000
Row Vencata Row	3,000
Vassereddy Ramanah	3,000
Erlagudda Codant Ram	3,000
Culdindee Trippetterauze	5,000
Gootalah and Pollaram	2,000
Chaar Mahalls	1,000
Collava Collue Timmanarow and Ramarow	1,500
Conatee Narsinvaloo	1,500
Mundapetty Trippetterauze	1,000
Munagala People	125
Chintalapoody	500
Zumalavoy and Madoor Guttoo	250
Opparow	
Mylaveram	
Pagodas	27,875

Dear Sir,

The inclosed Paper will let you into the Arcana of the Sweets of this Chiefship, it is communicated to you, in Proof of the Confidence I repose in you, and in Testimony that I mean not to keep secret any Action which you may suppose can influence my Conduct. Your honourable Support of me against Volumes of the basest Defamation claims, and it shall have it, this honourable and candid Conduct from me.—The Rapacity and Peculation of Men has nearly ruined this Country; the Misfortune it is now involved in, originates from such Principles, and its Effects may have brought its Distresses possibly not to be reformed.

The Paper, if you please, may be destroyed, it is intended but to shew the unsound Ground you tread in.

Interest with me towards you bears no Sway.—I consider my Situation but temporary: I hope ere long to afford you a better Testimony of the hearty good Disposition which actuates

actuates me for promoting the Honour of your Government; you have therefore but to signify to me, without Reserve, what you wish, and depend on its becoming my Guide.

To the Honourable Thomas Rumbold, Esquire.

Anthony Sadleir, of Fort Saint George, Esquire, and heretofore Chief of Masulipatam, maketh Oath and saith, That soon after his Arrival at Masulipatam, in the Month of April 1778, to take upon him the Charge of that Chiefship, this Deponent applied to Vencataroyaloo, then and now the Honourable Company's Dubash and Chief Interpreter for the said Chiefship, to give unto this Deponent an Account of the Customs heretofore appertaining to the said Office; and that the said Vencataroyaloo thereupon delivered into the Hands of this Deponent two several Paper Writings, whereof the above are true Copies. And this Deponent further saith, That he addressed a Letter unto the Honourable Thomas Rumbold, Esquire (now Sir Thomas Rumbold, Bart.), then Governor of Fort Saint George; a true Copy of Part whereof is also above written; and that he inclosed true Copies of the said Two Papers so received, and the said original Letter, whereof the above Part is a true Copy, under the same Cover and Seal, with another Letter from this Deponent, dated the 5th Day of May 1778, to the said Thomas Rumbold. And this Deponent saith, That the said Thomas Rumbold hath since acknowledged the Receipt of the said Letter of the 5th of May 1778, but did not make any Mention of the Receipt of the said Two Copies of Papers, or of this Deponent's said Letter which accompanied them, although this Deponent is satisfied that the said Thomas Rumbold did receive them inclosed under the said Cover, which contained this Deponent's said Letter of the 5th Day of May 1778, and at the same Time that he received the said Letter of the 5th Day of May 1778. This Deponent further saith, that he is well acquainted with the Hand Writing of the said Vencataroyaloo, and that the original two Papers, whereof the above are true Copies, are of the proper Hand Writing of the said Vencataroyaloo; and that the said Vencataroyaloo hath acknowledged unto this Deponent, that they were of his Hand Writing. And this Deponent further saith, That he is now in Possession of the said two original Papers. And this Deponent further saith, That from what he has understood to have been the Custom of the Service, he verily believes that the said two Paper Writings, so delivered unto this Deponent by the said Vencataroyaloo, contain a true Account of the Emoluments so received, and of the Manner in which they were received by the several Persons therein mentioned, while they were respectively Chiefs of Masulipatam aforesaid.

Sworn in Madras, this 6th Day of January 1781, before me, (Signed) Anth. Sadleir.

(Signed) Benj. Roebuck, Mayor.

(Signed) James Taylor, Reg.

No. 4.

Letter from Sir Thomas Rumbold to Mr. Sadleir, acknowledging the Receipt of his Letter of 5th May 1778.—Dated 20th May 1778.

My dear Sir,

I Should have replied to your Letter of the 5th Instant sooner, had I not observed that there was no Probability of our Orders to the Zemindars not having the Effect we expected, and that ultimately they must be convinced of the Propriety of an implicit Obedience to the Orders of this Government; and I have no Doubt will experience the Advantages of the new Measure. I am much obliged by your Account of the Zemindars, the State of their Countries, Finance, &c. Your Information has thrown much Light upon

this

this Subject: and though I cannot see the bad Consequences that are to follow from the Zemindars being ordered here to settle their Jummabundy, instead of fixing it at the different Chiefships, yet I beg you will be assured, I am no less sensible of the good Intention with which you have freely given me your Opinion.—If any Failure happens in the Payment of their Kists, the Exigencies of your Government must be supplied from hence; but I am willing to believe you will not require our Assistance.

As to the Money due to the Soubah, you will receive our Instructions on this Head before you discharge the Balance. I shall write you again in a few Days. In the mean Time I beg you to believe me,

Dear Sir,

Your much obliged and

obedient humble Servant,

Madras,

May 20th, 1778. (Signed) Thos. Rumbold.

A true Copy,

Anth. Sadleir.

A. Sadleir, Esq.

No. 5.

Letter from Sir Thomas Rumbold to Mr. Sadleir.—Dated 27th May 1778.

Dear Sir,

I AM favoured with the Duplicate of the Letter you sent by Vincataroyaloo; he is not yet arrived. I am obliged to you for your Conduct, in pressing the Zemindars to repair to the Presidency as soon as possible, agreeably to the Orders they received. I never expected otherwise from you, being convinced your own Honour and Zeal for the Service would supersede every private Consideration. You must be convinced my Regard for you has been steady; and that it will be my Wish, on all Occasions, to shew you my Attachment and Desire of promoting your Interest; being,

Dear Sir,

Your affectionate humble Servant,

Fort Saint George, (Signed) Thos. Rumbold.

27th May 1778.

A true Copy,

Anthony Sadleir.

Anthony Sadleir, Esq;

No. 6.

No. 6.

Mr. Sadleir's last Letter to the Council; dated 8th January 1781.

To the Honourable Charles Smith, Esq; President and Governor, &c. Council of Fort Saint-George.

Honourable Sir and Sirs,

I HAVE long been a concerned and anxious Spectator of the Ruin into which the Company's Affairs were falling, from the Mismanagement of their Servants; the Consequences are now severely felt by us all; we are threatened with Danger, which almost appears insurmountable, and therefore every Exertion tending to public Good must be laudable, in Proportion to the Difficulties which render it useful to Society.

From clear and evident Causes, the most common Observer must have foreseen some such Disaster as that which we now suffer—A Degeneracy of Character, and overlove of Riches, a Want of public Spirit, and even of the common Feelings of Humanity towards the People who lived under our Government, joined to a dissipated Revenue, and a Want of Inclination to employ the few Resources which remained, must have rendered, and did render, us dangerous to our Friends, and contemptible in the Eyes of our Enemies.

To stop the Torrent of Corruption, by an exemplary Punishment or Detection of those who were most guilty, was a chief and favourite Wish which I brought with me, when I became a Member of Government; and it is to this Disposition alone, and the Fear which it occasioned in the Minds of Men conscious of Guilt, that I impute my Suspension from the Service, and other Things subsequent to that Want.

I hope I shall prove, in the Course of this Letter, that my Conduct in the Chiefship of Masulipatam was consistent with that which I have since pursued, and that my Foresight of Consequences have been fully justified by the Event. In that Station I complained, as I do now, that Rapacity and Peculation had nearly ruined the Country. And after I was admitted a Member of the Council at Madras, I can appeal to the Second Minute, delivered in by me at the Board, in Proof, that it was my Idea that a Retrospect of past Evil was the only Foundation of future Good.—My Words then were as follows:—" It is true that we are surrounded with Difficulties on all Sides, as the Governor " is pleased to observe;——large Arrears of Revenue are due to the Company from Coun- " tries which have suffered no public Calamity;—the Company have incurred a heavy " Debt, to answer the immediate Demands of Government; while these Arrears re- " main due to them, their Treasury is empty, and without the Hope of a Supply, at a " Time when it is uncertain how great their Occasion may be for Money.—Government " has Difficulty in paying its most ordinary Expences: Trade is lost to Individuals; the " Company have had little or no Investments, and yet, great as these Evils are, they " are likely every Day to encrease.

" This desperate Situation of our Affairs has not been occasioned by public Misfor- " tune, and must therefore be imputed to private Mismanagement. We are no longer " in a Situation where we can hold up the Veil of Deceit to our Employers, or adopt " the Measures of our Predecessors, without weighing their Consequences. It is our " Duty to know the Evil, that we may be able to apply Relief; and, instead of patch- " ing up a broken System, to make it answer a Purpose or a Day, to form some lasting " and regular Plan of Conduct adequate to the Dangers which surround us, and capable " of extricating the Company's Affairs, from the Difficulties in which they are involved."

——— Why no Enquiry was set on Foot when the Governor acknowledged that we were surrounded with Difficulties? Why the Revenue was allowed to fall in Arrear, without an Exertion to recover it? Why no Attempt was made, excepting by myself, for the Re-establishment of System; and why the other Members of Council stood silent Spectators of approaching Ruin? are Questions which their own Conscience must solve, but of which the Subject of this Letter may convey some Demonstration.

I have

I have traced my own Conduct, to shew that my Opinions have been invariable, and that I have preserved a Degree of Uniformity, ungoverned by subsequent Events, or by personal Animosity, further than that honest Indignation, which cannot but arise in my Mind, on seeing the Interest of the Community, and the Honour of the Nation, sacrificed to the unworthy Motives of Men, who, being placed our Guardians, were largely paid for doing Justice.

The Crisis of the Times do still more pressingly call for Enquiry; at a Time when we are surrounded with Public Enemies; when our Resources upon the Coast seem in a Manner annihilated, and an Army, on which our Safety depends, subject to every Difficulty which the Want of Money can occasion. If it can be proved, that those who were intrusted with Power, employed it only to increase their private Fortune, without any Regard to Principle or to the Good of their Employers, they should be made to refund the Spoil they have acquired, both as an Example to others and that it may be applied to relieve the Exigencies of Government.

In bringing such Men to Light, I despise the Odium which the interested may annex to the Character of an Informer; the Act is only dishonourable when the Motive is not good: But as I have in View the Interest of the Company and of the Nation, the Preservation of the Community, and the Happiness of Thousands, who look up to us for Protection——as I am not influenced by private Advantage, and, in Opposition to these great Concerns, have no Motive to sway me but the Ease of a few Individuals, who, instead of Indulgence, deserve both Shame and Punishment, the Act of informing is honourable; and he who has the Courage to surmount Prejudice, in Support of Principle, cannot, in my Opinion, but deserve Praise.——I court this honest Praise in Reward for my Conduct; and I shall now proceed to state the Circumstances which have occasioned the above Reflections.

I left the Presidency to take Charge of the Chiefship of Masulipatam, with the fullest Confidence that it was Sir Thomas Rumbold's Intention to correct the Abuses in the Company's System upon this Coast.——I thought myself in a great Measure indebted to him, for the honourable Station I was about to hold; and Gratitude concurred with Principle, in making me desirous to fulfil what I thought to be his Inclination.——Upon taking charge of the Chiefship, I found it much impoverished; I determined therefore to trace Causes back to their Source, with a View to the Establishment of future Order; and though, before my Enquiry was finished, I had Reason to think that I was imposed upon, under the Cloak of Friendship, I communicated the Result of it with that unreserved Openness and Candour which I thought the Public Service required.

I hope the accompanying Papers will be no bad Proof of the uniform Consistency and Disinterestedness of my Conduct.

The First contains Accounts which were delivered to me in the Hand-writing of Vincataroyaloo, the Company's Dubash at Masulipatam, of the Emoluments received by Three of my Predecessors in the Chiefship of that Place, amounting to Madras Pagodas

Madras Pagodas —— —— ——	3,17,154	—
And a Balance remaining due, amounting to the additional Sum of	94,479	18
In all, Madras Pagodas	4,11,633	18

The Second Paper is an Extract of a Letter which accompanied these Accounts to Sir Thomas Rumbold, then Governor of Madras; and the Third is an Affidavit made by me to authenticate these Papers, and the Manner in which they were received.

In Addition to these Papers, I now transmit to the Board, the Copy of a Letter which went under the same Seal with the above Letter to Sir Thomas Rumbold, giving him an Account of the Circumstances and Situation of the different Zemindars, together with my Opinion of the Measure adopted by Government, in summoning the Zemindars to the Presidency; as also the Copies of Two Letters from Sir Thomas Rumbold to me, in one of which he acknowledges the Receipt of my Packet, of the 5th May 1778, containing the above Information.

The alarming Situation to which the Company's Affairs are reduced upon this Coast, is enough of itself to occasion Suspicion in the Mind of a Man unacquainted with Causes; and when the Safety of a Country is at Stake, Suspicion is just Ground of Enquiry——but when Information is so duly authenticated, and partly against a Character, which by subsequent Conduct has contributed so greatly to our present Distress; it cannot be imagined that Government here will be so treacherous to their Employers, as to neglect

glect instituting such Prosecution as the Law directs, and the Nature of the Case may require.

It is unnecessary to urge to the Honourable Board, as they must be sufficiently aware, that Inferences will be drawn to their own Prejudice as Individuals, if they neglect to execute Public Justice, if pointed out to them, when the Mode is so apparent, and the Means so much in their Power. Mr. Whitehill is now at Madras, and is upon the Point of Departure for Europe; and if the Government allow him to depart with such Information against him, before he is acquitted by the Forms of Law, I submit it to the Opinion of the Board, how far their Employers may think them responsible for the Consequences?

If the Company's Servants have been guilty of Peculation in Office——if they have abused the Trust reposed in them; if by these Abuses they have brought Dishonour upon their Country; let it be imagined, how much the Opinion of their Treachery may have laid the Foundation of our present Reverse of Fortune, and what Influence it may have in future, not only to check the Company's Credit, but, from a Want of Dependence upon our Government, to prevent those Alliances with the Country Powers, which at present seem so essential to our Affairs.

I have already urged, that the best Foundation for public Spirit, is public Justice. Mr. Whitehill held the first Station in the Company's Service upon this Coast, at the Time when their Affairs suffered the greatest Reverse; and if it is proved that he is one Cause from which our Evil has originated, I submit it to the Board, whether he should not receive Punishment according to Law, both as an Example to those who hold Trust, and that we may give our Friends and our Enemies an Opinion of our Justice.

I have already declared, that I consider myself a Member of the Board, and that the Act of Violence by which I was driven from it, in no Respect deprives me of the Right inherent in the Station. I now repeat the same Sentiments; and as the Information I have laid before the Board, lays the Foundation of an Enquiry most material to the Interest of my honourable Masters, I hereby formally demand my Seat at the Board, that I may be able to prosecute that Enquiry in the Manner most proper to produce the desired Effect.

I have the Honour to be,
Honourable Sir and Sirs,
Your most obedient
humble Servant,
Anthony Sadleir.

Fort Saint George,
8th January 1781.

No. 7.

Extract of a Letter from the President and Council at Fort Saint George, in their Civil Department, to the Court of Directors of the East India Company, dated 9th January 1781.

Par. 7. THE Disappointments we experienced from the inconsiderable Collections made for some Time past of your Territorial Revenues under Masulipatam, and the heavy Charges incurred of late by the War with Hyder Ally, laying us under the Necessity of appropriating all our Resources to the defraying Military Expences, have been the Means of impeding your Investment, and have even obliged us to put a Stop to the Provision of it for the present; indeed, the Troubles now subsisting in the Carnatic, render it impossible for the Weavers about Madras and Cudalore to work. We have, however, been able to give almost a full Lading to the Duke of Kingston, and hope to send your Honours 12 or 1300 Bales more, in the Course of next Month, or in the Month of March, should the Governor

Cons. 14th Nov.

vernor General and Council be able to supply us with Tonnage for that Purpose, agreeable to a Request we made to them in our Letter of the 8th ultimo.

8. The hostile Situation of public Affairs all around us in July last, on the Incursion of Hyder Ally into the Carnatic, pointed out to us the evident Propriety of exerting ourselves immediately to collect a competent Garrison Store. And to endeavour all in our Power to prevent the distressful Consequences to the Inhabitants, of the Country being laid waste by the Enemy, we wrote to the Governor General and Council for Supplies of Grain, and of Salt Provisions; and had soon the Pleasure to learn from them, that they had entered into Contracts for a considerable Supply of Salt Provisions, and for a most ample Quantity of Rice for our Relief, amounting to upwards of 80,000 Bags, near 50,000 of which are already arrived here.

Cons. 8th Aug. 12th Aug. 8th Sept.

Cons. 30th Sept.

9. In order to encourage the Importation of all such Articles as the Natives use for Food, we resolved to remit the Duty usually levied on them, until the 1st May next; we have written to the Subordinacies, to send hither every Species of Provisions they can collect; and in fine, we hope we have, by our timely Precautions, averted the dreadful Effects of Famine, which appeared to threaten this Settlement.

Cons. 5th Dec.

10. We have acquainted your Honours with the Particulars of the Suspension of Mess. Whitehill and Sadleir from the Service, in our Letters of the 15th October, and 29th November; we therefore think it unnecessary to say any Thing more on this Subject, than to refer you to our Proceedings, sorted in the Margin, which will fully explain the respective Conduct of each Member of Government, when those Resolutions took place.

Cons. 29th July. 1st Aug. 7th Nov. 8th Nov. 24th Nov.

11. We likewise in our Letter of the 29th November, explained to you our Reasons for having called Messrs. Morgan Williams and William Cuming, to the Board, as acting Members of Council in the Place of Messrs. Whitehill and Sadleir.

Cons. 14th Nov.

13. We mentioned to you, in our Letter of the 15th October, the Steps we had taken in consequence of your Orders for the Detection of the Persons under this Government, said to have been concerned in the French Ship, called the Elizabeth. The Proceedings noted in the Margin, contain a full Discussion of this Subject.

Cons. 9th June. 16th June. 23d June. 30th June.

14. On the 3d instant, Mr. Cotsford addressed us a Letter, intimating his Intention of returning to Europe on a Danish Ship then in the Road, as his State of Health did not permit him to apply so closely to Business as he could wish. We are much concerned to observe, that Mr. Cotsford should judge this a sufficient Reason, at the present most critical and alarming Crisis of the Company's Affairs, for relinquishing the honourable and conspicuous Station to which you had been pleased to appoint him.

Cons. 7th Jan. 1781.

We have no Doubt but Mr. Cotsford's Representation, of the Fort of Mausulipatam being put into as good a State of Defence as Circumstances permitted, is just; but when the enormous outstanding Balances of the Zemindars and Renters, instead of being greatly decreased, as we had flattered ourselves would have been effected, have on the contrary been suffered to augment considerably, and at this Time actually amount, including the Teeps due, to Madras Pagodas 1,528,597. 17. We cannot agree with him, that nothing has been left undone, which the Chief and Council had the Power of doing; and we submit to your Honours, whether this Subject could any where be discussed with more Propriety than at the Presidency?

The other Parts of his Letter are too futile for us to trespass on your Time, by remarking upon them; but we cannot help observing, that his Application to us for our Permission, after he had on every Occasion avowed his Determination to return to Europe on the Danish Ship, which was on the Point of sailing, and his embarking without waiting for our Answer, carry the Appearance of great Disrespect to that superior Authority vested in us by your Honours as your Representatives.

15. In the Month of September, your standing Counsel at this Presidency, Mr. Benjamin Sulivan, applied to us for an Increase of Salary; setting forth his being precluded by his present Station from every Exercise of his Profession, but what is devoted to the Information of Government, and that his Allowance annexed to his Employ was not adequate to the unavoidable Expences of a Person in a respectable Situation in this Country. After much Consideration, on a Comparison,

Cons. 8th Sept.

parison of Mr. Sulivan's Advantages with those of your Advocate General in Bengal, and on the evident Necessity there is for our having an able Assistant, to advise with in all Matters of Law; we came to the Resolution of doubling his Salary, as a suitable Encouragement to Mr. Sulivan, whose Abilities and Judgments we have every Reason to be satisfied with.

19. A short Time since we received a Letter from Mr. Sadleir, setting forth the Hardships he had suffered, and submitting to us, what Compensation we deemed adequate to his Services. As we did not think ourselves authorized to grant him any other Consideration for his Losses, arising from Supercession or Suspension, than what had hitherto been allowed to covenanted Servants in the same Predicament, we could only agree to pay him the Salary and Allowances he omitted to draw for, as set forth by him, until the Time of his late Suspension.

Conf. 30th Dec.

21. Sir Eyre Coote having recommended to our Consideration, a Letter addressed to him from the Commander of the Duke of Kingston, representing the Loss he had sustained, by being ordered to transport the Troops and Stores to this Presidency; we thought it but equitable to allow him the same Compensation, for his great Attention in forwarding the public Service, and for the Detriment it had been of to his private Interest, that had been formerly granted by the Governor General and Council to each of the Commanders of the Company's Ships employed against Pondicherry; but as we could not advance him Cash, we have given him a Company's Interest Bond for the Amount.

Conf. 5th Dec.

22. Mr. John Douglas made a Purchase from the Company, in September 1779, of a Piece of Ground, situated on the Esplanade, forming Part of the Sea Beach: As we had since been convinced, by the repeated Representations of the Merchants belonging to this Settlement, of the great Inconvenience and Detriment it would be of to Trade, should we allow the Ground to fall into the Hands of any Individual, we agreed to give Mr. Douglas the Sum of Eight thousand Pagodas, on Condition that he relinquished all Claim to the Purchase; which he accepted.

Conf. 5th May.

24. We lately received an Account from the Chief and Council at Vizagapatam, of the Loss to the Company, occasioned by the Mutiny of the Sepoys in October last; and I have ordered the Amount, which exceeds the Sum of Fifteen thousand Pagodas, to be written off to the Head of Profit and Loss.

Conf. 5th Dec.

28. The Books of the several Subordinacies not having been forwarded to us, on Account of the present Difficulty of conveying large Packages from one Part of this Coast to the other, the General Books, ending April last, could not be closed; and their Statements of Revenues and Expences since that Time, not having been yet received, has likewise prevented us from forwarding to your Honours any other than our Annual Statements.

29. The Number of Arcot Rupees in the Treasury, and the expected Supplies from Vizagapatam and Ganjam being always received in that Specie, induced us, in Consultation the 30th ultimo, to establish the Currency of Arcot Rupees throughout this Settlement, in all Payments not exceeding three hundred Pagodas; and we trust we have fixed their Exchange at so just a Medium, that the Public will not be aggrieved, nor the Company suffer any Loss, by this Regulation.

30. The Amount of the Invioce by this Ship, is One hundred and Sixty-four thousand Nine hundred and Thirty-six Pagodas, Thirty-one Fanams, and Fifty-five Cash (164,936. 31. 55.)

32. Your Honours have this Day in your Treasury as follows; viz.

Current Pagodas	299	35	27
Madras Pagodas	584	—	—
Arcot Rupees	98,455	11	4
German Crowns	1,281	—	—
Musters of Gold			
Current Pagodas	158	—	—
Madras Pagodas	194	—	—

And you have in your Cash Chest, Twenty six thousand Three hundred and Forty-four Pagodas, Twenty-eight Fanams, and one Cash, (26,344. 28. 1.)

No. 8.

Letter from the President and Council at Fort Saint George, in their Revenue Department, to the Court of Directors of the East India Company; dated 9th January 1781.

To the Honourable the Court of Directors for the Affairs of the Honourable the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies.

Honourable,

Par. 1. AS our Proceedings in this Department will be forwarded to your Honours, by your Ship Duke of Kingston, now under Dispatch for Europe, we take the same Opportunity of explaining fully to you such Particulars respecting your Revenues, as have occurred since our Address under Date the 4th April.

2. The Zemindars of the Four Northern Circars under Masulipatam, being assembled there in June last, to settle the Payments due from them respectively; your Chief and Council informed us, they had been so long amused by the repeated Promises of the Zemindars to deliver in their Teeps, and had so constantly found those Promises broken, that they had at length thought it necessary to try what Effect a Shew of coercive Measures towards the Zemindars would have, and, in consequence, Sepoy Guards were actually placed over their Persons, after the Chief and Council had explained to them, that their late unpardonably evasive Conduct could alone have brought upon them so conspicuous a Mark of Disgrace.

Cons. 7th July.

3. It was hoped this Appearance of Severity would induce the Zemindars to exert themselves in the Discharge of their Balances; but lest it should not, we authorized your Chief and Council, in the last Extremity, to adopt a Plan that they themselves had suggested; which was, either to take Possession in the Name of the Company, of the several Countries belonging to the Zemindars, until they procured Bills for their several Payments, in order to force them to employ every Resource they possessed, to satisfy the just Demands of the Company; or to impress them with an Idea, that if they did not provide their Teeps at a certain Period shortly after the gathering in the Harvest the Beginning of the ensuing Year, we had given an Authority to the Chief and Council, to seize on the Crops, and to keep Possession of them until their Teeps were produced.

Cons. 12 Aug.

4. Having thus furnished your Chief and Council with such ample Powers, to put in force their own Proposal, which we were the more readily led to give our Sanction to, from the Opinion repeatedly advanced by them, that the principal Zemindars had larger Funds at Command than they chose to bring forth on this Occasion; we trusted we should experience the desired Effect from the Activity of the Board at Masulipatam. About two Months afterwards, we received a Letter from them, recapitulating to us the Disputes that had arisen between the Zemindars and the Soucars, with their Measures in consequence (for a full Account of which, as represented to us, we beg Leave to refer your Honours to their Letters of the 31st July and of the 25th September), and informing us, that they had at length obtained Teeps from the Zemindar of Bidapore for Pagodas 128,000: From the Zemindar of Munglatore for Pagodas 185,000: From the Zemindar of Ramchunderaporam fo. Pagodas 11,641. 34. 15: From the Zemindar of Corcondah for Pagodas 6.853. 6. 30: And from the Manager at Pittapore for Pagodas 57,494. 31. 10.

Cons. 3d Nov.

5. There appeared such a Want of Propriety and Vigour in the Conduct of the Chief and Council, in the Course of their Negotiations with the above-mentioned Zemindars, that we could not avoid expressing to them our Dissatisfaction at their Measures; and, in order the more strongly to evince the Necessity of their using every possible Means to recover the heavy Balances still outstanding from the Zemindars, we sent them Copy of the 18th, 19th, and 20th Paragraphs of your Orders of the 16th June 1779; which, we flatter ourselves, will have every good Effect we could wish.

Cons. 5th Dec.

6. In the Beginning of last Year, the Minor Zemindar of Pittapore, named Comara Vincata Row, fled from his Uncle Mahepurty Row, who was in the temporary Management

ment of his Country, and took Refuge with his Adherents; in particular, Byrava Pontaloo the late Dewan of Pittapore, in the Fort of Piddapore; alleging, that his Uncle meant to make away with him, and to establish himself in the Zemindary. Your Chief and Council being advised of this, ordered all the Parties to Masulipatam, in order to enquire into the Causes of so extraordinary an Event; but finding, on a full Investigation of the Subject, that there were no just Grounds of Complaint against Maheputty Row, and that this Disturbance had arisen from the Intrigues of Byrava Puntaloo, and of Jaggaputterauze, Rajah of Peddapore, your Chief and Council directed the Child to be returned to his Uncle, and exhorted Byrava Puntaloo to be reconciled to Maheputty Row; pledging themselves to secure the Rights of the young Zemindar from any intended Incroachments of his Uncle.

Conf. 23d Feb.

7. This Determination was accordingly signified to both Parties by the Chief, at an Interview he had with them at the Company's Garden House. Byraya Puntaloo and his Followers shewed some Appearances of Dissatisfaction at the Decision; and on their taking Leave of the Chief, the young Zemindar expressed great Unwillingness to go with his Uncle; which the Chief perceiving, thought fit to insist on his Compliance with the Orders of the Council. A Scuffle between the Two Factions ensued, and Comara Vencata Row was finally carried off to the Pettah of Masulapatam, by the Adherents of Byrava Puntaloo.

8. When these Circumstances came to our Knowledge, we judged it proper to direct your Chief and Council to confine the Rioters, and to establish Maheputty Row and Byrava Puntaloo in the joint Management of the Pittapore Country, until Comara Vencata Row, to whom we gave Permission to remain under our Protection at Masulipatam, should come of Age; and if either Party made any Objections, to acquaint them, the Zemindary must then be converted into Havelly Lands during the Minority of Comara Vencata Row. The Chief and Council, in Answer, pointed out to us the Impossibility of reconciling Maheputty Row and Byrava Puntaloo, to accede to the Terms of this Decision.

Conf. 25th Mar.

9. To avert the ill Consequences that must necessarily ensue, from the Country being any longer in a State of Confusion, after different Plans had been suggested by the several Members of Council at our Meetings, held as noted in the Margin, we at length resolved, as Maheputty Row appeared clearly, from his near Relationship to Comara Vencata Row, to have a prior Claim to the Management of the Zemindary, and as we never had Reason to be displeased with his Conduct, that he should have a Cowle granted him, establishing his former Authority in the Zemindary, until Comara Vencata Row should arrive at the Age of Eighteen Years; when, if the different Branches of the Family should agree to manage the Pettapore Country in Harmony together, they should be permitted to do so; otherwise, that their several Claims should hereafter be referred to the Decision of the President and Council at that Time ---When these Resolutions were made known to Maheputty Row, he expressed much Dissatisfaction at them; and stated to the Chief and Council his Claim, agreeably to the Custom of the Country, to an equal Share in the Zemindary with his Nephew.

Conf. 23d June.
30 June.
19 July.

Conf. 8th Aug.

10. Maheputty Row's Representation of his Situation appearing so well founded, and his assertion of his Rights so just, that seeing no prospect of securing payment of the Company's Kists from that Country, which was our principal Object, but by Means of Maheputty Row, we were induced to reverse our former Judgment, and to confirm the first Cowle granted to him; which still remains in his Possession, in its full Force.---We have every Expectation from this Measure of a punctual Discharge of the Arrears due from the Pettapore Zemindary; at the same Time your Honours may depend upon our carefully protecting the Person of the young Comara Vencata Row, who is now at Masulipatam, from any Machinations of either Party, until he shall be of a proper Age to take upon himself the Charge of Public Business.

Conf. 12th Aug.

11. We are concerned to acquaint your Honours of a slight Disturbance that happened some Time since in the Cotapillee District, from the refractory Conduct of the Manager, Conaty Norsingalloo; who, upon being repeatedly sent for by your Chief and Council, to repair to Masulipatam, to settle the Payment of his Tribute, actually took up Arms against the Company.---We have, however, the Pleasure of informing you, that the Peace of that Country is restored, and that we have placed Trimubrow, a Man of large Property, Dewan to the Rajah of

Conf. 8th Aug.

 Mugletore,

Mugletore, in the Management of Cotapillee Havelly, on Terms very advantageous to the Company.

12. The Cowle for the Chaharmall Country, which was under the Management of the Zemindar of Mugletore, expiring the 31st May last, we placed that District under the Charge of Venata Royaloo, the Company's Interpreter at Masulipatam; who has agreed to pay to us the same Jemabundy or Tribute as was settled for this Zemindary in 1778, to make an Annual Allowance of 2000 Madras Pagodas to the young Zemindar; and to deliver the Sum of 8,000 Madras Pagodas per Annum, to the Creditors of Opparow; who has considerable Claims on the Chaharmall Country, but whom we could not trust with the Care thereof, in these present embarrassed Circumstances.

Cons. 7th July. 8th Aug. 30th Dec.

13. Sitteram Rauze delivered in a Petition to us some Months since, whilst he was at the Presidency; setting forth, That Aitsnowteram Rauze, Zemindar of Cotah, had made over to the Son of Sitteram Rauze, Four Villages of that District, as a Compensation for a Debt due to him from Atchooteram Rauze.—Though the Demand might be just, yet we could not, upon any Account, suffer an Alienation of Zemindary Lands, not considering the Zemindars to have a Right, under any Circumstances, thus to dismember the Countries committed to their Charge, without our Sanction being first obtained; and as we understood from the Chief and Council at Masulipatam, that the Interference of Sitteram Rauze was the only Obstacle to the Payment of the Tribute of the Cotah Country, we released the Four Villages from the Obligation they were under to him; but we directed the Chief and Council to be careful when the Company's Balance was discharged, that Sitteram Rauze had Satisfaction for his Demand. We have since had Reason to think, from the evasive Conduct of Atchooteram Rauze, that we shall be at last under the Necessity of sending Collectors, on Account of the Company, into his Country, as the only Means of securing the heavy Arrears due from him.

Cons. 12th Aug. Cons. 12th Aug.

14. We are happy to acquaint your Honours, that we have the most sanguine Hopes of recovering, in the Course of a short Time, a great Part of the large Balances outstanding in the Chicacole Circar. In effecting this desirable Object, we cannot sufficiently commend the Activity and Vigour shewn by Mr. James Henry Casamajor, the present Chief of Vizagapatam, and his Council, ever since the Return of Sitteram Rauze to the Northward.---Their Arrangements have been judicious, they have already actually realized a considerable Sum of Money on Account of the Company, and their Conduct on the whole has answered our warmest Expectations.

15. In consequence of a Petition received in July last from Sitteram Rauze, we were induced to remit Payment to the Vizinagrum Family, of One Quarter Year's Tribute of Ankapillee District, amounting to Rupees 25,000, in consideration of the Losses sustained by the Fort of Sutticveram being withheld from their Managers by the Family of Pyrkerow in 1778, which much impeded the Cultivation of the Country. We likewise at the same Time allowed a Deduction of Rupees 60,881, from the Rent of the Chicacole Havelly, as that Sum appeared to us to have been received from the Country by Jaggernaut Rauze, the late Renter, before Sitteram Rauze took Charge of those Districts.

Cons. 16th June. 7th July.

16. You will have been informed from the Select Committee, of a Mutiny that happened at Vizagapatam among your Sepoys, on their being ordered to embark on board Ship for the Presidency.—During the many Excesses committed by the Mutineers, Guzza Putty Narrain Deo, who was deposed from the Zemindary of Kimedy for Misbehaviour in the Year 1774, and who has since resided at Vizagapatam, on the stated Allowance, was of such Use, and shewed so much Attachment to your Servants there, whilst they were absolutely in imminent Danger of suffering every Barbarity which unrestrained Violence might dictate, that it induced them to recommend his being re-instated in his Zemindary. The Conduct of his Brother, Jagganaut Deo, who was then in Charge of the Kimmedy Country, had been by no Means satisfactory. His Incapacity had been before represented to us, and the continual Disputes between him and his Dewan had been the Means of impeding the Collections of Tribute for such a Length of Time, that the Arrears due to the Company amounted to so large a Sum as Rupees 204,658, though the Annual Jemabundy is only Rupees 86,000; Urged by these Motives, added to the Consideration of the Youth of Guzzyputty Narrain Deo, at the Time he committed the Offence which brought him under the Company's Displeasure,

Cons. 28th April. Cons. 8th Aug.

Cons. 13th Oct. Displeasure, we yielded to the Solicitations of the Chief and Council and restored him to the Zemindary Kimedy, making a suitable Provision for Jaggernaut Deo. Your Chief and Council have since agreed with Guzzyputty Narrain Deo, that he is to pay the Company the same Jemabundy as
Cons. 30th Dec. heretofore, being Rupees 86,000, and the Sum of Rupees 30,000 annually, towards the Discharge of the Debt from his Country: He himself is well satisfied to live on an Allowance of 1,200 Rupees per Month, the Residue of the Collections from his Zemindary to be appropriated to the further Liquidation of the Arrears due to the Company.— In discussing the Subjects of this and the foregoing Paragraphs of the present Address, some Difference of Opinion occurred among the Members of Council, for the Particulars of which, we beg Leave to refer you to that Part of our Proceedings noted in the Margin.

17 We acquainted your Honours in our Letter of the 15th October, that we had come to the Resolution of taking away the Cawles for the Farms of Negore Cuddalore, and those under this Presidency, from the Renters who then held them; and that we had published Advertisements for re-letting: As we have not yet finally settled this Business, we shall defer saying more on the Subject until another Occasion offers of addressing your Honours, when we hope to give you the fullest Satisfaction, from our Attention to your Interests in this Instance.

We are,
Honourable,
Your faithful
humble Servants,
Charles Smith,
Eyre Coote,
Sam. Johnson,
Hector Munro,
Alex. Davidson,
M. Williams.

Fort Saint George,
9th January 1781.

No. 9.

Minute of Sir Eyre Coote, 12 January 1781.

AT the same Time I put my Signature to the General Letter of the 9th of January 1781, I must, in Candour and in Conformity to those Opinions which I have both held and expressed, except against one Part of it, and which ascribes all our present Misfortunes to the Maratta War.

That that Measure may first have given Birth to the Idea of a general Combination of the Powers of Hindostan against us, I will not endeavour to disprove; but that to it alone we owe the formidable Incursion of Hyder Ally into the Carnatic, I cannot admit: First, because long after we had commenced Hostilities against the Marattas, Hyder himself continued to make Conquests upon them, and which our Operations no Doubt facilitated. It was his favourite Object, and which I am confident he would never have quitted, or sought for a Union with the Marattas against us, had not our Negociations with Bazalet Jung, about the Guntoor Circar (on which he had also Views), and the Mode in which they were carried on, awakened his Jealousy, and very naturally made him apprehend, that our ultimate Intentions were to possess ourselves of some Part of his Country.——Whilst it answered his Purpose to make Peace with the Marattas, in order that his Attention or Strength might in no Shape be diverted from providing effectually for the Security of his own Territories, it was entirely suitable to the Marattas

in

in their then Situation, as it enabled them to direct their whole Force against the Operations of our Army under Brigadier-General Goddard. We alarmed his Fears for the Safety of his own Country; crossed his Views upon the Guntoor Circar, which he was desirous of obtaining in Form from Bazalet Jung. That an able Agent might not be wanting to foment these Offences, we deliberately gave Umbrage to the Nabob Nizam, first, by seeking and actually subscribing to a Treaty of Friendship with his Brother and Subject Bazalet Jung, without asking his Consent or Approbation, and next, by demanding of him a Remission of the Pescush, or Tribute, which for these Eleven Years and upwards we have paid him, as in Treaty bound, on Account of the Northern Circars. To prevent any bad Consequences arising from the Delay in the Payment of the Pescush, which was owing in the first Place to a temporary Inability, created by the heavy current Expences, which were unavoidably incurred by the Siege of Pondicherry, and in the next Place perhaps by Mismanagement; I was induced, when I stopped here in my Way to Bengal, to recommend the Mission of Mr. Hollond, as Ambassador to the Nizam's Court, to assure him, that the Pescush should be paid, and to explain to him the Cause of its Detention.

The Nizam has in his Letters to this Government, and in his Conversations with Mr. Hollond, who communicated them to the Governor General and Council, avowed his Displeasure, on Account of our Behaviour with regard to the Pescush and the Guntoor Treaty; and has, without Scruple, acknowledged his having for these Reasons encouraged and connived at a Combination of the Powers against us.

With all these Circumstances before me, and which the Records both here and in Bengal bear Testimony; and further, knowing it as a Thing certain, that at the very Time the Treaty was carrying on with Bazalet Jung, Hyder would have entered into an offensive and defensive Alliance with us, I would do an Injury to myself, and a still greater one to our Superiors, who are to pass their Judgment on Men and Measures by the Documents handed them from their respective Governments in India, did I tacitly subscribe to that Part of the General Letter to the Court of Directors, which I have hereby excepted against, and not also elucidate the other Causes, besides the Maratta War, which have assisted to hasten our present Distresses.

I request that this may go a Number in the Packet now under Dispatch.

(Signed) Eyre Coote.

No. 10.

Letter from the Governor General and Council in Bengal, in their Secret Department, to the Court of Directors of the East India Company, dated 29th November 1780.

To the Honourable the Court of Directors for Affairs of the Honourable United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies.

(Secret Department)

Honourable Sirs,

Par. 1st. THE Dispatch of the Ships now under Sailing Orders, affording us an Opportunity of addressing you from this Department, and of transmitting to you a connected Narrative of our Proceedings in it since the Date of our Advices by the Swallow, we avail ourselves of it for this Purpose, and at the same Time send you a complete Copy of our Consultations since the 24th February last, together with a Duplicate

plicate Transcript of the broken Set of them, which was forwarded by that Packet. We have also the Honour to transmit to you, Triplicate of our Letter by the same Vessel, and of those since addressed to you by the Tryal Schooner, under Date the 15th and 27th of last Month. We take the same Opportunity of acknowledging the Receipt of your Advice of the 24th February and 24th of March.

2. You were duly informed, in our Address by the Swallow, of the Recal of Mr. Hollond from the Court of his Highness the Nabob Nizam Ally Khan, by the President and Select Committee at Fort Saint George; of the Reasons which induced us to wish for his Continuance there; and of the Application which we made to the President and Select Committee, for their Permission to him to remain at Hydrabad, as the Public Minister of this Government. This Application was refused, and Mr. Hollond was directed, in peremptory Terms, to obey the Orders of Recal before sent him. These Orders were as unreasonable as they appeared to us ill-grounded. They proclaimed to all India a Disunion and Separation of Interests between the Two Presidencies; and, in particular, affected the Assurances which we had given to the Nabob Nizam Ally. We were, however, obliged, though very reluctantly, to acquiesce; and Mr. Hollond was left at Liberty to conform to them. He was directly subject to the Authority of your Servants at Fort Saint George, and it was not in our Power to indemnify him from the probable Consequences of Disobedience to it. But the Restraint upon our Wishes to be availed of the Services of Mr. Hollond at Hydrabad, did not continue long, for the same Temper with which he had for some Time before been treated by his immediate Superiors, inducing them to suspend him from your Service, we were enabled to confirm our Appointment of him; and did accordingly appoint him to be Resident, on the Part of this Government only, at the Nizam's Court. The high Opinion which we entertain of Mr. Hollond's Merits, our Sense of his Services believing him, as we do, to have been the Means of preventing a Breach of the Alliance subsisting between the Company and the Nabob Nizam Ally Khan at a Moment when the Company's Affairs were very critically situated, and it being of the utmost Importance to secure even the Neutrality of the Nizam, the Obligations, moreover, under which we deem ourselves to indemnify Mr. Hollond, by every Means in our Power, from the Effects which he has unjustly sustained of the Resentment of his Superiors at Madras, for his Obedience to Instructions transmitted to him by us, in consequence of those which he had received from them, and which were notified to us by them, call upon us to recommend him strongly to you, and in doing so, we make our Request that you restore him to the Service, and to his Standing on the Madras Establishment, or that he be transferred, with his Rank, to this.

Conf. 15th May.

3. Mr. Hollond being placed under our immediate Authority at Hydrabad, our Endeavours have been strenuously exerted to secure the Friendship of the Nabob Nizam Ally Khan, or to prevent him at least from taking Part against us, but it has not been without great Difficulty, that these Endeavours have hitherto been exerted with a good Effect. That Power in the English Governments which was settled in his Neighbourhood, and with whom of course his Correspondence had always been principally held, had made Demands on him, which in his Conception of them were derogatory from the Faith of the Treaty subsisting with him, and had committed one Act, which was a direct and undoubted Violation of it, and the general Tenor of their Conduct had made him distrustful of their Intentions to preserve the Peace with him. Such indeed was his Conviction of their unfriendly Disposition towards him, that he found it necessary to be prepared for Hostilities, or such was his Resentment of their Conduct, that he was determined to use the most likely Means within his Compass, of crushing their Ability to do him further Mischief, and under the strong Influence of those Impressions, it is a well known and undenied Fact, that he had not only combined with the principal Powers of Hindostan against the Company, but was the chief Promoter of the Alliance. For the Particulars of this History, we beg Leave to refer you to a Minute, which has been delivered by the Governor General, and is entered in the Consultations noted in the Margin, as well as to a Letter from Mr. Hollond to the Governor General, forwarded by the Tryal Packet; in which the Nabob's Avowal is declared, of his being the Author of the Confederacy against us, and his Justification of it, on the Plea of Self-defence, against the supposed Intention of the Presidency of Fort St. George to break with him.

Conf. 4th Sept.

4. To obviate a Prejudice so rooted, and the Effect of an Engagement so promising of Success as that in which the Nizam is combined, would of itself have been no easy Task; but the Difficulty has been so much augmented, as to have been nearly invincible,

ence, from the Unwillingness of the Presidency of Madras to use the only Means of reconciling him to us, and their Inattention to the Advice and Orders which we sent them for this Purpose. It was the Belief of the Nabob Nizam Ally, that we were actually vested with the Controul, which we declared ourselves to possess, but he distrusted the Effect of that Controul, since the Orders which we had repeatedly given and declared to him, for the Restitution of the Circar of Guntoor, had not only been disregarded, but Mr. Hollond, who had been the Instrument of the Negociation, had been punished by them for the Part which he had taken in it.

5. We refer you to our Letter to Fort Saint George, of the 12th June for the Arrangement on which we had resolved to give the Soubah Satisfaction, and of which he was immediately informed. The President and Select Committee, instead of withdrawing their Forces, Collectors, and Agents, from the Circar of Guntoor, agreeable to our Requisition, restoring it to the Possession of Bazalet Jung, and replacing every Thing in the State in which it stood before they entered into any Negociation with him, did in no one Instance comply with our Orders, nor appear to have taken the least Notice of them till the 2d of September; when they informed us that they were willing to comply with our Requisition of them, to deliver back to Bazalet Jung the Guntoor Circar, but that the Circar having been farmed to the Nabob of the Carnatic, his Claim on it, as Renter, must be first relinquished; and that they had written to him, expressing their Hope that he would give it up, and that they would inform us of his Answer as soon as they receive it.

6. We have recited the great Difficulties which opposed our Accommodation with the Nizam, of which we had much Reason to complain, so much, that it became an Object of Necessity to remove them. The controuling Power, with which we are vested by an Act of the British Legislature, had been, in repeated Instances, treated by the Gentlemen at Fort Saint George with Slight and Disrespect, but in the present Instance, they thought proper to take more upon them: They defeated our Acts by their Refusal to conform to them, and comply with our Orders, where we had a legal Right to them. The Faith of this Government had been pledged to the Nabob Nizam Ally Khan, for the Restoration of the Guntoor Circar to Bazalet Jung, they were so informed, and required to restore it. They did not restore it.——We had no Alternative, but by a tame Acquiescence to sacrifice the Trust reposed in us, and suffer your Interests to be involved in a War by a Breach of Public Faith, or to maintain both by an Application of the Powers which had been given us for such a Purpose. Upon these Grounds we resolved, on the 10th ultimo, to give Effect to our Commands, and determined to exert the Authority with which we were vested, in suspending Mr. Whitehill, the President of Fort Saint George, from the Company's Service. Our Reasons for this Measure are particularly stated in our Letter to the President and Select Committee at Fort Saint George, of the 10th ultimo, which goes a Number in the Packet, and to which we beg Leave to refer you for them: And at the same Time that we are led to hope, that the best Effects may be derived from it, in establishing for the Company the Neutrality or Friendship of the Nabob Nizam Ally Khan, during the present Troubles, and in saving our Authority in his Estimation, and that of the other Country Powers, we are under no Fear that the Councils of your Presidency of Fort Saint George will be less ably or successfully conducted hereafter, than they have been during the Period in which Mr. Whitehill directed them.

7. You will observe, by our Consultations of the 13th ultimo, that we were then informed, by a Letter from the President and Select Committee of Fort Saint George, dated the 23d September, of the Measures which they had at length been pleased to adopt, for giving Effect to our Requisitions of the 12th of June, by immediate Orders to their Officer commanding in the Guntoor Circar, to deliver over that Country to Bazalet Jung's Agent; and by procuring an Order also from the Nabob to his Aumildar, to relinquish all Concern in the Management of the Revenues.

8. Our Letter by the Tryal Packet will have acquainted you with the Calamity which had befallen a large Detachment of your Troops, commanded by Lieutenant Colonels Baillie and Fletcher, in the Carnatic, and of the consequent Retreat of Major General Munro, with the main Army, to Chingleput. The same Letters will inform you of the Exertions we have made for the Relief of your Affairs on the Coast, in dispensing with the Services of Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote at this Settlement, where they were very necessary, for the sake of affording the Aid of them to the Presidency of Fort Saint George, in detaching to it a considerable Force of European Infantry and Artillery; in remitting for its Use, a large Supply of Treasure, amounting to the Sum of

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Fifteen Lacks of Rupees; and in providing it with a great Store of Grain. We have not been thus liberal in our Services to the Presidency of Madras, without some Inconveniencies to our Government; but our Efforts being made under the Conviction of their being necessary to the Preservation of the Company's Affairs under that Presidency; and to the Retrieval of them from the sad Effect of the Misfortune which they had sustained, they have been exerted with the first Degree of Cheerfulness, and will be continued with the same, while our Assistance can be given without certain Danger to your superior Interest in Bengal.

9. It has been strongly recommended by us to Rear Admiral Sir Edward Hughes, to assist in distressing Hyder Ally, by the Destruction of his Ships and Ports on the Coast of Malabar, during the Admiral's Voyage to Bombay; and we doubt not but the Use of this Measure will appear to him in the same Light as it appears to us.

10. We have the Pleasure to inform you, that we have received Advice from Sir Eyre Coote, under Date the 6th Instant, of his Arrival at Fort Saint George, on the preceding Day, which is exactly One Month and Thirteen Days from the Receipt of the Advices which first informed us of the Distresses of that Presidency, that all the Vessels with the Troops and Stores were also safely arrived, and the Troops and Treasure safely landed. A Copy of his Letter to us, goes a Number in the Packet.——We much fear that the Account which it contains, of the Loss of Arcot, though not deemed certain, is too true; but we trust, that the Presence and good Conduct of Sir Eyre Coote will soon change the Face of your Affairs in that Country.

11. In further Aid of the Operations of the Company's Troops on the Coast, and on the Advice and Recommendation of the Commander in Chief, before his Departure from Bengal, we resolved, on the 26th ultimo, to detach over-land towards Madras, a Company of European Artillery, and a Body of Six Battalions of Sepoys, with their Guns, chiefly intended for the Defence of the Circars; but generally for such other Services as may be required of them. The Command of this Detachment is vested in Lieutenant Colonel Pearse; Major Edmundson is appointed Second in Command, and we have allowed for it the Establishment noted in the Margin. We have it in Contemplation, to supply the Loss of this Force to the Defence of our own Provinces, by new Levies, but our Resolution has not yet been taken on the best and least expensive Mode of carrying our Intentions in this Respect into Execution. The Orders of March for the Troops going towards Madras, being to depend on the Hopes given us, that the Maratta Army now lying at Cuttack, will either join us, or return to Berar; we are anxiously waiting, before we pass the Order, for Advices from the Government of Berar, in Answer to the Letters which were written to them by the Governor General, in consequence of our Resolutions of the 26th September, respecting a proposed Treaty with the Maratta State. These Resolutions shall be more fully noticed hereafter; but we here think it necessary to observe, upon the general Conduct of the Rajah of Berar towards this Government, upon the strong Professions of Friendship which he has made to it, and upon the Declarations of his Vakeel, that even though his Troops should not have quitted Cuttack when our Forces reached it on their Way to the Circars, our Opinion is, that they will offer them no Hindrance or Molestation.——You will observe, by our Proceedings of the 20th July, that we resolved to detach a Battalion of Sepoys to the Banks of the Soubenreka, for the Purpose of securing the Boats on that River, should the Troops of the Rajah of Berar attempt to cross it; and to watch their Motions. This was a Measure of Precaution, not of Necessity.

Cons. 15th Nov.

12. Our Knowledge of this Country has informed us too well of the Arts and Policy usually observed in the Indian Courts, to permit us to place an implicit Faith or Reliance on the mere Professions and ostentatious Display of Friendship which we may receive from any of them; and we must confess, that, if our Belief of the friendly Intentions of the Rajah of Berar towards the Interests of the Company, had no other Grounds than his Professions of them, strong as these have been (and they are the strongest that were ever penned by an Indian Power), it would be but weakly founded. Our Impression of the Truth of them is received from a Knowledge of his real Interests; and the Proofs that he has hitherto afforded us, that we have not been mistaken in our Opinion of his Sincerity.—From the first Intimation that he received of our Intentions to detach a Body of Troops, under the Command of Colonel Leslie, to the West of India, to the present Time, he has given us the most powerful Reasons to suppose him a Friend of the Company; and though, by his Alliance, in which he is engaged with the Maratta State against us, he might be deemed an Enemy, we are not persuaded

suaded that this is a clear Proof of his being so; for we believe, that the Part which he has been said to take in Union with that State, was a Part taken by Necessity, not by Choice; that he was forced into it, on Consideration of the Safety of his own Government; and that, if a favourable Opportunity should present itself, whereat he could shew himself the Friend of the Company with Security to his own Country, he would abandon an Alliance into which he entered against his Will, and act as his true Interest led him.

13. We wish to draw your Attention to the following Facts, as the Grounds of the Opinion which we have formed, that the declared Friendship of the Maha Raja Moodagee Boosla for the Company, is not insincere.

14. On the first Formation of the Detachment of your Troops, placed under the Command of Colonel Leslie, an Application was made to the Rajah of Berar, to permit it to pass through a Part of his Dominions; he cheerfully complied, and not only wrote to Colonel Leslie, offering him a free Passage through his Country, and the Means of Subsistence, but caused a large Store of Grain to be provided on his Borders, where it lay some Months waiting for his Arrival; and during the Continuance of Colonel Goddard, who then commanded the Detachment of Hoshingabad, he was received and treated with the greatest Hospitality.---Upon a Visit paid by the Rajah's Dewan, Dewagur Pundit, to Poonah, a Confederacy was formed by the Maratta Minister, Nana Furnese, Madajee, Madajee Scindia, and Hyder Ally, against the Company; and in this Confederacy the Berar Government was required to take a Part, and to furnish their Quota of Troops for the common Cause; the Requisition was accompanied with Threats of Invasion of their Country in the Event of Refusal; and the Rajah having at that Time disbanded his Army, and being therefore unprepared to assert his own Rights and Independency, was obliged to enter into the general Confederacy, claiming, at the same Time, the Privilege of Mediation. We are informed by the Governor General, that the First Intelligence which he received of the Confederacy, was from the Minister Dewergur Pundit himself; and believing the Fact to be so, we cannot suppose that such important Communications would have been so readily imparted to us by Durwargur Pundit, if the Berar Government had been as hostile to us in Reality, as Motives of Security to themselves compelled them to appear. The Part assigned in the Confederacy to the Rajah, was to send an Army, during the Course of the last Season, to lay waste the Provinces of Bengal. With this Requisition he certainly complied; but, at the same Time, he informed us, that he should use such Means of Delay as should prevent the Army from approaching our Borders, until the Close of the fair Season, when it could not enter upon immediate Action; that in the Interim, he should be able by the next Season, to raise such an Army as would effectually establish his own Independence, and qualify him to act according to the Dictates of his own Judgment. These Declarations have hitherto been literally verified; for we have seen a large Body of his Troops, which he had detached in Compliance to the Requisition made of him at Poonah, spin out a March to Seven Months, which might with Ease have been accomplished in Two, and arrive at the Place of their Destination at the Commencement of the Rains. We have also seen, that, since their Arrival at Cuttac, instead of committing Hostility and Disturbance, they have continued as quiet as if cantoned at their own Capital.

Cons. 4th Sept.

15. These Circumstances, added to the strong Professions made to us, which we have not found falsified in any Instance, and to the Consideration of his real Interest, which, in our Judgment of it, attaches him to the Company, rather than to any of the Powers with whom he is obliged to wear the Mask of Amity and Confederacy against them, unless we should in general admit, what we are very unwilling to admit, that the power which the Company possess in Hindostan is so extensive and obnoxious to the whole Empire, as to make it the Interest of all its Provinces, to unite with one another in overthrowing it. These Reasons, we repeat, induce us to believe that the Rajah of Berar is well disposed towards the Company; and that if the War with the Marattas should continue, he will remain neutral; or that, should he be compelled to take an active Part in it, it will not be against us.---The Belief of his Attachment to your Interest, and the Confidence which we placed in it, have induced us to attend to the Request made to us for supplying his Army with such Provisions as they wanted at Cuttac, where it might have been greatly distressed without such Assistance.

16. We have been particular in acquainting you with our Sentiments regarding the Rajah of Berar, because, from Suspicions of his Intentions, grounded on the Situation of his Troops, so near our Borders, you might be inclined to apprehend that these Provinces were in Danger of an Invasion from them; and because we desire to be justified on

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a late Occasion, which we have taken to shew our Confidence in the Berar Government, and to add to its Importance in the Opinion of the other Country Powers, by the Choice which we have made of it to be the Guarantee for the faithful Observance of a proposed Treaty with the Maratta State. Of this Treaty you have already been informed by our Advices of the 10th ultimo, and it appears on the Proceedings noted in the Margin. We trust that you will approve the Terms of it:---they were the best that we could offer in the Situation of Affairs at that Time; and if accepted, we shall hope to see a Peace firmly established throughout India, or a War so vigorously supported by the Alliance which they promote, as to give an early and very prosperous Turn to the present Troubles, and such an Issue to them as we think fit to command.

Conf. 26th and 27th Sept.

17. We have hitherto been successful in our Endeavours to preserve the Neutrality of the Nabob Nizam Ally Cawn, notwithstanding his Engagement with the confederate Powers. The Raja of Berar has not taken, and, as has been before observed, we believe will not, take any Part against us; and if the Marattas could be persuaded to abandon the temporary Alliance which they have formed with their natural, and till lately, inveterate Enemy, Hyder Ally, whose Successes cannot be considered by them without some Degree of Jealousy, we should hope to be soon able effectually to crush the alarming Efforts of this extraordinary Usurper, to add to the Number of his Conquests, and in the Event of his Oppressions, without Reason or Pretext.

18. You were informed in our General Letter of the 3d of March, of the Operations of the Army serving under General Goddard at the latest Period from which we had received authenticated Accounts of them. Continuing the Narrative, we have now to inform you, that agreeable to the Plan concerted with him by the President and Select Committee of Bombay, and notwithstanding the dubious Conduct of Futty Sing Row Guicawar, when Offers were first made to him by Brigadier General Goddard, a Treaty of Alliance was concluded with him on the 29th January last, generally corresponding with the Objects that appear in Mr. Hornby's Plan, dated 30th March 1779.

Deeming this Alliance an Event of considerable Importance to the Interest of the Company, and as having tended to facilitate, in a great Degree, the successful Operations of our Troops in the Province of Guzerat, we bestow only a just Praise on the Officer who negotiated, when we declared our Opinion, that he has rendered an essential Service to the Company in concluding it. Some Correspondence having passed between Brigadier General Goddard and the Select Committee of Bombay, and between us and them, respecting the Partition of Territory stipulated in the Treaty, we refer you for a full Account of it to the Proceedings on which it is recorded, and to our Consultations of the 15th May and the 2d October, for the Orders which were sent to General Goddard, on the Subject of his Replies to them. The Treaty with Futty Sing, amended and ratified by us, will be found on our Proceedings of 5th June. Two Copies have been transmitted to Brigadier General Goddard, so far different from each other, that in the one the Articles which form the 6th and 10th Numbers of the Treaty are omitted, and in the other, concluded with certain Corrections, which we found it necessary to make in them; and we have left it to his Discretion, to obtain the Signature of the President and Council of Bombay, and of Futty Sing, to either of them; adding his own to that which may receive their Concurrence, and returning the other cancelled to the President and Council of Bombay, to be sent back to us.

19. We beg Leave to refer you to the Consultation noted in the Margin, for the further Observations which we made on the Provisions of the Treaty concluded with Futty Sing, for our Orders respecting them, and the Replies made to those Orders by the President and Select Committee of Bombay, and Brigadier General Goddard.

Conf. 15 May.

20. The Treaty with Futty Sing had not long been concluded, before the General marched his Forces to the City of Ahmedabad, the Capital of Guzerat. His Success at this Place, which he took by Storm on the 15th of February, after a Siege of Three Days, compleated the Reduction of the rich Province of Guzerat, for the Advantage of the Company, and their Ally Futty Sing, and to the entire Loss of it to the Maratta State. On the Army's quitting Ahmedabad, a Detachment of our Forces was left there in Garrison; and we have directed, that Futty Sing should be required to fix a Subsidy for the Expence of these Troops during their Continuance there, to make full Payment of it from the Time when they were left at Ahmedabad, and to discharge any extra Expence incurred by the Company in the Capture of the Place. The Detachment under the Command of General Goddard having crossed the River Myhe, on their Return to the Southward from Ahmedabad, was joined by the Forces of the Madras Establishment, consisting of 500 Europeans, commanded by Colonel Brown.

21. On their Arrival on the South Side of Mahie, it was found that Madajee Scindia and Tuckojee Holcar, with their Forces, consisting of about 40,000 Horse, after entering Chandeth, had proceeded towards Surat; within 30 Miles of this Place, they had advanced, when receiving Intelligence of the Siege of Ahmedabad, they bent their Course to the Northward, in hopes of arriving in sufficient Time to succour the Besieged; but finding their Expectations disappointed, by the early Capture of the Place, and that the General with his Army was marching quickly towards them, they had moved off with their whole Force towards Pawenghur, a strong, and by them deemed an impregnable Fortress, situated on a high and steep Hill. Here they continued for some Time; and during their Stay there was some Negociation set on Foot between the Two Chiefs and Brigadier General Goddard. The Intercourse commenced by their Release of Messrs. Farmer and Stewart from the Confinement which they had long suffered, as Hostages for the Performance of the Engagements made at Worgaum, and the Mission of a confidential Person, named Abajee Shabajee, charged with Letters to the General, and accompany these Gentlemen to the English Camp. A particular Account of the Correspondence between the General and the Maratta Chiefs, appears in his Letters to the President and Select Committee, of the 10th, 13th, and 17th March: It commenced, on the Part of Scindia, with general Expressions of his Friendship for the English, on Account of the Proofs which he had given of it, in the Regard shewn them at Worgaum, his Perseverance in the same Sentiments towards them to the present Period, manifested by his Treatment of Messrs. Farmer and Stewart, during their Residence in his Camp, and the Liberty which he had granted them to return; and a Desire to be informed if our Intentions were of a hostile or friendly Nature towards the Peshwa and himself. The Replies made by General Goddard were as general as the Professions to which they were Answers; rested the Cause of Quarrel with the Minister, to whose pernicious Councils he ascribed it, and its Consequences. It is necessary to observe, that at this Period there was a supposed Enmity between Nana the Minister, and Mhadajee Scindia, and that the same was avowed by Abajee Shabajee, the confidential Person before named as charged with Letters to the English Camp; though it is said, by General Goddard, that there is no Reason to believe that no such Enmity actually existed, and that it was declared merely to answer Purposes expected from it. The Proposals at last made by Scindia, through his confidential Agent, were to this Effect: That the Agreement said to have been made between Ragoba and Scindia, at Tilliagong, after the Return of the English Army to Bombay, should be revived.—In this Agreement, the former is said to have consented to relinquish all Claims to any Share in the Administration of Poonah, and to retire towards Jancy, where he would receive an Allowance from the Peshwa's Revenue of Twelve Lacks of Rupees per Annum; that the Sicca should be struck in the Name of the young Peshwa Madarow Narrain; and that Badjarow, the Son of Ragoba, should be appointed his Dewan; but being only Four Years of Age, and therefore too young to transact the Business of the Office himself, the Care and Management of it should be left entirely to Scindia. This Agreement, it was proposed, should now be put in Force, that Ragoba should immediately go to Jancy, and young Badjarow accompany Scindia to Poonah, in order to fix the Administration in the Manner above mentioned. The Answer made by General Goddard to these Proposals, was to the following Effect "That the English could not, consistently with their Honour, nor ever could, agree to put "any Restraint on Ragoba, or compel him to leave their Dominions against his own Consent: That however much they might be induced to unite in the proposed Settlement, they "must be perfectly satisfied respecting the Safety of young Badjarow; That every thing must "be quietly settled at Poonah, before his Presence would be expedient, or even necessary there; "and that, admitting even the English did agree to assist in putting the Power of the State into "the Hands of Scindia, it was necessary that he also should, on his Part, and in the Name of "the Peshwa, consent to the Performance of certain Conditions favourable to their Interests, as "well in Consideration of the important Advantages he was to receive through their Means, "as to compensate for the heavy Expence of the Wars, which formerly, and in particular "at this Time, they had been involuntarily compelled to wage with the Maratta State." With this Answer, and general Assurances of a sincere Disposition towards an Accommodation, on Terms of an honourable Nature, the Maratta Agent was dismissed to his Master; it does not appear that any farther Correspondence passed between the Two Camps.

Conf. 5th May.

22. In a Letter written by us to General Goddard, on Receipt of the Advices which have been above quoted, we explained to him the Principles which we required him to follow, with respect to Ragoba; deeming our Obligations to this Chief little more than

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negative, entirely confined to the present Protection of his Person, and a future Provision for his Subsistence. These Points having been secured, we positively directed, that no Consideration of the supposed Rights or Interests of Ragoba should ever be a Bar or Obstacle to a peaceable Accommodation with the Maratta State. The Provision stipulated for him in the Treaty of Poorunder, being in our Opinion adequate to his Rank and Wants, and placing him in a State of Safety and Independence, we should have approved of the Offers made to General Goddard by Mhadajee Scindia, for the Residence of Ragoba at Jancy, with such a Provision for his Subsistence, if that Fortress and its Dependency, or such a Portion of it, was equal to the clear Revenue intended to be appropriated to his Use, were assigned to him absolutely and independently of any other Controul.

Conf. 9th Oct. 23. These are the Principles which we laid down with respect to Ragoba; and we have confirmed them in late Letters to Brigadier General Goddard, desiring him to assure Ragoba that he may depend upon our Protection during the War in which we are involved with the Peshwa, and on our Regard to his personal Safety and Interest, as far as it may be in our Power to provide for him after it.

Conf. 20th April. 24. You will observe, in the Perusal of the General's Correspondence, the Reasons which he assigns, for the large Allowance which he had allotted to Ragonaut Row; and as these are stated by him in his Justification upon an important Point, we do him merely Justice in desiring your Attention to them. Our Orders had been positive and repeated for the Discontinuance of the Stipend allotted to Ragoba; but the Necessity of affording him some Allowance appearing to the General in a strong Point of View, and to the President and Select Committee of Bombay, whose Advice and Opinion he received on this Occasion, we have consented, for the Reasons stated to us, to the reduced Allowance granted by the General to Raguba of 10,000 Rupees a Month.

Conf. 29th Nov. 1779. 24th Jan. 1780.

25. With respect to the Operations of your Troops under the Command of General Goddard, since the Capture of Ahmudabad, we shall be as brief as possible in our of them, referring you for a fuller Detail to his own Accounts.

26. In the Morning of the 23d April, Brigadier General Goddard, taking with him a Part of his Army, consisting of 200 Europeans, 10 Companies of Grenadier Sepoys, 5 Battalions of Sepoys, and the Mogul and Candahar Cavalry, surprized and stormed the Maratta Camp, obliging the Enemy to make a quick Flight.—On the 23d May, Major Forbes, with Two Battalions of Sepoys, surprized a Body of the Enemy, consisting of 6,000 Horse, commanded by two principal Officers, named Baghsetty Scindia and Parajee Punt, whose Design was to watch the Motions of our Army, and to lay waste the Country; and he dispersed the Whole.

27. About the same Time Lieutenant Welch having been detached with the Regiment of Cavalry, the Candahar Horse, and the 7th Battalion of Sepoys, against Gunnese Punt, a Maratta Officer, who with a Body of 4,000 Horse, 3,000 Foot, and 3 Field Pieces, had been ravaging and greatly infesting the Environs of Surat, performed this Service with compleat Success; and, what redounds to the Credit of his Gallantry and Conduct, with the Assistance only of the Cavalry, for the Infantry were left purposely at a Distance, his Intention being to push forward with all possible Expedition, and to reach the Camp of the Enemy before Day break: He put them all to a precipitate Flight, and possessed himself of their whole Camp, their Guns, their Tents, and their Pazar. Lieutenant Welch has since distinguished his Conduct in the Capture of Parnegre, and on other Services, and shewn himself an active and good Officer.

28. We have only generally to observe, in Addition to this Recital, that the unprofitable Task of pursuing a Maratta Force, without the Possibility of bringing them to an Engagement, has induced Brigadier General Goddard, since his Successes, which have made the Company and their Ally complete Masters of Guzerat, to employ his Arms chiefly for the Defence of the acquired Countries, and in securing the Collections of Revenue from it; and we have the Happiness to know, at the same Time that we lament the heavy Expence which has been necessarily incurred in the Prosecution of the War, that the Operations of your Forces in the Course of it, have retrieved the Character which they lost by the melancholy Disaster which befel them in January 1779, and placed them in the First Degree of Credit and Estimation.

29. The Necessity of maintaining so large a Force at the Expence of the Bengal Treasury, has occasioned so quick a Drain of it as to make the further Support of the Charge almost impossible; and it seeming to us only reasonable that every Accession of Revenue which might immediately arise to the Company, from the Operations and Suc-

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cesses of the Army, should be appropriated exclusively to the Payment of its Expences, we informed the Gentlemen of Bombay of our Expectations in this Particular; and have the Pleasure to know from their late Letters, that they have assigned the first Collections from the Pergunnahs, under the Management of the Chief and Council at Surat, solely to that Purpose.

30. The Necessity of a Reduction of Expence, no less than a Belief that the Gentlemen at Fort Saint George would require the Services of the Troops under Colonel Brown, detached from that Presidency, to make a Part of General Goddard's Army, induced us on the 20th April, to direct that they should be sent back, as soon as he could dispense with their Services. They consist of One Company of European Artillery, Seven of Infantry, and One Battalion of Sepoys. The same Consideration of lessening Expence, induced us to order the Reduction of the 1st Regiment of Cavalry with General Goddard's Army. They had not been at that Time even noticed to us as a useful Corps to the Operations of the Detachment, and the Expence attending it was very considerable; but the strong Recommendation which we have since received of their Merits from General Goddard, grounded on their late Activity and Services, and the Desire which he has expressed for their Continuance in his Army, have prevailed on us to revoke our Orders to him of the 20th April to disband them.

31. We have not yet sufficiently considered the last Advices from General Goddard, or those from Bombay, respecting the future Operations of their Troops, and the other Subjects to which they relate, to reply to them; but they appear on the Proceedings noted in the Margin. The whole Army under the Command of Brigadier General Goddard, was probably embarked from Surat the Beginning of October; we entertain a Hope that they are now in Possession of Bassien, and by the Assistance of the Bombay Troops of the Country around it. At this Distance from the Scene of Action, it has not been possible for us to prescribe a fixed Plan of Operations for General Goddard's Forces after the Capture of Bassien. Well acquainted as he is with our general Sentiments, we have thought it best to leave him generally to his own Discretion in this Respect, excepting where he shall receive Orders from the Commander in Chief, which we have directed him to obey; and in the Event of the Arrival of a French Armament on the Coast of Malabar, when he is positively ordered to employ his Force for the Assistance of the Presidency of Bombay.

Conf. 3d Oct. / 23d Nov. — Conf. 9th Oct.

Conf. 26th Oct.

32. We thought it necessary on the 16th ultimo, to impower Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote, and did accordingly impower him, to issue such Orders as he should judge expedient, to every Detachment that has or may be made from the Military Establishment of this Presidency, for the general Service of the War in which the Company's Forces are engaged.

33. We are happy to inform you, that our Successes against the Marattas have not been limited to the Operations in Guzerat. The same Spirit which has animated your Forces in that Country, and the same Gallantry and good Conduct which has distinguished their Commanders, has shewn itself in the Detachment of your Troops employed in the Service of our Ally, the Rana of Ghode.—The Capture of Lahar Fort, the 28th April, and the subsequent and very important Capture of the Fortress of Gualior, of which you were advised in a separate Letter, written to you under Date the 11th August, by a neutral Ship, reflect the highest Honour on the Officer in Command of your Troops, as well as those subordinate to him. We have thought it necessary to reward the Service of Captain Popham, by promoting him to the Rank of Major; and we have granted a Commission accordingly, specifying particularly in the Body of it, for what Services it was given him, his Title to the Rank which he held by it, not being in the regular Course of Succession. His Conduct during the whole Course of this Service, has been so meritorious, that we think it a Duty incumbent upon us, to recommend him particularly to your Favour. We have directed that the Fort of Gualior should continue in Possession of your Troops during the Continuance of the War.

Conf. 12, 19, 26, 29 June. 13th, 20 July. 11th Sept. 13th Nov.

34. Long before the Capture of Gualior, we had resolved on the Relief of the Battalion of Drafts, acting under the Command of Captain Popham, by four regular Battalions detached from the Brigades; and the Command of the Troops so detached, was given to Major Carnac.—Some Difference of Opinion having arisen, on a Proposition made by the Governor General, for an Encrease of this Force, and on the Powers and Instructions to be granted to Major Carnac, we beg Leave to refer you, for an Explanation, to the several Minutes which are entered in the Consultation, noted in the

Margin;

Conf. 12th June. 13th Nov.

Margin; content now to inform you generally, that the Instructions given to Major Carnac, were as proposed on the 12th June; that the Battalion of Drafts, formerly serving under Captain Popham, are appointed to the Establishment; and that the whole Force, consisting of Seven Battalions of Sepoys, is now under the Command of Major Carnac, as well as the Corps of Foreign Rangers, formerly on Duty as a Guard to the Commander in Chief.

35. Our Endeavours have been exerted to obtain for the Nabob Vizier, complete Payment of the Company's whole Demand upon him for the last Year; but without Effect.

Conf. 3d and 30th April.

The Distress of his Situation, and his Inability to attend to the Requisitions made of him now described in so strong Colours, that we have been obliged to relax in some Degree from our Demand upon him for the present, though not without an Expectation that the Claims of the ensuing Year will have been entirely provided for, together with the Debt of the foregoing, at the late Settlement. Having strongly recommended to Mr. Purling, to urge his Excellency to the Diminution of some large and unnecessary Expences, which we observed in a State of his Finances transmitted to us, we trust that the Advice given him will have a good Effect, and that better Economy for the future will enable him to discharge his entire Debt to the Company, without Distress to himself. Mr. Purling has lately remitted to us the Sum of Five Lacks of Fyzabad Rupees, which is safely arrived here, and placed in our Treasury.

36. We have thought it necessary to require from the Rajah of Benares, the same

Conf. 23d June.

Subsidy for the ensuing Year that he paid in the last, as his Proportion in the Expence of the War. He for some Time hesitated to comply with the Demand, and we were obliged to resolve on Measures of Compulsion; but he has since paid the Account, and we have stopped the Execution of those Measures. The Support which he receives from this Government, to whom he owes all that he possesses; the known Affluence of his Circumstances, notwithstanding his Pretexts to the contrary; and the Interest which he possesses in chief over all other Persons subject to us in the Company's Prosperity and

Conf. 2d Nov.

Success, have induced us to require of him the Assistance of such a Body of Cavalry as he can spare for the Company's Employ; under a Promise made to him, that their Services will not be required beyond

Conf. 2d Nov.

the Continuance of the War. We have also strongly recommended to the Nabob Vizier to require from Fyzoola Cawn, the Quota of Troops, consisting of 5000 Horse, stipulated by Treaty to be furnished by the latter; and we do not doubt of his ready Obedience to the Requisition.

37. We have at present no more to add to the Advices herewith sent you from this Department, and to those which we had the Honour to transmit you by the Tryal Packet. In our next Dispatches, we shall hope to be able to inform you of the Event of the Offers made by us to the Maratta State, and to send you a prosperous Account of the State of your Affairs on the Coast of Coromandel.

We are,
Honourable Sirs,
Your most faithful
humble Servants,
Warren Hastings.
Edw. Wheler.

Fort William,
the 29th November, 1780.

FOURTH REPORT

FROM THE

COMMITTEE OF SECRECY,

APPOINTED TO ENQUIRE INTO

THE CAUSES OF THE WAR

IN THE

CARNATIC,

AND OF

THE CONDITION OF THE BRITISH POSSESSIONS IN THOSE PARTS.

LONDON:
Printed for J. DEBRETT, (Successor to Mr. ALMON,) opposite BURLINGTON-HOUSE, PICCADILLY.

FOURTH

REPORT

FROM THE

COMMITTEE OF SECRECY, &c.

The Committee of Secrecy, appointed to enquire into the Causes of the War that now subsists in the Carnatic, and of the present Condition of the British Possessions in those Parts; and to report the same, with their Observations thereupon; to the House; and who were instructed to enquire into the Rise, Progress, Conduct, and present State of the Maratta War, and all other Hostilities in which the Presidency of Bengal now are, or have been, engaged in the Support of that War; and of the Effects which the said War and Hostilities may have produced in Bengal, and the other Settlements and Possessions of the East India Company,

IN the original Plan of their Report, proposed, after giving an Account of the Irruption of Hyder Ally into the Carnatic, with the military Transactions that happened in Consequence thereof, and the Intelligence which the Company's Servants had received of the hostile Intentions of that Prince, to state the Conduct of the Company's Servants, as far as it appears to have had any Influence on these Transactions, under Three Heads; Military, Political, and Revenue.

Of these Three general Heads, the First makes the Subject of a former Report; the Second will be separately considered. In the present Report, your Committee propose, as far as the Materials they have had Access to enable them, to mention such Particulars respecting the Revenue of the Company, under the Presidency of Fort Saint George, as may be of Importance for the Information of the House.

Your Committee, however, beg Leave to observe, that this Part of their Business has been much abridged, in Consequence of the Variation which they thought it necessary to make upon their original Plan. In the Introduction to their Second Report, they informed the House,

That having found several special Matters relating to the Conduct of the Two last Governors of Fort Saint George, and of their respective Councils, which appeared proper to be communicated to the House; they thought it their Duty to make a Report of the special Matters as early as possible, and without waiting to complete their General Report. Of those special Matters, which make the Subject of the Second Report, a very considerable Part relates to the Conduct of the Company's Servants in the Management of the Revenues; and in that View was originally intended to be introduced under this general Head. To introduce the same Matters here again, would occasion an unnecessary Repetition. To that Part of the Second Report, therefore, your Committee beg Leave to refer for Information in these Particulars; proposing here, after mentioning what appears to have been the State of the Treasury at the Time of the Irruption of Hyder Ally into the Carnatic, to give only a general View of the Nature, Amount, and Expenditure, of the Revenues; with such Observations respecting them, as did not fall within the Plan of that special Report.

Your Committee find, That at the Time of Hyder Ally's Irruption into the Carnatic, the State of the Treasury of Fort Saint George, and of the Money at their Command, was by no Means such as could enable the Presidency, from its own Resources, to resist so formidable an Attack. Mr. Sadlier, in his Minute of July 29th, 1780, charges the President and Council with having taken "no Pains to replenish an empty "Treasury; that the Nabob had declared he had "no Money; that the Rajah of Tanjore had made "the same Declaration; that the Masulipatam Districts of the Nor-"thern Circars were so far from being able to furnish the Supplies, "that Arrears of Tribute then amounted to Seventeen Lacks of "Pagodas; that Sitteram Rauze, the most wealthy Zemindar under "the Company, had not paid his Kists, and instead of his being pressed "to pay them, a Remission of Tribute was voted to him; that Ball "Kistna was in Arrears, nor was it believed that he would be ever "induced to make good his Engagements."—Mr. Sadlier adds, "That notwithstanding that bad State of the Revenue, Mone might "be raised, and enough of it too, had Government acted with Spirit "and Resolution; but that both were wanting when both were most "required—That the Nabob's Territories had remained in Peace "ever since the Year 1769; that considerable Additions had been "made to them since that Time; that his Expences were by no "Means adequate to his Revenue—he asks, What then is become of "the Overplus?—that his Revenues had been diminishing annually; "that the Revenues of the other Countries subject to Madras, had "been diminishing in the same Proportion; that their Specie had "been transported to China and to Europe, at the Rate of Ten and "Fifteen Lacks of Pagodas annually; but that though much had "been carried away, enough still remained, and that the Means were "still within their Reach, if they would but exert themselves with "Activity and Spirit."

Fort St. George Minutes of Cons. 29th July 1780.

This

This melancholy Picture of the Finances, drawn by Mr. Sadlier, remains uncontradicted; nor, though an Answer is made to his Minute by the Governor and Commander in Chief, is any Reply made to this Part of the Charge contained in it.

Your Committee find, That in a Letter dated 26th July, the Governor had applied to the Nabob to know what Assistance might be depended upon from him, to resist the Attack of Hyder Ally, and particularly to know what Supplies of Money might be depended upon from him, and at what Period; adding, That however desirous he might be to defend the Company's and his Highness's Forts and Possessions, it would in a great Measure depend upon the ample Supplies of Money his Highness could furnish him with at that critical Juncture.

Appendix, N° 1.

To this Demand the Nabob returns a very long Answer, stating his utter Inability to advance any Money; imputing his Distress to his being deprived of the Tanjore Country, to the Anticipations he had been under the Necessity of making on his Revenues, and the Depredations of the Enemy's Cavalry; and concludes with intreating the Governor to use every Exertion in his Power to procure what might be immediately wanted, which he would discharge in Time of Peace, considering himself, in every Respect, as Principal in the War then waged against the Carnatic.

See Appendix to 1st Report, N° 8.

This Account of the Nabob's Distress, is confirmed by Sir Eyre Coote; who, in his Letter to the Committee of Correspondence at the India-House, dated 30th November, 1780, after describing the bad State in which he found the Affairs under the Presidency of Fort Saint George, upon his Arrival there, and the total Want of all necessary Supplies, adds, "I naturally turned my Eyes towards the Nabob Mahomed Ali; but "figure my Disappointment, when, instead of finding him in a Situ-"ation to assist our Exigencies, I learnt from his own Mouth, that "he had neither Men, Money, nor Influence, and that he looked "to the Company for the Support of both his Interest and Credit."

Letter from Sir Eyre Coote to the Committee of Correspondence, Nov. 30th, 1780.

A similar Application was made to the Rajah of Tanjore, but with as little Success. He excused himself on the Ground of Want of Money, and the Oppression his Country had suffered under the Nabob, which had left him so little in Condition to assist the Company with Money, that it was with Difficulty he had paid his Subsidy of Four Lacks.

Appendix, N° 2. Aug. 7th, 1780.

Your Committee find, that in this Exigency, Application was made to the Supreme Governor and Council for Assistance, and particularly for a Supply of Money, which was urged in the most pressing Terms. The Select Committee* of Fort Saint George, informs the Governor-General and Council, in their Letter of the 26th of July, 1780, that it would be impossible for them to draw Resources from the Country, so as to be able

Appendix, N° 3.

... with Vigour and Effect." And in that of the 14th of September, that they had no Means whatever to answer the extraordinary Expences of the War; and that it would be totally impossible for them to carry it on, unless they could be sure of Supplies of Money from Bengal.—They add, "That it would be a great Relief, if a Sum of Money "could be sent immediately after the Receipt of "these Dispatches." And Sir Edward Hughes, in his Letter of the same Date, to the Governor-General and Council, after mentioning the Necessity of sending a Supply of Troops from Bengal, adds, "Nor will Troops alone save this sinking "Settlement; for I am assured by the Governor, "that they have no Money in the Treasury, nor any evident Means "of raising it, in any Proportion adequate to their present Exi"gencies."

Appendix, N° 3.

Secret Proceedings of the Governor General and Council, 22d Sept. 1780.

And your Committee find, that the President and Council express themselves in the same manner with respect to their Finances, in their Dispatches to the Court of Directors. In the Letter from the Select Committee of Fort Saint George to the Court of Directors, dated October 15, 1780, they write that, "They had been put to the greatest Distress "for the Want of Money to carry on the War." And in their General Letter of the same Date, they inform the Directors of the Means they had taken to supply that Want—That they had issued Advertisements for receiving Loans from the Inhabitants, on certain Terms which they mention. But that the Supply, by that Means obtained, proving inadequate, and having no Hope of any immediate Relief that could be deemed effectual, they had been under the unavoidable Necessity, as the last Resource, to draw Bills on the Directors to the Amount of £. 200,000.

Appendix, N° 4.

Appendix, N° 4.

Your Committee find, that the Consequence of the Application to Bengal, was a Supply of Fifteen Lacks of Rupees, which the Governor General and Council sent by Sir Eyre Coote. But they find that this Sum, being intended wholly to answer Military Expences, was entrusted not to the President and Council of Fort Saint George, but to Sir Eyre Coote, Commander in Chief; and that a Paymaster was appointed by the Governor-General and Council, to whom the immediate Charge of it was committed: But the Governor-General and Council authorized Sir Eyre Coote to make use of this Money, in supplying the Requisitions of the President and Select Committee of Fort Saint George, if he should be satisfied of the Expediency of doing so.

Appendix, N° 5.

And your Committee find, that these Supplies appear still to have been insufficient. For in a Letter of the 29th of November, to the Court of Directors, the Select Committee writes, "That they can place but little De"pendence on any Resource, but that of Bengal, for carrying on the "War; and that as to the Expences of the Civil Department, they "have

Appendix, N° 5.

" have very slender Hope of procuring [illegible] to assist them from " any Quarter."

And Sir Eyre Coote, in a Letter dated 10th of November 1780, to the Governor-General and Council, informs them, that " by the nearest Computation he could make, the future Disbursements at Fort Saint George would rather exceed " Seven Lacks of Rupees per Month, every Cowrie " of which must come from Bengal, as he found there were no Resources there, from which a single Pagoda could be expected."

Letter from Sir Eyre Coote to the Governor-General and Council, 10th Nov. 1780.

Your Committee, observing this Distress for Money at Fort Saint George at this particular Period, ordered the Servants of the East-India Company to lay before them, a State of the Treasuries at the different Presidencies for the last Four Years.

In Obedience to this Order, there was laid before your Committee, a State of the several Treasuries, for Four Years preceding the last Period to which they could be made up. That of Madras is made up to the 25th of March 1780, and is as follows:

30th June 1777	—	Pag. 4,29,552	at 8s.	£. 171,820
31st January 1778	—	3,57,794	—	143,117
28th February 1779	—	2,36,916	—	94,766
25th March 1780	—	2,88,238	—	115,295

Your Committee are aware, that as this Account is made up only to the 25th of March, which your Committee was informed was the lowest Period to which the Materials at the India-House admitted of its being brought, it cannot be considered as giving any satisfactory Information with respect to the State of the Treasury, at the Time of the Irruption of Hyder Ally into the Carnatic; and as there is a Difference in the Periods to which the State is made up each Year, no very exact Comparison can be made of the State of the Treasury in these respective Years. But so far your Committee think themselves warranted to observe from this Account, that on the 25th March 1780, the State of the Treasury was not such, as, upon a Comparison with its Situation at other Periods, implied any particular Attention to that Object.

It is proper that your Committee should observe, that on various Occasions preceding the Period of Hyder Ally's Irruption, the President and Council at Fort Saint George appear to have represented their Difficulties with respect to Money. The Revenues under that Presidency are stated as barely sufficient for their Peace Establishment; and even those Revenues are not to be depended upon in Case of an Emergency, owing to the Irregularity of the Payments, particularly from the Nabob and the Rajah of Tanjore. On the 31st of December 1778, they inform the Governor General and Council, by Letter, that they had written particularly to the Court of Directors, on the Subject of their Engagements with the Nabob and the Rajah of Tanjore; and requested that they would fall on some

Select Consultations, 31st Dec. 1778.

Means

Means of relieving them from the Embarrassments they were exposed to, in defending such extensive Territories, without having the least Command over one Resource belonging to them—That, in the mean Time, they flattered themselves that the Governor General and Council would yield them every Aid in their Power, and particularly at a Period when they were obliged to make Exertions much beyond their natural Strength; and when they had nothing to trust to for supporting them, but Engagements to be performed, and Revenues to be collected.

Appendix, N° 6.

At a Consultation on the 14th January 1779, at which Sir Eyre Coote, then at Madras on his Way to Bengal, was present, the President—after mentioning Sir Eyre Coote's Presence as a fortunate Circumstance, because, having an Opportunity, from his own Observation, to form a Judgment of their Resources, and of the Difficulties they had, and still have, to struggle with, he might, from his own Knowledge, be able to enforce their Representations to the Supreme Council—refers to former Minutes, in Evidence of their Difficulties; apologizes for the Necessity they had been under of drawing Bills upon the Company, from the Impossibility of raising Money in any other Manner, for paying the Arrears due to the Troops: And adds, That notwithstanding the Money borrowed, they had then an empty Treasury—That if the Nabob should fail in his Engagements, the most serious Consequences were to be apprehended—That they had represented their Situation to the Governor General and Council; and that, if they did not receive a Supply, they would be under the Necessity of drawing on Europe—That it was absolutely necessary to act with Vigour, in order to obtain Money from those Channels from whence it ought to flow; and by a determined Plan of Œconomy, and a Reduction of all Expence, to endeavour to supply the Treasury—That though it would be improper and dangerous to reduce their Military Force at the Commencement of a War, yet, that he had no Hesitation to give it as his Opinion, that their Establishment was too great for their Resources.

Appendix, N° 7.

In a subsequent Minute, of Date the 4th of February 1779, at which Sir Eyre Coote was also present, the President lays before the Board, the Intelligence he had received of the bad Success of the Bombay Army against the Marattas, and the Necessity thence arising, of taking into Consideration their own State and Resources, as well for the Defence of the Carnatic as for affording Assistance to any other Parts of the Company's Possessions, or of those of their Allies;—mentions his frequent Representations of the Difficulties they had to struggle with; and that the utmost they could expect, was to supply their Exigencies on a Peace Establishment, and to provide their Investments. That their Situation had been represented to the Governor General and Council; but that they should still address them in a more particular Manner on the Subject, and request that they would not only afford them Assistance from the Bengal Treasury, in order to enable their Army to take the Field (should Circumstances make it necessary) but that they would

would give them their Opinion on such Points as they had submitted to their Consideration; and in particular, the Mode of securing the regular Payment of the Subsidies from the Nabob and the Rajah of Tanjore.

In a Minute of the same Date, Sir Eyre Coote expresses his Concurrence with the President, in the Necessity there was of making this Representation to the Government of Bengal. Appendix, N° 7.

And your Committee find, that, upon other Occasions, the Revenues under the Presidency of Fort Saint George, have been stated in the same Manner, as barely equal to their Establishment in Time of Peace, and providing the Investment, but not to the contingent Expences of War; and accordingly it appears, that to enable that Government to carry on the Expedition against Pondicherry and that to Mahé, they received a Supply of Twenty Lacks of Rupees from Bengal. Appendix, N° 8. Letter from the President and Council of Fort Saint George to the Court of Directors, April 3d, 1780.

Your Committee next proceeded to enquire more particularly into the Nature of the Revenues under the Presidency of Fort Saint George, and the different Sources from which these Revenues arise: And your Committee find, that the Revenues under the Presidency of Fort Saint George, properly so called, consist of Three general Heads:

First, Revenues issuing out of Lands.
Secondly, Duties and Customs.
Thirdly, Farms of exclusive Privileges.

And your Committee find, that the Lands subject to the Presidency of Fort Saint George, are,

First, The Lands immediately contiguous to the Presidency, consisting of the District round Fort Saint George, of which the Company had been long in Possession; and the Jaghire Lands, which were acquired from Mahomed Ali Cawn, Nabob of the Carnatic, by Grant, dated October 29th 1763, and confirmed to the Company by the Mogul's Firmaun, dated the 12th of August 1765. Appendix, N° 9. Appendix, N° 9.

Secondly, The Territory of Cuddalore, or Fort Saint David's.

Thirdly, The Districts of Masulipatam and Nizampatam, with the Five Circars of Elur, Rajahmundry, Mustaphanagur, Chicacole, and Mortezanagur Condavir or Guntoor, commonly called the Five Northern Circars.

And your Committee find, that the Districts of Masulipatam and Nizampatam were acquired from the Subah of the Decan by a Grant, dated May 14th 1759; and that the Five Circars were granted to the Company by the Mogul's Firmaun, dated the 12th of August 1765, and afterwards confirmed to them by Treaty with the Nizam or Subah of the Decan, to whose Government they had been subject. By this Treaty, dated 12th November 1766, the Circar of Montezanagur or Guntoor, which had been, previous to the Treaty, granted in Jaghire by the Append. N° 10. Append. N° 10. Append. N° 10.

Nizam to his Brother Bazalet Jung, is reserved to that Prince during his Life; and the Company engages to pay to the Nizam for the Three Circars of Elur, Rajahmundry, and Mustaphanagur, Five Lacks of Rupees Yearly, and Two Lacks for each of those of Mortezanagur and Chicacole; the first of which was in the Possession of Bazalet Jung, and the other, not then reduced to Obedience, as soon as the Company should be put into Possession of them; making in all Nine Lacks Yearly.

Append. N° 10. And your Committee find, that, by a subsequent Treaty, dated the 23d Day of February 1768, between the Company, the Nizam, and the Nabob of the Carnatic, in which the Northern Circars are confirmed to the Company, the Annual Payment to the Nizam for the Four Circars of which the Company was then in Possession, is reduced to Two Lacks of Rupees for Six Years, and One Lack more, if during that Time they should obtain Possession of the Circar of Guntoor; and after the Six Years, Five Lacks for the Four Circars, with Two more when Guntoor should come into their Possession; making in all Seven Lacks.

Select Letter from Fort St. George, 17th Oct. 1778. Fourthly, The Company did, in the Year 1778, acquire from the Rajah of Tanjore the Territory of Nagore.

Your Committee find, that this District, which lies upon the Sea Coast in the Kingdom of Tanjore, and is valued at 2½ Lacks of Rupees Yearly, was obtained from the Rajah, in lieu of a Grant of Lands round Devicottah, which the Rajah had voluntarily offered to the Company, in Gratitude for being restored to his Dominions, under the Government of Lord Pigot.

Lastly, The Company has, since the Commencement of the present War, acquired from the French, Pondicherry and Karrical, with their Territories.

And your Committee having made Inquiry into the Nature of the Territorial Possessions of the Company, find, that these Possessions are distinguished chiefly into Two Kinds, known by the Names of the Havilly or Government Lands, and the Zemindary Lands.—That the Havilly or Government Lands, are Lands which belong in full Property to the Government (in this Case the Company) and to which no Rajah or Zemindar has any Right: And these Lands are either possessed by the Government itself, or let out to Renters for a certain Annual Rent.

That the Zemindary Lands are the Possessions of certain Rajahs or Chiefs, who pay an Annual Tribute, as settled by a Rent Roll, or Jummabundy, to the Government, according to the Value of their Possessions.

And your Committee find, that though the Amount of the Tribute in the Zemindary Lands is variable, and settled only by temporary Agreements between the Government and the Zemindars, either for One or more Years; yet that these last are understood to have a

permanent

permanent Claim to the Possession of their Lands, and a Right of transmitting them to their Heirs.

In a Letter from the President and Council of Fort Saint George to the Court of Directors, dated 8th Mar. 1769, in which they state the Distinction between Zemindary and Havilly Lands; it is said, That the Tribute paid by the Zemindars, ought to be certain and invariable, though that has not always been strictly observed; and Changes of Government have always introduced Changes in the Tribute—they add, That this is of no great Consequence, for besides these first Tributes, (supposing they were so) the Supreme Government has always demanded, and Custom has given Sanction and Title to, a further Sum, as a Nazâr or Free Gift; and that these two Sums, the Tribute and Nazâr, are what they mean when they speak of settling the Jummabundy with the Zemindars.

Append. N° 11.

Your Committee do not find in the Records of the Company which they have perused, any other Mention of this Nazâr or Free Gift, as paid to the Government, distinct from the Tribute; nor do either the Agreements made with the Zemindars, or the Accounts of the Revenues transmitted Home, make any Mention of it.

Your Committee find a Passage in the Revenue Consultations of Fort Saint George, of Date 31st August 1774, which, as it tends to explain the Nature and Origin of the Rights of the Rajahs or Zemindars to the Possession of their Lands in the Northern Circars, where alone there are any Zemindaries under the Presidency of Fort Saint George, and to illustrate the State of the Company's Possessions in that Quarter, they will here insert: "The Zemindars in general are "hereditary Landholders, who, on certain Conditions, have held the "Lands they now possess in their Families for a considerable Number "of Years; some however cannot claim such long Right, but have "been created Zemindars by the Subahs, who have governed at "Hyderabad, since the Death of Nizam ul Mulk.

"During the Rigour of the Moorish Government, they were "obliged, by the Condition of their Tenure, to assist the Subahs "with a certain Number of Troops for Military Services, and to pay "a Tribute besides, in Proportion to the Value of their Countries; "but as the Government became weakened, they often refused "Obedience, until compelled by Force, and their Refusal often ended in their Expulsion from their Zemindaries; but even in such "Cases, the Government found the Attachment of the People to the "Zemindars so strong, that they could seldom collect any Part of "the Revenues; and in general, they rather chose to give the Lands "again to one of the Family, than to annex them to the Crown.

"This Weakness of the Moorish Government, gave frequent Opportunities to the principal Zemindars to increase their Power—"They seized upon the Lands of those who were unable to resist "them, and so far, as to wrest the Havilly or Government Lands "from the Government itself—By these Means many of them became "possessed of large Tracts of Country, and maintained a considerable

 "Number

"Number of Troops, particularly the Zemindar of Vizianagrum,
"in the Chicacole Circar.

"In this Situation we found the Zemindars when we obtained the "Mogul's Phirmaunds. Unaccustomed to ready Compliance with "any Requisitions of Government, and apprehensive of suffering by "a Change of Masters, it is easy to conceive how little they were "disposed to obey the new Orders of the Mogul. The Board consi-"dering these Difficulties, and the Inconveniences which might a-"rise to the Company, were they forcibly to possess themselves of the "Country, in Opposition to the Will of the Zemindars, thought it "most prudent and adviseable, upon every Account, to make such "Agreements with them as might secure a reasonable Tribute, and "yet leave them in an honourable Situation, by confirming them in "the Rights and Privileges they had enjoyed, and yielding to them "a competent Maintenance out of the Produce of their Countries.— "This was explained at a Meeting with some of them; and the "Zemindars of the Elur and Mustaphanagur Circars, in consequence "submitted, and entered into an Agreement, which may be seen on "Reference to the Circar Consultations for 1766. The Zemindars "of Rajahmundry and Chicacole held out some Time longer, and "Troops were sent against them; but at length they submitted, and "the same Mode of Settlement took Place with them, as with the "Zemindars above-mentioned."

Your Committee find, in the Consultations of the Presidency of Fort Saint George, in their Revenue Department, of Date January 11th 1777, certain Questions sent to the Chief and Council of Mazulipatam, to be by them put to some of the principal Zemindars dependent on that Settlement, with respect to the Rules of Succession in Zemindaries.—They find, in a subsequent Consultation, of Date the 23d of May 1777, the Answers returned to these Questions by Four of the principal Zemindars; which, as they tend to illustrate the Ideas entertained of the Rights of these hereditary Landholders, with the Rules of Succession established among them, your Committee judged proper to insert in the Appendix.

Append. N° 12.

Your Committee find, that the Right of these hereditary Landholders to the Possession of their Lands, has been recognized by the Court of Directors; who, in their Orders for establishing the Committee of Circuit, 12th April 177,, say, "That it was by no Means "their Wish to deprive the hereditary Rajahs or Zemindars of their "annual Income; on the contrary, that they meant to secure it to "them." They add, "That if any of the Zemindars should prefer "receiving their Income from the Company, and relinquish their "hereditary Claims, they had no Objection to allowing them such "Stipends, as should be found reasonable, in lieu of the Benefits "arising from their Zemindaries."

Besides the Havilly and Zemindary Lands, from which the Company draw a Revenue, your Committee find, that there are various Parcels of Land in the Circars which are held by the Possessors under the Name of Inaums, or Charity Lands, whether granted originally

for charitable Purposes, on Account of Services performed, or in Free Gift. The Committee of Circuit, (the Institution and Object of which has been explained in a former Report) in their Letter to the President and Council of Fort Saint George, of Date the 10th of September 1777, state the Amount of these Charity Lands in the Chicacole Circar, at 40,000 Rupees a Year; and give it as their Opinion, That the Titles to many of these Charity Lands being founded on supposed Grants in the Time of the Moorish Government, had either flowed from the Governors of the Province, who had no Right to make such Grants, or from Collusion with the Renters; the Holders of the Grants, from a Conviction that their Claims could not stand the Test of Examination, being contented, for a small Gratification, to lend their Names for the Purpose of carrying on this Imposition on Government.

Your Committee next proceeded to enquire into the Nature of the Second Branch of the Revenue, viz. the Customs and Duties.—These your Committee find to consist chiefly of a Duty of 5 or 2½ per Cent. according to the Quality of the Goods, imported by Sea or brought in by Land; in respect of which Distinction, these Goods either fall under the Sea or Land Customs.

Your Committee find, That these Customs or Duties have been usually received by Collectors appointed by the Company—They find, however, that in February 1779, Advertisements have been published for letting them at Rent for Five Years; and a Variety of Proposals appear to have been given in, in consequence of these Advertisements—This Plan, for which a Decay or Falling off in the Receipt, was given as the chief Motive, appears to have been much objected to by the Merchants and Traders of Madras, as hurtful to Trade, and unusual in a Free Government. The Consideration of it was therefore remitted to the Directors at Home; who do not appear hitherto to have made any Alteration in the Mode of Collection.

And your Committee find, That the Farms of exclusive Privileges, which make the Third Branch of the Revenue, are, exclusive Rights of Trade in certain Articles, such as Beetle Nut, Tobacco, Arrack, &c. and for which an annual Payment is made to the Company.

Besides the Three great Branches of the Revenue above-mentioned, there falls to be reckoned, as Part of the Resources of the Company under the Presidency of Fort Saint George, such Proportion of the military Expences as is defrayed by the Nabob of Arcot and the Rajah of Tanjore.—And your Committee find, That by Agreement between the Company and the Nabob, that Prince is engaged to defray the Expence of Ten Battalions of Sepoys in the Carnatic, besides that of all his Garrisons:—And that the Rajah of Tanjore pays annually, by Agreement, Four Lacks of Pagodas, for the Expence of the Company's Troops in his Country.

Military Letter from Fort Saint George, 29th Oct. 1773.

Letter from the Rajah of Tanjore in Consultation, 24th April 1776.

And your Committee find that these Revenues are either accounted for immediately at the Presidency, or at one or other of the subordi-

nate

nate Stations, at which a Chief and Council reside—That of these subordinate Stations, there are Four under the Presidency of Madras; viz. One at Cuddalore; One at Mazulipatam, for the Circars of Elur, Rajahmundry, and Mustaphanagur; and the Chicacole Circar is divided into Two Districts, that to the South being under the Management of a Chief and Council residing at Vizagapatam, and that to the North, commonly called the Itchapore District, under a Chief and Council residing at Ganjam.

Your Committee having ascertained the Nature of the Revenues under the Presidency of Fort Saint George, with the Sources from which they flow, proceeded next to enquire into the Produce of these Revenues; and with that View they gave Directions that there should be laid before them, an Account of the Territorial and other Revenues received by the Presidency of Madras, from 1st May 1763 to the last Accounts received, distinguishing each Year, and distinguishing the Heads under which these Revenues are received, and the Balances under each Head at the End of each Year. This Account they think it proper to lay before the House.

An ACCOUNT of the Territorial and other Revenues received by the Presidency of Madras from 1st May 1763 to the last Accounts received; distinguishing each Year, and distinguishing the Heads under which it is received, and the Balances under each Head at the End of each Year.

1763-4.	Received unde each Head in the Year.	Balance of each Head.	Total Gross Receipts.	Total Balances.	Total Nett Receipts.
Fort St. George.	Pag.	Pag.	Pag.	Pag.	Pag.
Land Revenues - -	213,476	190,854			
Customs and Duties -	63,686	2,005			
Farms and Licenses -	46,110	13,085			
			323,222	205,944	322,222
Cuddalore.					
Land Revenues - -	14,650	10,650			
Customs and Duties -	3,864	—			
Farms and Licenses -	8,800	3,400			
			27,314	14,050	27,314
Masulipatam.					
Land Revenues - -	98,656	122,169			
Customs and Duties -	6,198	4,571			
Farms and Licencies -	1,155	1,816			
			106,009	128,556	106,009
Vizagapatam.					
Land Revenues -	3,922	No Accounts are received of the Balances of this Year.			
Customs and Duties -	226				
Farm and Licenses -	644				
			4,792	—	4,792
		Pag.	461,337	348,550	460,337
				Commission	6,239
				Pag.	454,098

	Received under each Head in the Year	Balance of each Head	Total Grofs Receipts.	Total Balances.	Total Nett Receipts.
1764-5.					
	Pag.	Pag.	Pag.	Pag.	Pag.
Fort St. George.					
Land Revenues - -	242,073	295,863			
Cuftoms and Duties -	57,201	2,205			
Farms and Licenfes -	26,143	9,871			
			325,417	307,939	322,217
Cuddalore.					
Land Revenues - -	19,333	8,8[illegible]			
Cuftoms and Duties -	6,014	—			
Farms and Licenfes -	8,030	3,050			
			33,377	11,900	33,377
Mafulipatam.					
Land Revenues - -	88,37[illegible]	146,371			
Cuftoms and Duties -	12,341	3,809			
Farms and Licenfes -	1,816	1,485			
			102,530	151,665	102,530
Vizagapatam.					
Land Revenues - -	4,838	No Accounts received			
Cuftoms and Duties -	145				
Farms and Licenfes -	98[illegible]				
			5,967	—	5,967
		Pag.	467,291	471,504	464,091
				Con mi.h n	6 596
				I a	457,49[illegible]
1765-6.					
Fort St George.					
Land Revenues - -	390,1[illegible]0	294,463			
Cuftoms and Duties -	7[illegible],103	2,205			
Farms and Licenfes -	35,47	10,381			
			498,753	307,049	497,753
Cuddalore.					
Land Revenues - -	11,584	8,8[illegible]			
Cuftoms and Duties -	5,233	—			
Farms and Licenfes -	7,64	3, 5			
			24,45[illegible]	11,90[illegible]	2[illegible],453
Mafulipatam.					
Land Revenues - -	88,365	171,761			
Cuftoms and Duties -	11,490	3,809			
Farms and Licenfes -	1,486	1,285			
			101,341	176,855	101,341
Vizagapatam.					
Land Revenues - -	3,542	No Account received.			
Cuftoms and Duties -	58				
Farms and Licenfes -	764				
			4,362	—	4,362
		Pag.	628,915	495,804	627,915
				Commiffion	14,267
				Pag	613,648

	Received under each Head in the Year	Balances of each Head	Total Gross Receipts	Total Balances	Total Nett Receipts.
1766 7	Pag.	Pag.	Pag.	Pag.	Pag.
Fort Saint George.					
Land Revenues - -	375,250	311,396			
Customs and Duties -	61,689	2,045			
Farms and Licenses -	36,376	26,737			
			473,315	340,178	472,315
Cuddalore					
Land Revenues - -	14,637	10,550			
Customs and Duties -	5,092	—			
Farms and Licenses -	6,483	2,567			
			26,212	13,117	26,212
Masulipatam					
Land Revenues - -	104,025	183,2[illegible]2			
Customs and Duties -	9,669	4,68[illegible]			
Farms and Licenses -	1,285	—			
			114,979	187,957	114,979
Vizagapatam					
Land Revenues - -	4,[illegible]03	No Accounts received.			
Customs and Duties	300				
Farms and Licenses	51[illegible]				
			5,520	—	5,520
Northern Circars.					
Land Revenue - -	351,545	358,630			
			351,545	358,630	332,705
		Pag.	971,571	899,9[illegible]2	951,731
				Commission	8,368
				Pag.	[illegible]4[illegible] 363
[illegible]8					
Fort Saint George					
Land Revenues	304,962	39[illegible],661			
Customs and Duties	54,398	2,175			
Farms and Licenses	[illegible]5,492	29,904			
			394,852	429,743	387,848
Cuddalore					
Land Revenues - -	25,486	7,700			
Customs and Duties	4,533	—			
Farms and Licenses	6,000	2,565			
			36,019	10,265	33,215
Masulipatam.					
Land Revenues -	100,739	206,715			
Customs and Duties	7,925	6,638			
Farms and Licenses -	1,350	450			
			110,014	213,803	109,786
Vizagapatam.					
Land Revenues -	3,447	No Accounts received.			
Customs and Duties	84				
Farms and Licenses	779				
			4,310	—	4,2[illegible]
Northern Circars.					
Land Revenues - -	419,525	434,880			
			419,525	434,880	418,[illegible]00
		Pag.	964,720	10,88,691	953,3[illegible]1
				Commission	—
				Pag.	953,321

	Received under each Head in the Year	Balances of each Head	Total Gross Receipts	Total Balances	Total Nett Receipts
1768-9	Pag.	Pag.	Pag.	Pag.	Pag.
Fort Saint George.					
Land Revenues - -	252,500	523,684			
Customs and Duties -	72,048	3,109			
Farms and Licenses -	35,833	34,771			
			360,390	561,564	355,227
Cuddalore.					
Land Revenues - -	18,456	9,700			
Customs and Duties -	5,23[illegible]	—			
Farms and Licenses -	6,000	2,566			
			29,693	12,266	29,053
Masulipatam.					
Land Revenues - -	105,502	214,615			
Customs and Duties -	11,006	6,638			
Farms and Licenses -	1,800	450			
			118,308	221,703	115,452
Vizagapatam.					
Land Revenues - -	5,00[illegible]	No			
Customs and Duties -	23[illegible]	Account			
Farms and Licenses -	527	re[illegible]ed			
			6,6[illegible]	—	6,667
Northern Circars.					
Land Revenues	490,972	659,[illegible]			
			[illegible]00,972	659,155	431,[illegible]
		Pag	10,06,[illegible]30	14,[illegible]4[illegible]8[illegible]	937,409
				Commission	13,200
				P	9[illegible]4,2[illegible]9
1769-70					
Fort Saint George.					
Land Revenues - -	479,553	394,157			
Customs and Duties -	61,04[illegible]	2,320			
Farms and Licenses -	41,803	31,15[illegible]			
			582,396	427,634	462,036
Cuddalore.					
Land Revenues - -	29,220	14,43[illegible]			
Customs and Duties	4,920	—			
Farms and Licenses -	6,000	2,560			
			40,140	17,002	28,6[illegible]0
Masulipatam					
Land Revenues - -	124,778	191,668			
Customs and Duties -	11,471	5,829			
Farms and Licenses -	2,250	450			
			138,499	197,947	138,499
Vizagapatam					
Land Revenues - -	4,776	No			
Customs and Duties -	63	Accounts			
Farms and Licenses -	691	received.			
			5,530	—	5,530
Northern Circars					
Land Revenues - -	801,280	548,134			
			801,280	548,134	774,905
		Pag	15,67,845	11,90,717	13,49,560
				Commission	90,285
				Pag	12,50,275

	Received under each Head in the Year	Balances of each Head	Total Gross Receipts	Total Balances.	Total Nett Receipts.
1770-1	Pag.	Pag.	Pag.	Pag.	Pag.
Fort Saint George.					
Land Revenues -	381,671	288,792			
Customs and Duties -	68,506	2,795			
Farms and Licenses -	36,834	23,568			
			487,011	315,155	474,026
Cuddalore.					
Land Revenues -	28,817	14,422			
Customs and Duties -	4,382	—			
Farms and Licenses -	6,000	2,000			
			39,199	16,422	39,199
Masulipatam.					
Land Revenues -	111,198	187,927			
Customs and Duties -	9,774	4,543			
Farms and Licenses -	2,807	785			
			123,779	193,255	123,090
Vizagapatam.					
Land Revenues -	5,160	No			
Customs and Duties -	285	Account.			
Farms and Licenses -	778	received.			
			6,223	—	5,796
Northern Circars.					
Land Revenues -	879,296	750,555			
			879,296	750,555	815,291
		Pag.	15,35,5 8	12,75,387	14,55,402
				Commission	49,506
				Pag.	14,05,896
1771-2					
Fort Saint George.					
Land Revenues	381,003	6,210			
Customs and Duties -	67,037	2,045			
Farms and Licenses -	53,652	1,117			
			501,692	9,372	494,893
Cuddalore.					
Land Revenues -	21,791	2,100			
Customs and Duties -	4,928	—			
Farms and Licenses -	7,067	633			
			33,786	2,733	33,786
Masulipatam.					
Land Revenues	133,122	166,429			
Customs and Duties -	13,603	5,686			
Farms and Licenses -	3,143	785			
			149,868	172,900	149,868
Vizagapatam.					
Land Revenues -	3,238	9,230			
Customs and Duties -	141	—			
Farms and Licenses -	303	480			
			3,682	9,710	68
Northern Circars.					
Land Revenues -	866,930	766,280			
			866,930	766,280	788,935
		Pag.	15,55,9?8	960,995	14,71,263
				Commission	74,014
				Pag.	13,97,149

	Received under each Head in the Year	Balances of each Head	Total Gross Receipts	Total Balances	Total Nett Receipts
1772-3					
Fort Saint George.	Pag.	Pag.	Pag.	Pag.	Pag.
Land Revenues -	396,785	—			
Customs and Duties -	70,4[illegible]6	—			
Farms and Licenses -	43,895	1,541			
			511,166	1,541	501,517
Cuddalore.					
Land Revenues -	21,4[illegible]5	2,100			
Customs and Duties -	3,005	—			
Farms and Licenses -	[illegible],600	633			
			32,670	2,733	3[illegible],6[illegible]
Mazulipatam.					
Land Revenues -	[illegible]2,389	134,373			
Customs and Duties -	13,913	3,[illegible]72			
Farms and Licenses -	3,[illegible]43	—			
			109,415	13[illegible],342	1[illegible]9,41[illegible]
Vizagapatam.					
Land Revenues -	1,692	13,870			
Customs and Duties -	—	—			
Farms and Licenses -	57[illegible]	[illegible]5			
			2,264	1[illegible],0[illegible]5	2,[illegible]64
Northern Circars.					
Land Revenues -	855,[illegible]12	418,[illegible]10			
			[illegible]	418,[illegible]19	[illegible]
		Pag.	15,11[illegible]	[illegible]	14[illegible]
				Commission	[illegible]
				Pag.	[illegible]
1773-4					
Fort Saint George.					
Land Revenues -	388,264	[illegible],310			
Customs and Duties -	6[illegible],053	—			
Farms and Licenses -	42,600	2,391			
			493,91[illegible]	[illegible]	4[illegible]8[illegible]
Cuddalore.					
Land Revenues -	20,540	2,100			
Customs and Duties -	3,68[illegible]	—			
Farms and Licenses -	7,[illegible]	633			
			32,[illegible]	2,[illegible]33	32,[illegible]28
Masulipatam.					
Land Revenues -	79,30[illegible]	166,795			
Customs and Duties -	8,967	4,829			
Farms and Licenses -	2,35[illegible]	786			
			90,631	172,410	90,6[illegible]9
Vizagapatam.					
Land Revenues -	1,653	16,396			
Customs and Duties -	—	—			
Farms and Licenses -	3[illegible]2	—			
			2,025	16,396	2,025
Northern Circars.					
Land Revenues -	889,615	502,484			
			889,615	502,484	[illegible]
		Pag.	15,08,216	69[illegible],724	14,[illegible]0,6[illegible]
				Commission	88,[illegible]20
				Pag.	13,11,5[illegible]

	Received under each Head in the Year	Balances of each Head	Total Gross Receipts	Total Balances	Total Nett Receipts
1774-5	Pag.	Pag.	Pag.	Pag.	Pag.
Fort St. George					
Land Revenues - -	387,214	5,670			
Customs and Duties -	70,064	2,030			
Farms and Licenses -	49,100	3,241	506,378	10,941	504,048
Cuddalore					
Land Revenues - -	20,950	—			
Customs and Duties -	3,093	—			
Farms and Licenses -	7,293	1,017	31,336	1,01	31,336
Masulipatam.					
Land Revenues -	124,604	153,925			
Customs and Duties	15,080	4,829			
Farms and Licenses -	3,145	785	142,827	159,539	142,827
Vizagapatam					
Land Revenue	4,508	15,890			
Customs and Duties -	144	—			
Farms and Licenses -	30	126	4,954	16,016	4,954
Northern Circars					
Land Revenues	881,085	616,676	881,085	616,676	66[illegible],969
		Pag.	15,66,580	834,189	13,47,134
				Commission	88,059
				Pag.	12 59,075
1775-6					
Fort St. George					
Land Revenue	303,155	93,090			
Customs and Duties	66,257	8,0[illegible]			
Farms and Licenses	42,657	3,668	412,089	97,588	408,393
Cuddalore					
Land Revenue -	20,452	—			
Customs and Duties	3,173	—			
Farms and Licenses -	4,787	1,017	28,417	1,017	27,116
Masulipatam					
Land Revenues -	76,875	140,112			
Customs and Duties	10,102	6,829			
Farms and Licenses -	1,571	1,571	94,548	148,513	94,548
Vizagapatam.					
Land Revenues -	5,174	14,382			
Customs and Duties -	64	—			
Farms and Licenses -	329	177	5,51[illegible]	14,559	5,517
Northern Circars.					
Land Revenues - -	10,12,670	590,150	10,12,670	590,150	833,427
		Pag	15,53,236	851,827	13,69,501
				Commission	83,024
				Pag.	12,86,477

	[illegible] under each Head in each Year.	[illegible] each Head.	Total Gross Receipts	Total Balances	Total Nett Receipts.
1776-7.	Pag.	Pag.	Pag.	Pag.	Pag.
Fort Saint George.					
Land Revenues - -	375,485	108,181			
Customs and Duties -	47,422	936			
Farms and Licenses -	42,200	4,621	465,107	113,738	459,454
Cuddalore.					
Land Revenues - -	16,585	2,100			
Customs and Duties -	3,439	—			
Farms and Licenses -	4,850	1,17	24,874	3,117	24,8 4
Masulipatam.					
Land Revenues - -	131,194	94,689			
Customs and Duties -	17,084	2,8 0			
Farms and Licenses -	3,14	1,5 1	151,421	99,089	151,421
Vizagapatam.					
Land Revenues - -	2,564	15,430			
Customs and Duties -	71	—			
Farms and Licenses -	25	303	2,890	15,733	2,890
Northern Circars.					
Land Revenues - -	963,717	575,053	963,712	575,053	954,731
		Pag.	16 [illegible] 004	[illegible] 6,730	1[illegible] 3,370
				Commission	55 [illegible]
				Pag.	11 [illegible] 0
1777-8.					
Fort Saint George.					
Land Revenue - -	338,093	153,6[illegible]			
Customs and Duties -	40,236	2,5[illegible]			
Farms and Licenses -	66,85[illegible]	3,[illegible]	455,085	159,[illegible]8	453,282
Cuddalore.					
Land Revenue - -	20,[illegible]29	8,[illegible]00			
Customs and Duties -	3[illegible]0	—			
Farms and Licenses -	[illegible],608	1,[illegible]	27,703	9,717	26,4[illegible]2
Masulipatam.					
Land Revenue - -	100,000	100,[illegible]84			
Customs and Duties -	14,905	2,[illegible]20			
Farms and Licenses -	3,143	1,571	117,74[illegible]	113,4[illegible]4	1[illegible]7,1[illegible]3
Vizagapatam.					
Land Revenue - -	2,783	15,805			
Customs and Duties -	—	—			
Farms and Licenses -	683	15	3,469	15,962	3,468
Northern Circars.					
Land Revenue - -	333,985	11,90,213	333,085	11,90,213	162,601
		Pag.	93[illegible] 092	14,[illegible]9,[illegible]4	752,99[illegible]
				Commission	45,000
				Pag.	[illegible],096

	Receipts under each Head in the Year	Balance of each Head	Total Gross Receipts	Total Balances	Total Nett Receipts
[illegible]	Pag.	Pag.	Pag.	Pag.	Pag.
Fort St. George.					
Land Revenues - -	521,929	121,783			
Customs and Duties -	42,985	791			
Farms and Licenses -	62,653	1,311	627,567	123,885	626,595
Cuddalore.					
Land Revenues - -	24,979	8,700			
Customs and Duties -	3,459	—			
Farms and Licenses -	3,806	1,017	32,244	9,717	32,244
Masulipatam.					
Land Revenues - -	74,792	138,009			
Customs and Duties -	12,209	6,829			
Farms and Licenses	1,571	2,357	88,572	147,195	87,144
Vizagapatam					
Land Revenues - -	4,400	14,206			
Customs and Duties -	—	—			
Farms and Licenses -	438	126	4,838	14,382	4,838
Northern Circars					
Land Revenues - -	584,000	13,50,996	584,000	13,50,006	556,320
		Pag	13,37,221	16,46,125	13,07,141
				Commission	71,621
				Pag.	12,35,520
[illegible]					
Fort St. George.					
Land Revenues - -	388,052	No Books received.			
Customs and Duties -	44,211				
Farms and Licenses -	54,957		487,220	—	485,720
Cuddalore.					
Land Revenues - -	15,398	—			
Customs and Duties -	2,799	—			
Farms and Licenses -	4,827	—	23,034	—	23,034
Masulipatam.					
Land Revenues - -	44,064	—			
Customs and Duties -	13,832	—			
Farms and Licenses -	786	—	58,682	—	57,282
Vizagapatam.					
Land Revenues - -	—	—			
Customs and Duties -	—	—			
Farms and Licenses -	229	—	229	—	229
Karrical.					
Land Revenues - -	9,650	—	9,650	—	8,446
Nagore.					
Land Revenues - -	62,87	—	62,875	—	62,875
Northern Circars.					
Land Revenues - -	656,259	—	656,250	—	608,781
		Pag	12,9[illegible],949	—	12,46,367
			Commission estimated		70,000
				Pag.	[illegible]

East India House,
27th December, 1782.
Errors excepted.

Charges

Charges of Collection, exclusive of Commission

	Pagodas.
1763- 4 - -	1,000
1764- 5 - -	3,200
1765- 6 - -	1,000
1766- 7 - -	19,840
1767- 8 - -	11,399
1768- 9 - -	68,531
1769-70 - -	218,285
1770- 1 - -	80,106
1771- 2 - -	84,795
1772- 3 - -	102,673
1773- 4 - -	107,590
1774- 5 - -	219,446
1775- 6 - -	183,735
1776- 7 - -	114,634
1777- 8 - -	184,091
1778- 9 - -	30,080
1779-80 - -	51,547

East India House, 31st December 1781.

Errors excepted,
John Annis,
Auditor of Indian Accounts.

The Charges of Collection annexed to the above Acccount, make the Difference between the Grofs and the Nett Receipts. In these Charges your Committee find, that, befides Surveying Charges, Repairs, Prefents to the Renters, and Allowances to them on Account of Loffes, are comprehended the Payments made on Account of the Pimcufh, or Annual Tribute due to the Nizam for the Northern Circars, with certain Penfions payable out of the Revenues.

The Commiffion, which appears by the above Account to be deducted from the Nett Receipts, is a Commiffion upon the Revenues allowed to the Company's Servants.

Append. N° 13. Your Committee find, in the General Letter to Fort Saint George of the 25th of March 1768, the Commiffion regulated in the following Manner

The Sum of 60,000 Pagodas Yearly, out of the Revenue, was to be divided into One hundred Shares, proportioned among the Company's Civil and Military Servants as follows:

For the Governor, Twenty-one Shares.

For the Second in Council, Five Shares and an Half.

For the reft of the Council, not having Chiefships, Two Shares and an Half each.

The

The Commander in Chief, Eleven Shares.

The Colonels each, Four Shares.

The Lieutenant Colonels each, Two Shares and an Half.

The Majors each, One Share and a Quarter.

Out of what remained of the above Fund unappropriated, there was appointed to be paid a Gratuity of Three Shillings a Day to each Captain, Two Shillings to each Lieutenant, and to Ensigns and Lieutenants Fire-worker One Shilling a Day each.

The Deficiency of the Fund to make good the above Payments, was directed to be supplied out of the Company's Cash; and the Surplus, if any, should remain to be carried to the Credit of the Company till further Orders.

And your Committee find, that, by the General Letter of 23d March 1770, a Variation was made, both upon the Amount and the Distribution of the Commission. Instead of the specific Sum of 60,000 Pagodas, 5 per Cent. was ordered to be taken from the nett Territorial Revenues, to be divided among the Civil and Military Servants as follows: Append. N° 14.

One Twenty-fourth Part to be first drawn, and paid as a separate Share to Major General Coote, Commander in Chief in India.

The Remainder to be divided into One hundred Shares, proportioned as follows:

To the Governor, Twenty-one Shares.

To the Second in Council, Five Shares and an Half.

To the rest of the Council, not having Chiefships, as far as the Establishment of 12 Members of Council, each Two Shares and an Half.

To Brigadier General Joseph Smith, as the First Colonel, Eleven Shares.

To the other Colonels, equally among them, Eight Shares.

To the Lieutenant Colonels, Twelve Shares and an Half, to be equally divided.

To the Majors, to be equally divided, Six Shares and a Quarter.

The unappropriated Shares, and such as might fall by the Death or Resignation of Major General Coote or Brigadier General Smith, being to be carried to the Credit of the Company.

The Commission allowed to the Company's Servants appears to have remained upon this Footing till the Year 1777; in which Year your Committee find, That a new Regulation was made with respect to the Payment of the Company's Servants. The General Letter to Fort Saint George, of the 11th of June in that Year, after narrating, that much of the present Confusion had arisen from the private Engagements of the Company's Servants, and their Concerns, Dealings, and Transactions, on their own separate Account, with the Princes and Natives of the Country; and strictly forbidding the Governor, or any of the Council, to carry on or to be concerned, either by themselves or others, in any Dealings or Transactions, by way of Traffic or Commerce, for his or their Use, Benefit, or Advantage, or for the Use or Benefit of any other Person, the Trade and Commerce of Append. N° 15.

the Company only excepted; or to lend Money upon Mortgage to any of the Country Powers, or to any Person employed or entrusted by them, proceed to direct, That, in Consideration of the abovementioned Restrictions, every future Governor should be allowed a Salary of 40,000 Pagodas, and [illegible] 00 Pagodas, and that in full of all Fees of Office, [illegible], Emoluments, and Advantages [illegible] the Directors should think fit to [illegible] should have a military Command, and [illegible] that the Governor should have the Advantage of [illegible] in the Fort House, together with the [illegible] of the Company [illegible], and the Commission on Coral, [illegible] Governor.

This Regulation, [illegible] the military Department, continued in [illegible] till the 11th of January 1771, during which Period, no Commission [illegible] to the Company's Civil Servants [illegible] your Committee [illegible], from the General Letter of that Date, that the former [illegible] was [illegible] reverted to, [illegible] Servants, except [illegible] of 40,000 Pagodas [illegible] the Year [illegible] Mc Append N° 16 Cartney, then appointed Governor, [illegible] totally restricted from every Kind of Dealing [illegible] Commerce, in Money or Goods, [illegible] Company excepted. But with regard to the other [illegible] Council, the Orders given in the General Letter [illegible], respecting the Salary of 16,000 Pagodas [illegible] same Salaries and Allowances [illegible] were in Use to be paid to the Members of Council prior to that Period; and all the Members of Council, below the President, [illegible] allowed [illegible], in the same Manner [illegible] the Regulation [illegible] the said Letter of the 11th of January 1771.

In order that the House may be enabled to see [illegible] the Particulars of which [illegible] consist, your Committee will [illegible] particular [illegible] to each; the first shewing to whom each Head of the Territorial Revenue has been let on Lease, or by whom [illegible], with the Rent payable on each Lease, from May 17[illegible], the second, a particular Accompt of the Duties and Customs [illegible], an Accompt of the Revenues arising from the exclusive [illegible] and Licences. [illegible] two last Accompts, commencing [illegible], and ending, as well [illegible] 1779, [illegible] the Materials at the India House permit of their being brought.

An ACCOUNT, the [illegible]

Name of the Farms.	Names of [illegible]	[illegible]	P[illegible]	[illegible]	Remarks.
1764 Fort Saint George.			[illegible]	[illegible]	
Ponnamal	P. Appona [illegible]	[illegible]	4 [illegible]		
Deve Cotah	Rajah Pandal	[illegible]	[illegible] 8 [illegible]		
Saint Thome	D[o]	[illegible]	3 [illegible]		
Triser [illegible]	P[illegible] apah B[illegible]	D° D°	[illegible] 0		
Egmore	Paupah R[illegible] jah	D[o] D[o]	1		
Pe[illegible] embore	Paupah Br[illegible]	D[o] D[o]	[illegible]		
Paddy Fields and Salt Pans	Saubramon[illegible]	D[o] D°	30		
Karrical	Tremalrow Kistn[illegible]	[illegible] Aug [illegible] July 1764	20, [illegible]		
Jagueer granted by the Nabob to the Company in 1763					
Trepaff[illegible] re	Gum[illegible] Venc[illegible]	3 Mon[illegible], 15 Days, 16 Oct. [illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible] Rent of the Lands [illegible] in [illegible] account, [illegible] of [illegible] Jagueer, [illegible]
Sa[illegible] er Ma[illegible] Do	R[illegible]	Do	[illegible] 9 [illegible]		
Ma[illegible] gaum	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]		
Ch[illegible] ngleap[illegible] t	Ra[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]		
Two C[illegible]	D[o]	[illegible]	4		
C[illegible] lang	[illegible]		8, [illegible]		
Wa[illegible] em[illegible] and S[illegible] auk	P[illegible]	[illegible]	2[illegible]		
C[illegible] vart[illegible]	D°	Do	1 [illegible]		
Ch[illegible] Pallam, [illegible] Nard[illegible] t	NellaChitty, and Rama L[illegible]	D°	1,2[illegible]		
Ca[illegible] angoly	Mahomed Auzen	Do	45,200		
				3,68,250	

Names of the Farms.	Names of the Farmers.	Periods of the Leases.	Rent of each Farm, &c. per Annum.		Total per Annum.		Remarks.
				Pagodas.		Pagodas.	
1763-4. Cuddalore.							
Treverdeporam	Saddasheverord	5 Years, Aug. 1761 to July 1766	—	9,300			
Fort St. David's Bounds	Do	Do	—	[illegible]			
					—	16,450	
Masulipatam.							
Nellapullee, and Towns	Condregulla Jogannah	1 Year, 1 June 1763 to 31 May 1764	—	2,[illegible]			
Parcarm[illegible], and Towns	Moodiacontee Ven[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]			
G[illegible]	Ma[illegible] L[illegible]	Do	—	33			
Sexanan [illegible] and Ramaserum	Modalaredy Naig[illegible]	Do	—	1,[illegible]			
Inn[illegible]godroo	Mad Iaready [illegible] and Redabett, Go[illegible]	1 Year to 31 [illegible]	—	[illegible]			
Nizampatam	Meer [illegible]	Do	—	2[illegible]			
Devee Island	[illegible]	Do	—	1,[illegible]			
Six Islands of Devee	Do	Do	—	3[illegible]			
Ant[illegible]	M[illegible]	Do	—	[illegible]			
Conco[illegible] Auch[illegible]	[illegible] Coraux	Do	—	11,[illegible]			
Tond[illegible]	[illegible] Palaze	Do	—	1[illegible]			
Tume[illegible]	Do	Do	—	[illegible]			
Narsapore Salt Farm	Do	[illegible]	—	[illegible]			
Mal[illegible] and Pen[illegible] racca Salt Farms	R[illegible] and [illegible]	1 Y[illegible]	—	[illegible]			
Narsapore Town	[illegible]	1 Y[illegible] to 30th D[illegible]	—	[illegible]			
					—	1[illegible]	
					Pag[illegible]	[illegible]	

1752, &c. Fort Saint George						£	
Poonam [illegible]	Cantoor V[illegible]	[illegible]	—				
Dev. C[illegible], &c.	A last Year		—				
Kar[illegible]	M[illegible] Kat[illegible]	Y[illegible]	—	[illegible]	—	—	[illegible] the [illegible] to the [illegible]
Ja[illegible]							
I[illegible]							
S[illegible]							
M[illegible]							
Ch[illegible]							
Tv[illegible]	Gantoor Venkat [illegible]	[illegible] Aug [illegible] to 3 J[illegible], 1771	—	[illegible]			
Covel [illegible]					—	[illegible]	
Watemal[illegible] Sah vauk							
Ca[illegible]							
Caro[illegible]							
Cud[illegible]lore.							
Trevendeporam	As last Year	-	—	—	—	1[illegible]	
Fort Saint D[illegible] the B[illegible] and							
Ch[illegible] Pol[illegible] and [illegible]	Andemocl[illegible], [illegible] car for the Company						
Masulipatam.							
N[illegible]	- -	- -	—	[illegible]			
Gondore and Auclanada	-	- -	—	1[illegible]			
	Mad[illegible], Na[illegible] dapetty						
Devee Island	- -	1 Year, from 31 May 17[illegible] to 31 May, 17[illegible]	—	17,[illegible]			
	Gorauze and C[illegible]dregul lah Juggapah						
Six Islands of Do	- -	- -	—	3,08c			
Innogadroo	- -	-	—	2,200			
		Car. over	—	53,240	—	3,85,38[illegible]	

Names of the Farms.	Names of the Farmers.	Periods of the Leases.	Rent of each Farm per Annum.		Total per Annum.		Remarks.
				Pagodas.		Pagodas.	
1764-5 continued.	Brought over	- -	—	53,240		3,85,380	
Bandarmalanka, &c.	Bodapetty Gorauze, Bomparauze, and Audorty Narsoo	Do	—	3,520			
Nellipellee, &c.	Condrogullah Juggopah	Do	—	2,310			
Sakanapillee and Ramaserum	Madalaraddy Naigue	Do	—	1,705			
Antraviddee	Do	Do	—	715			
Goorganapillee	Moslacontee	Do	—	330			
Tondore and Bandera	Arnachunda Rauze	Do	—	18,150			
Tuttedee and Peddanah	Do	Do	—	9,350			
Narsapore Salt	Do	Do	—	3,850			
Masulipatam and Ponracca Salt	Meer Sied Hussein	3 Years, 29 Nov. 1764 to 28 Nov. 1767	—	17,143	—	—	1st Year 17,143; 2d 18,571; and 3d Year 20,000
Narsapore Town	Culdindee Arnachunda Rauze	1 Year, 28 Dec. 1764 — 27 Dec. 1765	—	600			
					—	1,10,913	
					Pagodas	4,96,293	
1765-6.							
Fort Saint George	As last Year	- -	—	—	—	3,68,930	
Cuddalore	As last Year	- -	—	—	—	16,450	

Masulipatam.						
Nizampatam - -		- - -	—	[illegible]		
Gundoree and Auda[illegible]	Con[illegible] J[illegible] P[illegible] tal[illegible] -	- - -	—	[illegible]		
Devee - - -	- - -	[illegible] 31 M[illegible] 1[illegible]	—	11,[illegible]		
	Mella[illegible] Ca[illegible] Pu[illegible] -					
Six Islands - -	- - -	- - -	—	[illegible]		
Innegndmo - -	- - -	- -	—	[illegible]		
Sakanapille and Ramaterum - -	- - -	- - -	—	1,[illegible]		
Nellapillee and Gourgunapillee - -	Condr[illegible] and Vencataraoo - -	[illegible] - -	—	2,4[illegible]		
Antraviddee - -	Con[illegible] and [illegible] Pantano - -	Do. - - -	—	770		
Bandarmalanka, &c. -	Mc[illegible] teeVen[illegible]	5 Years, to 31 May, 1770	—	3,630		
Tondore and Bandera -	- - -	Do - -	—	18,[illegible]		
Tumedee and Pedana -	Arnachunda Rauze -	Do - - -	—	[illegible]680		
Narsapore Salt - -	- - -	Do - - -	—	3,85[illegible]		
Masulipatam and Ponnacca Salt -	Meer Sied Hussein -	3 Years, 20 Nov. 1764 to 28 Nov. 1767 - -	—	18,5[illegible]		
Narsapore Town	Cul[illegible]undee Arnachundee Rauze - -	5 Years, 28 Dec. 1765 to 27 Dec. 1770 -	—	62[illegible]		
					—	1.14,32[illegible]
1766-7.					P[illegible],0[illegible]	4.99,7[illegible]
Fort Saint George.						
Poonamallee - -	Guntoor Vencatachullam	[illegible] Years, from Aug. 1764 to J[illegible], 1771 -	—	44,3[illegible]		
Deve Cotah - -	Rajah Pundat -	5 Years, — Aug. 176[illegible] to July 1771 -	—	11,00[illegible]		
Saint Thomé - -	Do - -	Do. - - -	—	4,800		
		Car. over	—	60,150		

Names of the Farms.	Names of the Farmers.	Periods of the Leases.	Rent of each Farm per Annum.	Total per Annum.	Remarks.
1766-7 continued.	Brought over	- - -	— Pagodas 60,150		
Trivetore - -	Paupah Braminey -	Do. - -	— 3,010		
Egmore - -			— 1,600		
Perembore - -			— 1,655		
Paid, Fields & Salt Pans			— 815		
Jaqueer -	Guntoor Vencatachulum	[illegible] Years, [illegible] July 1771	— 3,74,000	— [illegible],91,23	
Cuddalore.					
Trevendeporam -	Moodoo Kistnah Pillah	5 Years, Aug. 1766 to July 1771 - -	— [illegible],4[illegible]		
For Saint David's Bounds	Do - -	Do. - - -	— 5,50[illegible]	— 14,9[illegible]	
Masulipatam.	As last Year -	- -	— 94,756		
Masulipatam and Pontacca Salt -	M[illegible] S[illegible]d Hussen	3 [illegible] 1764 to 2 [illegible] 1767 -	— 2[illegible],[illegible]	— 1,14,[illegible]	
Northern Circars.					
Rajamundry Circar	Hussen Aly Cawn, and Jogue Pundat - -	3 Years, Sept. 1766 to Sept. 1769 - -	— 1,31,4[illegible]	— —	1st Year, Pag. 131,450—2d, 131,450—3d, 158,950.
Ellore and Mustaphanagar	Hussen Aly Cawn	Do - -	— [illegible]	— —	1st Year, 143,550 — 2d, 14[illegible],550—3d, 171,050.
Cicacole -	[illegible]	[illegible]	— [illegible]		
[illegible]	[illegible]	Do - -	— [illegible]	— [illegible]	
				P[illegible] [illegible]	

				Pagodas.		Pagodas.	
1767-8.							
Fort Saint George	As last Year	- - -	—	—	—	3,91,230	
Cuddalore	As last Year	- - -	—	—	—	14,90	
Masulipatam	As last Year	- - -	—	94,756			
Masulipatam and Pennacca Salt	Mr Mocorte Caam gee	3 Years, Nov. 1767 to Nov. 1770	—	11,428	—	—	1 Year, Pag. 11,428,—2d, 14,571,—3d 18,285.
						1,06,184	
Northern Circars.							
Rajamundry	Hussein Ally Cawn, and Jugue Punou	3 Years, Sept. 1766 to Sept. 1769	2d Year	1,31,450			
Ellore and Mustaphanagur	Hussein Ally Cawn	Do	Do	1,43,550			
Cicacole and Cassimcotah	Dall er Acca,er Punaat	1 Year, Sept. 1767 to Sept. 1768	—	43,571			
Sattevram	Pykarow	Do.	—	21,4[illegible]0			
Vizianagrum	S[illegible] eramrauze	Do.	—	92,5[illegible]8			
Tekaly	Jogget Dro	2 Years, Sept. 1767 to Sept. 1769	—	8,571			
					—	4,41,1[illegible]	
					Pagodas.	0,[illegible]3 4[illegible]	
1768-9.							
Fort Saint George as last Year, except Deve Cotah See Cuddalore and Saint Thome, not let this Year	- - -	- - -	—	—	—	Pagodas 37,,43[illegible]	
Cuddalore. Trevendeporam Fort Saint David's Bounds	As last Year	- - -	—	14,800	—		
Deve Cotah	Mootu Coonerah Saumy Tomberan	1 Year to 31 July 1769	—	9,300			
					—	24,100	
					Car. over	399,530	

Names of Farms and Zemindaries.	Names of the Farmers, Zemindars, and Renters.	Periods of the Leases.	Rent of each Farm &c. per Annum		Total per Annum.	
						Pagodas.
1768-9 continued.	Brought over -	- - -	—	—	—	399,530
				Pagodas.		
Masulipatam -	As last Year -	- - -	—	94,756		
Masulipatam and Ponracca Salt -	Mossacontee Caumagee -	3 Years, Nov. 1767 to Nov. 1770 -	2d Year	14,571	—	709,327
Northern Circars. Under Masulipatam.						
Rajamundry -	Hussein Ally Cawn, and Jogue Pundit -	3 Years, Sept. 1766 to Sept. 1769 -	3d Year	1,58,930		
Ellore and Mustaphanagur	Hussein Ally Cawn	Do. - -	3d Year	1,71,050		
Cicacole, Cassimcotah, &c.	Dobbier Accajee Pundat	- - -	—	5[illegible],143		
Viziangrum (in Cicacole)	Sitteramrauze -	- - -	—	92,58[illegible]		
		1 Year, Sept. 1768 to Sept. 1769 -	—			
Sattiaverem (in Do)	[illegible]ykarow - -	- - -	—	22,429		
Cowlkoor, &c. (Villages in Mustaphanagur)	Jaffier Beg Cawn	- - -	—	2,200		
Tekah (in Cicacole)	Juggot Doo -	2 Years, Sept. 176[illegible] to Sept. 1769 -	—	8,5[illegible]1		
					512,931	

Under Ganjam, being the Ite[illegible] District of Ci[illegible]							
Ichapoo Havily Lan[illegible]s	Accagee Pundit	1 Year, Sept. 1768 to S[illegible]t 1769	—	[illegible]4,286			The Sums here set down, ne[illegible] full Tributes of e[illegible] at Zemindars for the Year 1768-9, that is, from Sept. 1768 to Sept. 1769, an[illegible] Part of the T[illegible] the[illegible] former Years. The remaining Part was c[illegible] by Force from the Zemindars by Narra[illegible]nden, Zemind[illegible] of Kimmedy, o[illegible] Disturbances in the Circars
Moherry	Narraird[illegible]		—	2[illegible],8[illegible]			
Daracote	Ra[illegible]nde Sing		—	12,[illegible]			
Goomsur	Kissen Bunge		—	14,2[illegible]			
Sourerah	Raya Sing		—	2,028			
Beroudi	Mahu[illegible]a		—	[illegible],143			
Hoummah	Santar[illegible]		—	1,101			
Hautgur	Hurry Chunder		—	18,121			
Callicoot	Murda Rauze		—	1[illegible],169			
Vizianagur	Beemadoo		—	[illegible]5,016			
Seergur	Hurry Kissen Sing		—	3,09[illegible]			
Paloor	Gazender		—	1,[illegible]1			
Mundisaw	Rajahmunny		—	[illegible]9[illegible]8			
Jerrudah	Santaraw		—	3,[illegible]72			
Tullah	Ragonaud Soor		—	4,715			
Chigutty	Rajender Doo		—	16,175			
Sourunghi	Harry Chunden		—	5,429			
Jellantra	Choterow		—	6,4[illegible]9			
Bouraursinghi	[illegible]shunk		—	1,332			
Burragur	-		—	1,714			
Restored Village	Vencajee Pundit	1 Year, Sept. 1768 to Sept. 1769	—	8,143			
[illegible]naums in the Purgunnahs	Gaude Purshotum, &c.		—	5,143			
[illegible]urgunnah of Courlah, &c.	Sheersunder Chowdry		—	[illegible]3,000	2,03,436	7,16,367	
					Pagodas	12,25,8[illegible]4	

Names of the Farms, Zemindaries, &c.	Names of the Farmers, Zemindars, and Renters.	Periods of the Leases.	Rent of each Farm, Zemindary, &c. per Annum		Total per Annum.		Remarks.
				Pagodas.		Pagodas.	
1769-70.							
Fort Saint George	As last Year	- - -	—	3,75,430			
Saint Thomé	Sadashava	2 Years, Aug. 1769 to July 1771	—	3,800	—	3,79,230	
Cuddalore	As last Year	- - -	—	—	—	24,100	
Masulipatam	As last Year	- - -	—	94,756			
Masulipatam and Penracea Salt	Mossacontee Caunrage	3 Years, Nov. 1767 to Nov. 1770	3d Year	18,285	—	1,13,041	
Northern Circars. Under Masulipatam, viz. Rajahmundry, Ellore, and Mustaphanagar.							
Nuzeed and Havilly Lands of Ellore	Manna Oppa . . ., and Mac a Narrain R . .	1 Year Sept. 1769 to Sep. 1770	—	1,17,221			
Mustafore	Culland . T . pp . . rauze	- - -	—	96,03[illegible]			
Chap r Menal	Camid . . ah, Paup arow and Anc . . row	- - -	—	26,64[illegible]			
Delfra Cota	Erlagu . da C . ant Ram	- - -	—	1[illegible],19[illegible]			
Nualigunah	Vessireddy Vencatradinaialoo		—	16,500			
Mylaverom	Sooranany Narinvarow and Ve . . rumarow	- - -	—	5,63[illegible]			
Besoara	Caliava . lle . Lummen a . . . and Ramarow	- -	—	4,558			
Chintalapoody	Jo . nel . h Mullar . . Vencata row, and Ramarow		—	5,098	—	.	

Medoor Gutto and Jemmala cy	Vc aakv M iare, Var g ida, V arum r uz, &c.	- - -	—	5,996		
Munga'ah	Nissera Vencat m	- - -	—	1,60		
Langagera	Codant Ram and Narahurn	- -	—	20		
Tellicacherlah	Uppalapatti Ven apett rauze	-	—	49		
Peddapore	Vackevov Jaggapettrauze	- -	—	1 1?,31		
Pellahpore	Row Neeladerov	- -	—	68,0		
Ramachenserporam	Cacalamoody Ramchenderauze	- - -	—	12,422		
Cotah	Cacariamcody Vencapettrauze	- - -	—	14,?85		
Pullaram	Reddy Vencatramaia Doa	- -	—	8,536		
Gooatiah	Reddy Letchinnarain Doo	- -	—	8,03		
		1 Year, Sept 1769 to Sept 1770	—			
Corcondah	Mundapatty Trimpettrauze	- - -	—	7,210		
Cafanacorree	Coodraigulia Stenv iparow	- - -	—	5,69		
Velamapollam	Angara Bramaje Kistnow	- - -	—	2,800		
Vegayamapetah	Gunnapatty and Sande apah	- - -	—	1,129		
Jalimoody and Pelliconah	Jelala Ramajee Banow	- - -	—	82		
Tanangapillee	Sabinevess Negnah	- - -	—	144		
Vellah	Cajee Mahomed Russey	- - -	—	169		
Vencatay pollam	Sadacalry Cawn	- - -	—	220		
Muccamalah	Damoderdoss	- - -	—	39		
Vondalafforam	Vencatram Pundat	- - -	—	165		
Cotapillee	Conaty Tripetty	- - -	—	2,629		
Havilly Lands of Mustaphanagar	Jaffier Beg Cawn	- - -	—	2,365		
Do. Rajamundry	Timmagee Pondat	- - -	—	77		
Veloor, Samatoo and Dooa	Hussein Ally Cawn	- - -	—	11,000		
					5,61,320	
		Car. over	—	—	5,61,320	5,16,371

Names of the Farms, Zemindaries, &c.	Names of the Farmers, Zemindars, and Renters.	Periods of the Leases.	Rent of each Farm &c. per Annum.		Total per Annum.		Remarks.
1769-70 continued.	Brought over -	- - -	—	— Pagodas.	Pagodas. 5,61,320	5,16,371	
Circar under Vizagapatam, in part of Cicacole.							
Havilly Lands -	Accajee Pundat -	1 Year Sept. 1769 to Sept. 1770.	—	60,000			
Vizianagrum -	Sitteramrauze -		—	82,857			
Satiaveram -	Pykarow - -	- - -	—	18,571	1,61,428		
Circar under Ganjam Itcha oor Havilly Lands	Shamsunder Chowdry -	- - -	—	45,715			
Burragur -	Permanund Sing -	- - -	—	2,857			
Daracoote -	Ragender Sing -	- - -	—	7,143			
Moherry - -	Narrainder -	- - -	—	12,857			
Goonsur - -	Kissenbunge -	- - -	—	8,572			
Soturrah - -	Raja Sing - -	- - -	—	1,429			
Beroudi - -	Mah[illegible]rrah - -	- - -	—	1,429			
Hoummah -	Santarow - -	- - -	—	857			
		1 Year Sept 1769 to Sept. 1770 -					
Hautgur - -	Hurry Chunder -	- - -	—	10,572			
Callicote - -	Murda Rauze -	- - -	—	9,715			
Vizinragur - -	Beemadoo -	- - -	—	13,429			
Seer Gur - -	Hurry Kissen Sing -	- - -	—	3,143			
Paloor - -	Gazerder -	- - -	—	1,000			
Mundesaw - -	Rajamarny -	- - -	—	5,286			
Jer[illegible] - -	Santerow -	- - -	—	2,143			
[illegible]nah - -	Ragonaud Soor -	- - -	—	4,000			
Chugutty - -	Ruyender Doo -	- - -	—	10,000			

Souraughi	Harry Charn ...	1 Year, Sept 1769 to Sept 1770	—	3,479		
Jellantra	Chat r w		—	4,286		
Bourausfinghi	N ishank		—	857		
					1,48,719	8,71,467
					Pagodas	15,67,8,S
1770-71.						
Fort St. George	As last Year		—	—	—	3,79,230
Cuddalore.	As last Year		—	—	—	24,100
Masulipatam.						
Nizampatam	Condragulloo Jogue Puntaloo	5 Years, from 1 June 1770 to 31 May 1775	—	21,560		
Divee			—	16,500		
Gondore and Auclunada			—	12,320		
Innogodoo			—	2,849		
Antravidee			—	1,001		
Six Islands	Sevajee Pundat		—	3,465		
Tondore and Bondore	Culdindee Tripettirauze.		—	18,700		
Tumedee and Pedanah			—	0,680		
Narsipore Salt			—	3,950		
Ditto Town		Y M D 4 5 3, 28 Dec 1770 to 31 May 1775	—	629		
Neilapillee and Goorganapillee	Condragulloo Vencatraylo	5 Years to Do	—	2,865		
Bandarmalanka, &c.	Hussen Ally Cawn	5 Years to Do	—	1,400		
Sakenapillee and Ramaserum	Do		—	2,200		
Masulipatam and Ponsacca Salt	Mollacontee Cumaiee Puntaloo	5 Years, 29 Nov. 1770 to 28 Nov. 1775	—	11,714	—	

Names of the Farms, Zemindaries, &c.	Names of the Farmers, Zemindars, and Renters.	Periods of the Leases.	Rent of each Farm, &c. per Annum.		Total per Annum.		Remarks.
1770-71 continued.	Brought over	- -	-	-			
Under Masulipatam.					Pagodas	Pagodas	
Nozeed and Havilly of Ellore -	Macoa Opparow and Narrain Row -	1 Year Sep. 1770 to Sep. 1771 -	—	1,18,046			
Vonsidesforam -	Boochenah Pundat -	Do -	—	165			
Havilly Lands of Rajahmundry -	Timmejee Pundat -	Do -	—	1,100			
Do - Mustaphanagur	Not Lett. -						
Dutch Factory at Pallicole	- -	- -	—	358			
Do - Juggernaut Poram	- -	- -	—	238			
The rest as last Year	- -	- -	—	4,40,799			
					5,60,508		
Under Vizagapatam, viz. Chicacole.							
Vizianagrum, &c. -	Sitteramrauze -	- -	—	85,714			
Sittiaveram -	Pykarow -	3 Years, Sept. 1770 to Sept. 1773 -		18,571			
Tekaly - -	Juggut Doo -		—	5,714			
Havillee Lands	Abdulla Ryman Bay			54,286			
Kimmedy -	Guzzeput Do -	- -	1⅞Year	14,286	—	—	1 Year, Pag. 14,286—2d and 3d 18,857
					1,78,571		
Under Ganjam.							
Itchapour Havilly Lands	Shamsunder Chowdry	- -	—	40,571			
Turlah -	Ragonaut Soor -	-	—	4,286			
Mundesaw -	Rajamunny -	- -	—	5,715			
Bourauringhi -	Nissshunt -	1 Year, Sept. 1770 to Sept. 1771.		857			
Jellantra -	Choterow -			4,572			
Jerridah -	Santerow -			2,286			
Sourunghi -	Hurry Chunden	- -	—	3,715			
Chigutty -	Rajender Doo -	- -	—	10,000			
Palc r -	Gazencer -	- -	—	1,0..			

Beroudi -	Mahurtah -	- -	—	1,6[illegible]9		
Hoummah -	Sintarow -	- -	—	857		
Daracoote -	Rajender Sing -	- -	—	7,143		
Seergur -	Hurry Kissen Sing	- -	—	3,143		
Moherry -	Narrainder -	- -	—	12,857		
Gonnfur -	Kissen Bunge -	1 Year, Sept. 1770 to	—	8,572		
Hautgur -	Hurry Chunder -	1771 -	—	10,572		
Sourerah -	Raya Sing -	- -	—	1,428		
Callicote -	Murda Rauze -	- -	—	9,715		
Vizianagur -	Beemadoo -	- -	—	13,429		
Burragur -	Permanund Sing -	- -	—	2,857	1,45,20[illegible]	8,84,281
					Pagodas.	[illegible],59,344
1771-2.						
Fort Saint George.						
Poonamallee -	The Nabob -	1 Year, Aug. 1771 to July 1772 -	—	44,350		
Saint Thomé -	Tanacoody Pillah -	- -	—	5,100		
Irvetore -	Paupah Biaminey -	- -	—	2,700		
Egmore -	Do -	5 Years, Aug. 1771 to	—	1,100		
Perembore -	Do -	July 1776 -	—	1,200		
Paddy Fields and Salt Pans	Natchipah Moodaly -	- -	—	600		
Deve Cotah -	Antonio de Souza, and Medda Balia Kistnah	- -	—	11,525		
Jagueer -	The Nabob -	1 Year, Aug. 1771 to July 1772 -	—	3,24,000	—	3,90,575
Cuddalore.						
Trevendporum -	Sadasheverow -	5 Years, Aug. to July 1776	—	12,600		
Fort Saint David's Bounds	- -	Do -	—	6,600		
					—	19,200
						4,09,775

Car. over

Names of the Farms, Zemindaries, &c.	Names of the Farmers, Zemindars, and Renters.	Periods of the Leases.	Rent each Farm, &c. per Annum.		Total per Annum.		Remarks.
					Pagodas.		
1771-2 continued.	Brought over.	- -				4,09,77-	
Masulipatam.	As last Year - -	- -	—	1,05,133			
		Ys. Ms Ds.					
Bandarmalanka, &c. -	Mossacontee Caumaje Puntaloo -	3 9 5, 27 Aug. 1771 to 31 May 1775 -	—	4,400			
Sakanapillee, &c. - -	Do - -	Do - -	—	2,200	—	1,11,733	
Northern Circars, viz.							
Under Masulipatam.							
Nozeed and Havilly of Ellore	Macca Opparow, and Narrain Row -	- -	—	1,14,471			
Havilly Lands of Mustaphanagur -	Mulloo Pundat -	- -	—	6,050			
Do - Rajamundry -	Coja Joerulla Cawn -	1 Year, Sep. 1771 to Sep. 1772 - -		2,310			
Valoor Samatoo -	Sevajee Puntaloo and Timajee Puntaloo	- -	—	5,940			
Dooa -	Culdindee Trepeteraaze	- -	—	4,950			
Raroor District, &c. -	Do -	- -	—	18,408			
Tautipuka -	Vackevoy Jaggapetiraaze	- -	—	21,252			
The Rest as last Year -	- -	- -	—	4,30,360	6,03,-41		
Under Vizagapatam -	As last Year - -	- -	—	1,64,285			
Kimmeedy - -	Guzzeput doo - -	3 Years, Sep. 1--0 to Sep. 1--3 -	—	18,85-	1,83,142		

Under Ganjam.						
Ichapour Havilly	Shanfunder Ch[illegible]	1 Year, Sept. 1771 to Sept. 1772	—	42,857		
The Rest as last Year			—	1,04,633	1,47,490	
						9,34,373
					Pagodas	14,55,881
1772 3.						
Fort Saint George	As last Year		—	22,225		
Poonamallee	To the Nabob	1 Year, Aug. 1772 to July 1773	—	44,350	—	
Jagueer	Do.	Do.	—	3,24,000		3,90,575
Cuddalore	As last Year		—	—	—	10,200
Masulipatam	As last Year		—	—	—	1,11,733
Northern Circars.						
Under Masulipatam	As last Year		—	5,97,801		
Valoor Samatoo	Tirager Pundat, and Sevage Pundat	1 Year, Sept. 1772 to Sept. 1773.	—	8,360	6,06,161	
Under Vizagapatam	As last Year		—	—	1,83,142	
Under Ganjam	As last Year		—	—	1,47,490	
						9,36,793
					Pagodas	14,58,301
1773 4.						
Fort Saint George.	As last Year		—	22,225		
Pooramallee	To the Nabob	1 Year, Aug. 1773 to Sept. 1774.	—	44,350		
Jagueer	Do.	Do.	—	3,24,000	—	3,90,575
Cuddalore	As last Year		—	—	—	19,200

Names of the Farms, Zemindaries, &c.	Names of the Farmers, Zemindars and Renters.	Periods of the Leases.	Rent of each Farm per Annum.		Total per Annum.		Remarks.
				Pagodas.		Pagodas.	
1773-4 continued.	Brought over -	- -	—				
Masulipatam.							
Nisampatam -	- -	-	—	[illegible]1,560			
Devee - - -	- -	- -	—	1[illegible]5[illegible]0			
Gondore Auclanada	Condra gulloo Vencatasylloo -	2 Year, 1 June 17[illegible] to 31 May 1[illegible]5	—	11, [illegible]20			
Innogodroo -	- - -	- -	—	2,[illegible]49			
Antravaddee -	- - -	- -	—	1,001			
The rest as before -	- - -	- -	—	5[illegible],503			
					—	1,11,733	
Northern Circars. Under Masulipatam							
Havilly of Ellore -	Sobraram Lollah -	3 Years, Sept. 1773 to Sept. 1776	1st Year	13,475	—	—	1st Year, Ps. 13,475; 2d, 14,025; 3d, 14,575.
Rajamundry -	Cojah Jorullah Cawn		—	2,310			
Mustaphanagur -	Timmagee Pundat		1st Year	4,400	—	—	1st Year, Ps. 4,400; 2d, 4,950; 3d, 5,500.
Valloor Samatoo -	Sevagee Pundat -		—	6,875			
Doon - -	Culdindee Trippeterauze		1st Year	4,400	—	—	1st Year, Ps. 4,400; 2d, 4,537; 3d, 4,675.
Nozeed - -	Macca Narsinva Opparow		Do	100,171	—	—	1st and 2d Years each Pag. 100,171; 3d, 101,821.
Mulgtore, &c. -	Culdindee Trepettirauze -		Do	97,680	—	—	1st and 2d Years each Pag. 97,680; 3d, 99,880.
Chahar Mehal -	Camidenah Paupiarow, and China Paupiarow		Do	26,647	—	—	1st and 2d Years each Pag. 26,647; 3d, 27,197.
Devra Cotah -	Erlagudda Codant Ram -		Do	17,193	—	—	1st and 2d Years each Pag. 17,193; 3d, 17,743.

Nanaigarnah	Vathi eddy Ramanah		1st Year	16,500	—	—	1st and 2d Years each Pag. 16,500; 3d, 16,675.
Mylaverom	Sooranannah Marsinvaro, and Vencatramarow		Do.	5,637	—	—	1st and 2d Years each Pag. 5,637; 3d, 5,692.
Bezoara	Callivacol'ue [illegible]mena-row and Ramarow		Do.	4,558	—	—	1st and 2d Years each Pag. 4,558; 3d, 4,778.
Chintallapoody	Joopellah Mulleren, Vencatrow, and Narsinarow		Do.	5,098	—	—	1st and 2d Years each Pag. 5,098; 3d, 5,208.
Medoor Cutto, and Jemmalavoy	Vallankey Mulleraw, Vencatrow, &c.		Do.	5,996	—	—	1st and 2d Years each Pag. 5,996; 3d, 6,216
Mungalah	Kilfara Marsinarow		Do.	1,608	—	—	1st and 2d Years each Pag. 1,608; 3d, 1,656.
Lingageram	Codant Ram, and Marahurry		Do.	200	—	—	1st and 2d Years each Pag. 209, 3d, 216.
Tellicacherlah	Uppalapatty Vancata-pettirauze		Do.	495			
Peddapore, and Tautipauka	Vackevoy Jaggapettirauze	3 Years, Sept. 1773 to Sept. 1776	Do.	138,567	—	—	1st and 2d Years each Pag. 138,567; 3d, 140,767.
Pettahpore	Row Vencatrow		Do.	68,002	—	—	1st and 2d Years each Pag. 68,002; 3d, 68,992.
Ramachenderpuram	Caculinvoly Ramachenderauze		Do.	12,423	—	—	1st and 2d Years each Pag. 12,423; 3d, 12,919.
Cotah	Cac[illegible] Vencata-pettirauze		Do.	14,[illegible]88	—		
Pollaram	Reddy Mungapettyloo		Do.	8,535	—	—	1st and 2d Years each Pag. 8,536, 3d, 9,086.
Gootalah	Reddy Letchmnaraindoo		Do.	8,635	—	—	1st and 2d Years each Pag. 8,635, 9,350.
Corcondah	Mundapetty Trippettirauze		Do.	7,210	—	—	1st and 2d Years each Pag. 7,219, 3d, 7,549.
Casafacorno	Cordraigully Vencatrow Jaggernaut		—	5,60[illegible]	—	—	
Velanapolam	Argara Bramajee Kistnow		—	[illegible],808	—	—	

Names of the Farms, Zemindaries, &c.	Names of the Farmers, Zemindars, and Renters.	Periods of the Leafe.	Rent of each Farm per Annum.		Total per Annum.		Remarks.
				Pagodas.	Pagodas.	Pagodas.	
1773-4 continued.	Brought over -	- - -	—				
Vegayamapetah -	Vandra Gunnapetty, and Sundrapah -	- - -	—	1,128			
Jallamoody and Paliconah	Jellala Bramajee Banow	- - -	—	82			
Penangapillee -	Sabbinevefs Nanganah	- - -	—	144			
Vellah -	Ca,ee Mahomed Ruffy	- - -	—	165			
Vencataypollam -	badacallee Cawn -	- - -	—	220			
Muccamalah -	Damoderdofs - -	3 Years, Sept. 1773 to Sept. 1776 -	—	38			
Vondeleffsram -	Boo.henah Pundat	- - -	—	165			
Cotapullee -	Conaty Tnppetty -	- - -	1ft Year	2,629	—	—	1ft and 2d Years each Pag. 2,629, 3d, 2,684.
Parver - -	Culdindee Trpettirauze	- -	—	16,759			
Dutch Factories -	- - -	- - -	—	396			
Northern Circars under Vizagapatam. -							
Vizianagrum -	Sitteramra.ize -	- - -	—	85,714			
Sattieveram -	Pykerow -	- - -	—	18,571			
Tekaly -	Juggut Doo -	- - -	—	5,714			
Chicacnle and Jellmore Havilly -	Sitteramrauze -	3 Years, Sept. 1773 to Sept. 1776 - -	—	47,866			
Caffimcoatah - Do	Vizieramra.ize -	- - -	—	6,420			
Kimmeedy	Not fettled				1,64,285		

Under Ganjam.						
Itchapoor Havilly Lands -	Juggabundoo Chowdry -	1 Year, Sept. 1773 to Sept. 1774 - -	—	37,14[illegible]		
The rest as last Year -	- -	- -	—	1,04,633		
					1,41,776	
						9,07,712
1774-5.					Pagoda	14,29,220
Fort Saint George -	As last Year -	- -	—	2,225		
Poonamallee -	The Nabob -	1 Year, Aug. 1774 to July 1775 - -	—	44,350		
Jagueer -	Do -	Do - - -	—	3,24,000		
					—	3,70,575
Cuddalore -	As last Year -	- -	—	—	—	19,200
Masulipatam -	As last Year -	- -	—	—	—	1,11,733
Northern Circars.						
Under Masulipatam.						
Havilly of Ellore -	Sobrarum Lollah -	3 Years, Sept. 1773 to Sept. 1776 - -	2d Year	14,024		
Do of Mustaphanagur	Timmajee Pundat -		Do	4,950		
Doog - -	Culdindee Tripetterauze		Do	4,537		
The rest as last Year -	- -	- -	—	5,[illegible]0,376		
					6,02,888	
Under Vizagapatam -	As last Year -	- -	—	1,64,285		
Kimmeedy -	Jaggernautdoo -	2 Years, Sept. 1774 to Sept. 1776 -	—	22,857		
Gulgundah -	Sitteramrauze -	Do - -	—	1,428		
					1,88,570	

Names of the Farms, Zemindaries, &c.	Names of the Farmers, Zemindars, and Renters.	Periods of the Leases.	Rent of each Farm per Annum.		Total per Annum.		Remarks.
1774-5 continued.							
Under Ganjam	As last Year	- -	—	1,04,633			
Itchapoor Havilly Lands	Juggabundy Chowdry	- -	—	45,715			
Restored Villages of Goomsur	Gungader Chowdry	- -	—	1,715			
Do - Mautgur	Baremdajoo Santaroy	1 Year, Sept. 1774 to Sept. 1775.	—	500			
Do - Moherry	Damodoo Mahunty		—	428			
Do - Vizianagur	Cherna Chowdry	- -	—	569			
Do - Housumah	Antana Puntaloo	- -	—	30			
					1,53,590	9,45,048	
					Pagodas	14,66,536	
1775-6.			—	—	—	3,90,575	
Port Saint George	As last Year	- -	—	—	—	19,200	
Cuddalore	As last Year	- -		Pagodas			
Masulipatam.							
Devee	Antonio de Souza	8 Year, from 1 June 1775 to 31 May 1783	—	19,900			
Nellapillee and Georgenapillee	Mr. Anthony Sadleir	5 Years, Do - 31 May 1780	—	4 125			
Antravaddee	Balabadrauze	8 Years, 1 June 1775 - 31 May 1783	—	1,595			

Nizampatam -	- -	- -	—	21,560		
Gondore and Auclanad	-	- -	—	12,320		
Six Islands of Devee	- -	- -	—	3,465		
Innogodauo -	- -	- -	—	2,849		
Sakenapillee and Ramaferum -	The Farms not being let, were managed by the - -	- -	—	2,200		
Bandermalanka and Towns -	Chief and Council of Masulipatam this Year, - -	- -	—	4,400		
Tondore and Bandora	they are set down at the - -	- -	—	18,700		
Tumedee and Pedana	Rents of last Year. - -	- -	—	9,680		
Narsapore Salt -	- -	- -	—	3,850		
Masulipatam and Ponracca Salt -	- -	- -	—	11,714		
Narsapore Town -	- -	- -	—	629	—	1,16,887
Northern Circars.						
Under Masulipatam.						
Havelly of Ellore -	Sobraram Lollah -	- -	3d Year	14,575		
——— Rajamunory	Cojah Jorul'ah Cawn -	- -	—	2,310		
——— Mustaphanagur	Sammajee Pundat -	- -	3d Year	5,500		
Valloor Samatoo -	Sevajee Pundat -	- -	—	6,8[illegible]5		
Doon -	Culdindee Tripperauze	- -	Do	4,675		
Noozeed -	Macca Narsinva Opporow	3 Years, to Sept. 1776	Do	1,01,821		
Mulgatore, &c. -	Culdindee Trippeterauze	- -	Do	99,880		
Chahar Behal -	Camadeiah, &c. -	- -	Do	27,197		
Devra Cotah -	Erlagudda Codart Ram	- -	Do	17,[illegible]43		
Nandigamah -	Vassiriddy Ramanah	- -	Do	16,675		
Mylaverum -	Souranany, &c. -	- -	Do	5,092		

Names of the Farms, Zemindaries, &c.	Names of the Farmers, Zemindars, and Renters.	Periods of the Leases.	Rent of each Farm, &c. per Annum.		Total per Annum.	Remarks.
				Pagodas.		
1775-6 continued.	Brought over -	- -	—			
Beesara - -	Callivacollue Timena row, &c. -	- -	3d Year	4,770		
Chintalapoody - -	Joopellah Mullerow, &c.	- -	Do.	5,208		
Modoor Gutto and Jemmalavoy - -	Vallankey Mullorow, &c.	- -	Do.	6,216		
Munagalah - -	Kiffarah Narfirvarow	- -	Do.	1,656		
Lingagera - -	Conant Ram and Rarahury	- -	Do.	216		
Tellicacherlah - -	Uppalaparty Vencata pett rauze -	- -	—	405		
Peduapore and Tautip...kah	Vachevoy Jaggepettirauze	- -	3d Year	1,40,76-		
Pettapore - - -	Row Vencatrow - -	3 Years, Sept. 1773 to Sept. 1776 - -	Do.	68,992		
Ramachenderporam	Cacarlamoody Rama chenderauze -	- -	Do.	12,910		
Cotah - - -	Cacarlamoody Vanca tapettirauze - -	- -	3d Year	14,788		
Pollaram - -	Reddy Mungapetty Doo	- -	Do.	9,086		
Gootalah - -	Reddy Letchminaram Doo	- -	Do.	9,35-		
Corcondah - -	Mundapetty Tripetterauze	- -	—	7,540		
Cafanacorrah - -	Condra gullo Venca trow Jaggernaut	-	—	5,698		
Velamapollam - -	Angara Bramajee Kiftnore	- -	—	2,805		
Vagayamapettah - -	Vandravoo Somapan -	1 Year, Sept 1775 to Sept 1776 -	—	564		
Jalumoody and Pal...onah	Jellala Bramajee Barow	- -	—			
Panangapillee - -	Sab neref Narainan	3 Years, Sept. 1773 to Sept 1776 -	—	82		
Vellah - - -	Cazee Mammed Rur	- -	—	144		
			—	16		

Veneataypollam -	Sadaeallee Ca[illegible]n	- -	—	2[illegible]		
Muccamalah -	Damodeadofs -	- -	—	[illegible]		
Vondelelloram -	Boochenah Pur[illegible]at -	-	—	10[illegible]		
Cotapillee -	Conat[illegible] Tripe[illegible]ty	3 Years, Sept. 17[illegible] to Se[illegible] 17[illegible]6. -	[illegible]	2,0[illegible]4		
Paroor -	Culdindee [illegible]tterauze		—	[illegible]		
Dutch Factories -	- -		—	[illegible]6		
Nellatore, &c. Villages	Somapah - -	1 Year, Sept 17[illegible] to Sept. 17[illegible]6	—	935	[illegible],15,61[illegible]	
Under Vizagapatam -	As last Year - -	- -	—	—	[illegible]	
Under Ganjam -	As last Year -	- -	—	1,41[illegible]6		
Goomfur, -	Kissen Bunge -	- -	—	14,286		
Restored villages of Goomfur	Latchemah Bunge -	- -	—	2,[illegible]		
— — Hautgur	Bandarwo Santaroy -	1 Year, Sept. 1775 to Sept 17[illegible]6 - -	—	1,2[illegible]		
— Moherry and Hoummah	Madoo Praharauze -	- -	- -	1,6[illegible]		
— — Vizianagur	Colloor Pallarum -	- -	-	1,643	1,62,919	[illegible],[illegible]7,10[illegible]
					Pagodas.	14,0[illegible],760
1776-7.						
Fort Saint George.	As before -	1 Year, Aug. 17[illegible]6 to July 17[illegible]7 -	—	—	—	3,[illegible]5
Cuddalore.	As before -	Do - -	—	—	—	1[illegible],200
Masulipatam.	As before -	- -	—	—	—	1,[illegible]6,8[illegible]
Northern Circars. Under Masulipatam.						
Havilly of Ellore -	Chief and Council of Masulipatam -	Calculated at a Medium of last 3 Years -	—	14,025		

Carry over

Names of Farms and Zemindaries.	Names of the Farmers, Zemindars, and Renters.	Periods of the Leases.	Rent of each Farm, &c. per Annum.	Total per Annum.		Remarks.
			Pagodas.		Pagodas.	
1776-7 continued.	Brought over - -	- - -	—			
Havilly of Rajamundry	Coja Josrulla Cawn	- - -	— 2,310			
—— Mustaphanagur	Timmajee Pundat	- - -	— 4,950			
Valoor Samatoor - -	Savagee Pundat -	1 Year, Sept. 1776 to Sept. 1777	— 6,875			
Doon - - -	Culdindee Tripettirauze		— 4,538			
The rest as last Year -	- -	2 Years, Sept. 1776 to Sept. 1778. -	— 81,68[illegible]	6,14,381		
Under Vizagapatam.						
Vizianagrum and Gulgundah - -	Vizieramrauze - -	- - -	— 87,143			
Sattiaveram - -	Pykarow - -	- - -	— 18,571			
Tekaly - - -	Puggut Doo - -	1 Year, Sept. 1776 to Sept. 1777 -	— 5,871			
Havilly Lands - -	Jaggernautrauze -	- - -	— 45,571			
Kimmedy - -	Jaggernaut Doo -	-	— 22,85[illegible]	1,83,012		
Under Ganjam.						
Itchapoor Havilly -	Juggabundoo Chowdry	- - -	— 42,85[illegible]			
Restored villages of Goomsur	Carsujee - -	- - -	— 1,150			
—— Hautgur	Gauda Vencatasha -	- - -	— 1,150			
		1 Year, Sept. 1776 to Sept. 1777 -				
—— Moherry and Hourmmah	Jimmundra Shewaram	- - -	— 1,446			
—— Vizianagur	Lingum Juggiah -	-	— 1,[illegible]			
The rest as last Year	- - -	-	— 1,10,34[illegible]	1,[illegible]8,680		
					9,56,0[illegible]4	
				Pagoda	14,82,[illegible]36	

1777-8.						
Fort Saint George.						
Poonamallee	The Nabob	1 Year, Aug. 1777 to July 1778	—	44,350		
Saint Thomé	Tanacooty Pillah	10 Years, 1 Aug. 1777 to 31 July 1787	—	7,000		
Trivetore			—	2,850		
Egmore			—	1,310		
Perembore			—	1,510		
Paddy Fields and Salt Pans			—	920		
Deve Cotah	Nella Permaul and Conary	10 Years, Do to Do	—	13,600		
Jagueer	The Nabob	1 Year, Aug. 1777 to July 1778	—	3,24,000	—	3,95,541
Cuddalore.						
Trevendeporam	Nella Permaul and Conary	10 Years, Aug. 1777 to July 1787	—	14,390		
Port Saint David's Bounds	Do	Do Do	—	7,265	—	21,655
Masulipatam.						
Devee	As before					
Nellapillee			—	25,550		
Autraviddee						
Tondore and Bandora	Culdindee Trippetterauze	2 Years, 1 June 1777 to 31 May 1779	—	14,520		
Tumpdee and Pedanah			—	8,580		
Nansapore Town			—	880		
Do Salt Farm			—	2,480		
Six Islands of Devee			—	3,300		
Masulipatam and Ponracca Salt	Mr. Samuel Statham	1 Year, 1 Dec. 1777 to 30 Nov. 1778	—	11,714		

Names of the Farms, Zemindaries, &c.	Names of the Farmers, Zemindars, and Renters.	Periods of the Leases.	Rent of each Farm, &c. per Annum.		Total per Annum.		Remarks.
1777-8 continued.	Brought over						
Nizampatam	Not let; estimated as before		—	21,560			
Gondore, &c.			—	12,320			
Innigodroo			—	2,849			
Sakanapillee, &c.			—	2,200			
Bandarmalanka, &c.			—	4,400	—	1,10,293	
Northern Circars.							
Under Masulipatam.							
Havelly of Ellore	Ragojee Puntaloo	2 Years, Sept. 1777 to Sept. 1779.	—	14,300			
Rajahmundry	Chief and Council established as [illegible]		—	2,310			
Mustaphanagur	Ventach [illegible]lum	2 Years, Sept. 17[illegible] to Sept. 1[illegible]9	—	5,720			
Valoor Sama[illegible]oo	Callivatcllue Jimmenarow, and Ramarow	Do		[illegible],425			
Dooa	Culdmdee Tripetterauze	Do	—	1,[illegible]5			
The rest as last Year			—	[illegible],81,6[illegible]3	6,1[illegible],113		
Under Vizagapatam.							
Vizianagrum, &c.	Vizieramrauze	1 Year Sept. 17[illegible] to Sept. 1[illegible]8.		8[illegible],14[illegible]			
Sallaveram	Jaggernautrauze		—	1[illegible]			
Tekaly	Juggu[illegible]doo			[illegible],8[illegible]			
Havilly Lands	Sitteramrauze	10 Years, S[illegible] to Sept. 17[illegible]	—	[illegible],14[illegible]		—	First 5 Years, Pag. 67,143 each—6th Year, 68,857—7th, 72,[illegible]1—8th, 73,428—9th, [illegible],714—10th Year, 78,000.
Kimmeedy	Jaggernatdoo	1 Do, Sept. 1[illegible] to Sept. 1[illegible]8	—	22,8[illegible]	2[illegible],5[illegible]		

Under Ganjam.						
Itchapoor Havilly -	Under Charge of Chief and Council of Ganjam	Estimated at the former Rent -	—	47,857		
Mundesaw - -	Do. - Do.	Do. - -	—	5,715		
Jellantra - -	Do. - Do.	Do. - -	—	4,572		
Jerridah - -	Do. - D.	Do. - - -	—	2,256		
Vizianagur - -	Munnidoo - -	1 Year, Sept. 1777 to Sept. 1778 -	—	7,143		
Pretapaghire -	Jaggernautdoo -	Do. - Do. -	—	6,285		
Restored villages of Goomsur	Under Charge of Chief and Council -	Estimated at the former Rent -	—	1,151		
— Hautgur	Nebanpoody Dunamarow	1 Year, Sept. 1777 to Sept. 1778 -	—	1,196		
— Moherry and Hounmah	Vancataramudoo -	Do. -	—	1,593		
— Niziarnagur	Ramoofs -	Do -	—	1,571		
The rest as last Year	- -	- -	—	84,346		
					1,58,715	9,76,413
					Pagodas.	15,03,901
1778-9.						
Fort Saint George.						
As last Year - -	- -	- -	—	27,190		
Poonamallee -	The Nabob -	3 Years, Aug. 1778 to July 1781 - -	—	40,000		
Jagueer - - -	Do. - -	Do. - - -	—	3,24,000		
					—	3,91,190
Cuddalore -	As last Year -	- -	—	—	—	21,655
Masulipatam.	As last Year -	- -	—	—	—	1,10,293
Northern Circars.						
Under Masulipatam.						
Havilly of Ellore -						
— Rajamundry						
— Mustaphanagur	As last Year -	- -	—	34,430		
Valoor Samatoo -						
Doon - -						

Names of the Farms, Zemindaries, &c.	Names of the Farmers, Zemindars, and Renters.	Periods of the Leases.	Rent of each Farm, &c. per Annum.	Total per Annum.	Remarks.
			Pagodas.	Pagodas.	
1778-79 continued.	Brought over	- -	-	—	
Noozeed	Macca Narsinva Opparo	5 Years, Sept. 1778 to Sept. 1783.	1,01,821		
Mulgatore	Culdandee Tripetterauze	5 Years, Sept. 1778 to Sept. 1783.	1,07,758		
Chahar Mehal	Camdenah Subrah	5 Years, Sept. 1778 to Sept. 1783.	30,596		
Devra Cotah	Erlagudda Codant Ram	5 Years, Sept. 1778 to Sept. 1783.	19,960		
Nandigamah	Vaffireddy Ramanah	5 Years, Sept. 1778 to Sept. 1783.	18,717		
Mylaverom	Sooranany Narsinvarow, &c.	5 Years, Sept. 1778 to Sept. 1783.	6,342		
Bezoara	Callivacolle Timmenarow, &c.	5 Years, Sept. 1778 to Sept. 1783.	5,374		
Chintalapoddy	Joopellah Mullarow, &c.	5 Years, Sept. 1778 to Sept. 1783.	5,614		
Medoor Gutto and Jammalavoy	Vallarkey Mullarow, &c.	5 Years, Sept. 1778 to Sept. 1783.	6,093		
Munagalah	Kiffarah Vencatramrow	5 Years, Sept. 1778 to Sept. 1783.	1,656		
Lingagera	Codant Ram, and Marahurry	5 Years, Sept. 1778 to Sept. 1783.	216		
Tellicacherla	Uppalapatty Vencatapettirauze	5 Years, Sept. 1778 to Sept. 1783.	495		
Peddapore	Vachevoy Jaggepettirauze	5 Years, Sept. 1778 to Sept. 1783.	1,53,622		
Pettahpore	Row Vencatrow	5 Years, Sept. 1778 to Sept. 1783.	65,092		
Ramachenderporam	Cacarlamoody Ramachenderauze	5 Years, Sept. 1778 to Sept. 1783.	13,970		
Cotah	Cacarlamoody Achetaramrauze	5 Years, Sept. 1778 to Sept. 1783.	16,636		
Pollaram	Reddy Mungapettydoo	5 Years, Sept. 1778 to Sept. 1783.	9,933		
Gootalah	Reddy Letchminaraindoo	5 Years, Sept. 1778 to Sept. 1783.	10,197		

Corcondah	Mundapetty Tripettarauze	5 Years, Sept. 1778 to Sept. 1783	—	8,220			
Casanacorro	Condraigulia Vencatrow		—	6,296			
Velamapollam	Angara Bramajee Kistnow		—	3,080			
Vegayamapettah	Vandravo Somapah		—	1,619			
Jalimoody and Paliconah	Jellalah Bramajee		—	99			
Panangapillee	Sabbinevess Neganah		—	158			
Vellah	Causy Mahomed Ruffey		—	165			
Veneatapollam	Sadacally Cawn		—	220			
Muccamalah	Damoderdos		—	38			
Vondalassoram	Vencatty Narsinga		—	206			
Cotapillee	Conaty Narinmaloo		—	3,405			
Paroor	Culdindee Tripettirauze		—	18,327			
Pullicondah	Nellapahrauze		—	200			
Dutch Factories			—	396	6,55,751		
Under Vizagapatam.							
Vizianagrum, &c.	Vizieramrauze	5 Year, Sept. 1778 to Sept. 1783	—	1,15,714		—	The Brothers, Vizieramrauze and Sitteramrauze, promised, as an Acknowledgement for the Cowle granted in the Name of Guzzeputtyrauze, to make a Nazar of One Lack of Rupees to the Company.
Sattieveram	Do	Do.	—	25,714			
Tekaly	Juggutdoo	Do.	—	5,714			
Havilly Lands	Sitteramrauze	10 Years, Sept. 1777 to Sept. 1787	—	67,143			
Kimmedy	Jaggernautdoo	5 Years, Sept. 1778 to Sept. 1783	—	2[illegible],571	2,38,856		

Carr. over

Names of the Farms, Zemindaries, &c.	Names of the Farmers, Zemindars, and Renters.	Periods of the Leases.	Rent of each Farm, &c. per Annum.		Total per Annum.		Remarks.
				Pagodas.		Pagodas.	
1778-9 continued.	Brought over -	- - -	—				
Under Ganjam -	As before -	- -	—	1,34,355	—	—	The Whole of the Itchapoor District was let in August 1779 to Ball Kistna, for Years, from Sept. 1779 to Sept. 1780, at Rs. 1,35,817 per Annum.
Restored Villages of Mohery and Hoummah	Coumojee -	4½ Years, Sept. 1778, to March 1783	—	[illegible]			
— Haugur	Amagerry -	Do. - -	—	2,284			
— Vizianagur	Amachullum -	Do. - -	—	2,319	1,61,208	70,55,813	
Nagore - -	Kistnare Purdat and Canacooty Pillah	6 Years, July 1778 to July 1784 -	—	—	—	70,600	3 first Years, Pag. 70,600 each; 3 last, 76,600 Ps.
					Pagodas	16,49,555	

East India House,
1?th June, 1781.

Errors excepted,
John Anni,
Auditor of Indian Accounts.

An ACCOUNT of Customs and Duties received at Fort Saint George and Subordinates, from May 1767, to the last Accounts received.

May.	April.	Sea and River Customs.	Land Customs.	Mint Customs.	Bankshall Duty.	Measuring Duty.	Town Duty.	Total.
		Pag.	Pag.	Pag.	Pag.	Pag.	Pag.	Pag.
1767	to 1768	40,528	19,285	5,307	520	1,300	259	67,199
1768	— 1769	59,719	21,212	5,500	650	1,091	352	88,524
1769	— 1770	49,569	22,727	3,302	—	1,374	322	77,494
1770	— 1771	53,675	24,019	3,660	—	1,165	428	82,947
1771	— 1772	57,949	22,457	3,679	—	1,290	334	85,709
1772	— 1773	50,326	20,695	3,296	2,875	1,600	272	88,064
1773	— 1774	50,129	20,124	2,976	830	1,600	249	75,908
1774	— 1775	65,247	18,531	4,029	—	400	174	88,381
1775	— 1776	58,582	20,300	3,884	425	2,400	—	85,591
1776	— 1777	40,417	20,773	5,168	354	1,200	107	68,010
1777	— 1778	44,080	18,901	3,647	213	—	—	66,841
1778	— 1779	35,592	18,485	4,576	—	—	—	58,653
1779	— 1780	35,336	14,694	5,659	325	2,050	—	58,064

An ACCOUNT of the Revenues arising from Farms and Licenses at Fort St. George and Subordinates, from May 1767, to the last Accounts received.

May.	April.	Beetle and Tobacco Farm.	Arrack and Toddy Licenses.	Town Brokerage.	Ruby Brokerage.	Rentalgeneral and Scavenger.	Total.
		Pag.	Pag.	Pag.	Pag.	Pag.	Pag.
1767	to 1768	26,582	14,158	600	300	1,722	43,362
1768	— 1769	26,437	12,423	1,000	300	4,000	44,160
1769	— 1770	31,612	16,111	200	300	2,521	50,744
1770	— 1771	26,279	16,989	1,151	300	1,700	46,419
1771	— 1772	36,299	17,914	613	450	8,889	64,165
1772	— 1773	34,725	18,590	425	600	870	55,210
1773	— 1774	34,743	17,586	—	600	—	52,929
1774	— 1775	34,443	18,295	—	600	6,500	59,838
1775	— 1776	31,887	16,800	382	300	—	49,369
1776	— 1777	31,950	17,176	425	900	—	50,451
1777	— 1778	43,393	21,921	682	350	9,008	75,354
1778	— 1779	48,803	18,352	613	700	—	68,468
1779	— 1780	42,642	17,567	500	700	2,778	63,987

East-India House,
6th July 1781,
and
12th Decem. 1781.

(Errors excepted)

John Annis,
Auditor of Indian Accounts.

Your Committee, in the Course of their Enquiries into the Receipt of the Revenues under the Presidency of Madras, could not but observe the very large Arrears due by the Renters and other Possessors of Lands, and which appear to have rapidly increased of late, particularly in the Northern Circars. And your Committee, being desirous to ascertain the Progress of these Balances, called for a particular State of them, as they stood at the respective Terminations of the Governments of Lord Pigot, Mr. Stratton, Mr. Whitehill, and Sir Thomas Rumbold, and at the Date of the last Advices; in Obedience to which, the following Account was produced:

A STATE of the Balances of the Northern Circars, as they stood at the End of Lord Pigot's Government, of Mr. Stratton's, of Mr. Whitehill's, of Sir Thomas Rumbold's, and as they stood according to the last Advices.

At the End of Lord Pigot's Government, 24th August 1776.

				Pag.
Masulipatam	-	Northern Circars	-	2,79,604
Vizagapatam	-	Northern Circars	-	72,203
Ganjam	-	Northern Circars		2,71,672
			Pag.	6,23,479

At the End of Mr. Stratton's Government, 31st August 1777.

Masulipatam	-	Northern Circars	-	2,50,942
Vizagapatam	-	Northern Circars	-	2,52,858
Ganjam	-	Northern Circars	-	3,21,909
			Pag.	8,25,709

At the End of Mr. Whitehill's Government, 7th February 1778.

Masulipatam	-	Northern Circars	-	3,84,283
Vizagapatam	-	Northern Circars	-	1,93,891
Ganjam	-	Northern Circars	-	3,77,021
			Pag.	9,55,195

Sir

Sir Thomas Rumbold resigned the Government of Madras the 4th of April 1780; the last Accounts received of the Balances due from the Circars, are dated the 29th of February 1780, at which Time they stood as follows:

				Pag.
Masulipatam	-	Northern Circars	-	9,92,962
Vizagapatam	-	Northern Circars	-	3,24,156
Ganjam	-	Northern Circars		4,02,482
			Pag.	17,19,600

East India House,
18th May 1781. Errors excepted. John Annis,
Auditor of Indian Accounts.

From the above Accompt it appears to your Committee, that the Balances due from the Circars have not only been constantly increasing during the Period to which the Accompt relates, but that during each succeeding Government they have advanced more rapidly than under the preceding; the Average Increase under the Government of Mr. Stratton being exceeded by that under Mr. Whitehill's Government, in the Proportion of Three to Two, and by that under Sir Thomas Rumbold by nearly Two to One, in the same Period of Time.

No exact Account of the Balances to a later Period appears hitherto to have been received at the India House; but in a Letter from the President and Council at Fort Saint George, in their Civil Department, to the Court of Directors of the 9th of January 1781, the Balances due by the Zemindars and Renters under Masulipatam alone, are said to amount, including the Teeps due, to no less than Madras P. 15,28,597. 17.

General Letter from Fort Saint George, 9th Jan. 1781, Par. 14, 28.

To what Causes this growing Deficiency in the Revenues of the Northern Circars ought chiefly to be imputed, your Committee cannot take upon them to say. They observe in the Letters to the Presidency from the subordinate Councils, much said of the Poverty and large Debts of many of the Zemindars; the refractory Disposition of others, particularly in the Chicacole Circar are also represented, as contributing to swell the Arrears. Your Committee beg Leave to refer to what is said in the Second Report, with respect to the Poverty of many of the Zemindars. The President and Council of Fort Saint George, in their Letter to the Court of Directors of the 17th of October 1778 write, that few of the Zemindars, except those whose paternal Inheritance was too considerable to be wasted, were in Circumstances of Responsibility to answer their Engagements to the Company.

2d Report, Page 10.

Append. N° 17.

They say that various Causes had contributed to produce that Effect; but that One alone was sufficient to account for it; the Practice of exacting in Advance from the Zemindars Two-thirds of their Annual Jemmabundy (Rent) and the Necessity by that Means laid upon them

of taking up from the Soucars (Bankers) or any other who would lend them, considerable Sums of Money at an exorbitant Interest of Two or Three per Cent. per Month, giving Assignments on the Harvest, by Way of Security for Repayment.

Another Cause is in the same Letter mentioned as having contributed to the Distress of the Zemindars, and that is, the short Term of the Settlements made with them for their Lands, which had led them to attend only to their own immediate Interest, without regarding the Consequences to the Revenue in future.

The great Exportation of Specie from the Country, which is stated by Mr. Sadlier at 10 or 15 Lacks of Pagodas per Annum, and which does certainly take place to a great Amount, must tend to render Payments more difficult.

Under this Head of the Arrears, your Committee must refer to what has been said in the Second Report, with respect to the Measure of calling down the Zemindars to Madras, leaving it to the House to judge upon what is there said, how far that Measure may have contributed to swell their Amount. Other Facts stated in that Report, and in its Supplement, seem to imply that private Exactions have also contributed to the same Evil. That such Exactions have actually been made by the Servants of the Company, the Facts here alluded to seem to leave no Doubt. To what Amount they may have gone, it is impossible for your Committee to say. To investigate that Matter to its full Extent would require other Kind of Evidence than the Records at the India House, or the Witnesses they have had it in their Power to examine, could be expected to afford.

Since this Report was drawn up and ready to be presented to the House, your Committee have had an Opportunity of examining Edward Cotsford, Esquire, who is recently returned from India, where he had resided from the Month of August 1778 to the latter End of the Year 1780, as Chief of Masulipatam. The whole of his Evidence, and the Answers given by him to the Questions put to him by the Committee, respecting the present State of the Company's Possessions on the Coast of Coromandel, are inserted in the Appendix. Some Part of those Answers tends to throw no small Light upon the present Subject.

Append. N° 23.

Mr. Cotsford being asked, If, under the Mahomedan Government, the Zemindars and Renters were subject to any Payments besides the Rents of the Districts which they held? answered, That he believed the Deputies of the Government did receive, over and above the Tribute payable to the Government, a further Sum, under the Name of Nazar, or Present, which they pretended was for the Payment of their Troops; but that their Ability to procure this Nazar, was in Proportion to the Strength of their Army—That these Presents were arbitrary, and bore no certain Proportion to the Tribute payable to the Government.

Being asked, If, after the Circars came under the Government of Europeans, any Remains of the Nazar, or Presents, existed? he said, He believed it did exist; and that he thinks he had seen a Paper of

Mr.

Mr. de Buſſy's; in which a Part of the Tribute was brought to Account under the Head of Preſent.

Being aſked, If after that Country came to be under the Britiſh Government, the ſame Practice had continued? he ſaid, He believed it had exiſted in a greater or leſs Degree ever ſince.

Being aſked, Under what Head thoſe Preſents were entered in the Company's Accounts? he ſaid, There was no ſuch Head of Account, nor did he underſtand that any ſuch Articles were ever brought to the Credit of the Company; that thoſe Preſents are conſidered as a Perquiſite of the Station, and not in any Reſpect as a Part of the Tribute.

Being aſked, Whether, upon the Suppoſition of the Zemindars not having been called down to ſettle their Tribute at Madras, he would have thought himſelf at Liberty, in Conſiſtence with his Duty, to accept ſuch Gratuities from the Zemindars? his Anſwer was, That he ſhould have thought it his firſt Duty to inforce the Payment of the Company's Tribute, without ſuffering his own Intereſt to interfere with it, but that he did not mean to ſay, he ſhould have declined the cuſtomary Advantages of his Situation.

Your Committee will make no Commentary upon this Evidence; but leave it to the Houſe to conſider, how far, when combined with the Facts ſtated in the Supplement to the Second Report, it tends to explain the Diſtreſs of the Zemindars.

To whatever Cauſes the general Diſtreſs of the Zemindars, and the increaſing Difficulty of obtaining Payment from them, is owing, the Fact ſeems to your Committee to be certain.

The Negotiations of the Chief and Council of Maſulipatam with the Zemindars and Renters of that Diſtrict, and the Means uſed by them to inforce Payment of their Balances, as contained in their Revenue Conſultations, from June to December 1780, brought Home by the laſt Diſpatches are exceedingly voluminous. It appears in theſe Conſultations, that after various fruitleſs Endeavours to obtain Payment from ſundry of the principal Zemindars, the Chief and Council had found it neceſſary to proceed to Meaſures of Compulſion, by confining their Perſons under Guards of Sepoys, and threatening to ſequeſtrate their Eſtates. By theſe Meaſures they ſeem to have got the Security of Soucars for Part of the Arrears; but they at the ſame Time inform the Preſident and Council, that moſt of thoſe whoſe Tributes had been lately raiſed, had intimated an Intention of applying for a Reduction of them to the Rate at which they had formerly ſtood; and at the ſame Time expreſs their Apprehenſions that, unleſs ſome Meaſure of that Kind were adopted, they would not in future be able to procure Payment without a Renewal of the ſame Sort of Violence they had lately been compelled to employ; a Meaſure which, however effectual it might be to bring Money into the Treaſury, they conſider as productive of ruinous Conſequences, by alienating the Minds of the People, and filling the Country with ſecret Enemies.

Letter from Maſulipatam, 25th Sept. 1775, in Fort Saint George Conſultations, 3d October 1780.

From

From the Account above inserted, respecting the Persons to whom the territorial Revenues have been let on Lease, it appears, that the Jaghire Lands, with the District of Poonamallee, being by far the greatest Part of the Territory immediately under the Presidency, has been almost uniformly let to the Nabob: For Guntoor, Vincatachillum, to whom these Lands appear to have been let for Seven Years in the Year 1764, seems to have been merely an interposed Name for the Nabob, who gave his own Security for the Rent. Your Committee find in the Records of the Company, frequent Representations made by the Governor and Council to the Directors, of the Disadvantages arising from these Lands being possessed by the Nabob. Even before the Expiry of the Lease to Vincatachillum, these Disadvantages had been insisted upon; and upon the Expiration of that Lease in 1771, the Governor and Council write, that, "It is beyond a Doubt, that the "Advantages that might be reaped from such Territorial Possessions, "will never be obtained so long as the Nabob has any thing to do "with them." They represent the Inhabitants as undergoing continual Oppressions; that the Lands, though capable of great Improvements, experienced none; that the great Reservoirs, by which the Lands are supplied with Water, were going to Decay, that almost all the Weavers who manufactured the Madras Investment, resided within the Jaghire; and that more might be induced to come, had they proper Encouragement, which it was not in their Power to give them; that they had as little Influence in these Lands, as in those of the immediate Property of the Nabob; and that, except the mere Rent, no one Benefit was derived from them; and that in case they should have Occasion for their Produce, they had no more Reason to expect it, than from the Nabob's Country.

General Letter from Fort Saint George, 16th Jan. 1765, Par. 17. D° 22d Jan. 1767.

Append. N° 18.

In the Letter from Fort Saint George, to the Directors, dated the 14th of October, 1775, these Lands are represented as in a most wretched State, and the Inhabitants as much oppressed. And,

Append. N° 18.

Sir Eyre Coote, in his Letter to the Committee of Correspondence at the India House, of the 30th of November 1780, lamenting the Necessity there was of both the Army and Inhabitants being, in the State in which the Country then was, maintained chiefly by Supplies from Bengal, states that Necessity, as a convincing Proof of the bad Policy of renting these Lands to the Nabob, and thereby rendering themselves entirely dependent upon him for every Kind of Supply.

Append. N° 19.

For farther Particulars respecting these Lands, and the Conduct of the late Government of Madras, in letting them anew to the Nabob for Three Years, your Committee beg Leave to refer to the Second Report, Page 37.

In the same Report (Page 26) it has been seen, that when the Government of Madras had obtained Possession of the Guntoor Circar

from Bazalet Jung, that County too was agreed to be let to the Nabob.

Your Committee having stated the Nature and Amount of the Revenues, under the Presidency of Fort Saint George, proceeded next to inquire into their Expenditure. And your Committee having found, in the Third Report of the Committee of Secrecy appointed in the Year 1773, to inquire into the State of the East India Company, a General State of the Receipts and Disbursements at each of the Chief Settlements of the Company in India, for Ten Years preceding the Month of April 1771, thought, that the most distinct Method for them to follow, would be to lay before the House, a similar State of Receipts and Disbursements for the Presidency of Fort Saint George, commencing at the Period at which that in the Report of the former Committee ended. Such a State therefore commencing in May 1771, and ending in April 1778, which your Committee was informed was as low as it could be brought, having been produced in Compliance with the Orders of your Committee, by Mr. John Annis, Auditor of Indian Accompts, the same is here laid before the House.

The Sums in the foregoing Account being exprest in British Money, in Conformity to the similar Accounts in the Third Report of the former Committee of Secrecy, of which this is a Continuation, your Committee think it proper to mention, with a View to a Comparison between this Account and the former, relative to the Receipts of the Company, that Two Pagodas and an Half are equal to One Pound Sterling.

By the foregoing State, it appears how much of the Revenue has been annually expended upon the Civil and Military Charges and Fortifications; and consequently how much has remained to be applied to the Purchase of the Investment for Europe, and to the other Purposes of the Company.

In order to shew still more distinctly the Application of the Company's Revenues, unmixed with their Commercial Receipts, your Committee will here subjoin an Account, in which are entered, first, the Nett Revenues, as in the preceding General State, and then the Civil and Military Charges, with the Expence of Buildings and Fortifications; distinguishing such Part of the Military Charges as is put to the Account of the Nabob, from those that are defrayed out of the Company's proper Revenues.

The same Account shews the Difference between the Nett Revenues and the Charges borne by the Company for each Year to which it relates.

ANNUAL AMOUNT of Civil and Military Charges incurred by the East-India Company at Fort Saint George, and Subordinates, from May 1767 to the last Accounts received:—Also the Amount of the Difference between the Nett Revenues and Charges.

May.	April.	Total Nett Revenues, Customs, &c.	CHARGES. Civil.	Military. Total Amount.	Military. Defrayed by the Nabob	Military. Defrayed by the Company.	Buildings and Fortifications.	Total Charges defrayed by the Company.	Revenues more than Charges.	Charges more than Revenues.
		£. st.	£. st.	£. st.	£. st.	£. st.	£. st.	£. st.	£. st.	£. st.
1767 — — —	1768	381,330	68,042	560,485	169,151	391,334	29,636	459,012	—	107,682
1768 — — —	1769	369,720	41,154	809,041	189,216	619,825	30,492	691,471	—	321,751
1769 — — —	1770	500,110	57,345	519,822	138,725	381,097	29,050	467,492	32,618	—
1770 — — —	1771	562,359	49,865	452,172	150,322	301,850	82,072	434,399	127,960	—
1771 — — —	1772	558,860	49,926	633,440	341,731	291,709	65,811	407,446	151,414	—
1772 — — —	1773	529,233	52,508	544,185	342,586	201,599	55,031	309,138	220,095	—
1773 — — —	1774	524,762	51,104	677,114	407,848	269,266	86,774	407,144	117,618	—
1774 — — —	1775	503,629	48,729	594,908	302,831	292,077	113,783	454,589	49,040	—
1775 — — —	1776	514,591	47,118	474,559	192,220	282,339	16,410	345,867	168,724	—
1776 — — —	1777	563,149	48,662	521,005	186,739	334,266	150,254	533,182	30,167	—
1777 — — —	1778	283,198	90,368	522,655	209,200	313,455	82,007	485,830	—	202,632
1778 — — —	1779	494,208	92,743	835,018	200,488	634,530	76,651	803,924	—	309,716
	£. stg.	5,785,349	697,564	7,144,410	2,831,057	4,313,357	818,571	5,829,488	897,642	941,781
							Deduct Revenues more than Charges		—	897,642
							Total Charges more than Revenues		—	£. st. 44,139

Auditor's Office,
10th July 1782.

Errors excepted.
John Annis,
Auditor of India Accounts.

It is proper to observe, for the better understanding this Account, and the general State of Receipts and Disbursements, that your Committee was informed, that in the Account last inserted, the Sums stated as defrayed by the Nabob in Part of the Military Charges, are the Sums with which he is debited on that Head; whereas the Sums entered in the Third Column of Receipts, in the General State of Receipts and Disbursements, are the Payments actually made by the Nabob.

From a Comparison between the Free Revenue, which, by the Account last inserted, appears to have remained to the Company, after defraying the Civil and Military Charges, and Expence of Buildings and Fortifications, with the Expence of the Investment for Europe, as entered in the last Column but One of the General State of Receipts and Disbursements, it is manifest that, except in One Year (viz. the Year 1772-3) during the whole Period to which the Account relates, the Surplus Nett Revenues, above the Charges, have never been equal to the Purchase of the Investment for Europe — It further appears, that in the Two first and Two last Years of the Account, within the former of which the first War with Hyder Ali happened, and within the latter the Expeditions to Pondicherry and Mahe, those Charges and Expences exceed the Nett Revenues in no less than £. 941,781. It appears upon Calculation, that the Average Surplus Revenue for each of the Eight Years from 1769 to 1777, during which the Company was at Peace, is £. 1[illegible]2,205; whereas the Average of the Investment, calculated upon the whole Period of the General State of Receipts and Disbursements, is £. 249,554 Yearly, or more than double the former Sum. And taking in the Four Years of War above mentioned, the Revenues under the Presidency of Fort Saint George, exclusive of their Commercial Receipts, have been so far from sufficient to furnish an Investment, that in the whole Period since 1707, they have fallen short of the Charges by £. 44,139.

Your Committee observing no Notice taken in the Account last inserted, of that Part of the Military Charges which is defrayed by the Rajah of Tanjore, were informed by Mr. Annis, the Auditor of Indian Accounts, that the said Account of Charges is exclusive of those incurred in Tanjore, with the Exception of £. 96,100, or Pagodas 2,40,250, in the Year 1776-7—That this Exception was occasioned by an Error in the Accounts sent Home from Madras, which stated that no Expences on Account of Tanjore were included therein; but that by subsequent Accounts received, it was found that the above Sum of £. 96,100 had been included in the Military Charges of that Year, which consequently ought to have been stated at £. 424,905, instead of £. 521,005, as in the Account.

With the Exception of this Error, the Omission of the Tanjore Charges makes no material Difference in the Result, with respect to the Company. The Addition of these Charges would have had the Effect of making the total Amount of Charges appear so much higher; but the Company's Share of those Charges, and the Difference between that Share and the Nett Revenues, would have remained the same; with the Exception only of the Sum, in which the Subsidy from

from the Rajah of Tanjore may be supposed to have exceeded what was actually laid out by the Company, for the Military Establishment in his Country from the Period since 1776, when the Agreement with him took Place.

The Error just mentioned in the Madras Accounts for the Year 1776-7, so far makes a Difference on the State of the Account, that the Revenue for that Year, instead of exceeding the Charges by £. 30,167, as in the Account, did really exceed the Charges by £. 126,267; and the Revenues, instead of falling short of the Charges by £. 44,130 upon the whole Period of the Account, have in Fact exceeded them by £. 51,961; a Sum, however, little more than equal to One Fifth of the Investment for One Year.

And your Committee, being desirous to know in what the Civil and Military Charges consist, ordered the Particulars of these Charges to be laid before them. An Account of which, as produced by Mr. Annis, they now lay before the House.

COMPARATIVE VIEW of the Civil and Military Charges of Fort Saint George, and Subordinates, from 1st May 1771 to 30th April 1778.

CIVIL.	1771-2.	1772-3.	1773-4.	1774-5.	1775-6.	1776-7.	1777-8.
	Pag.	Pag.	Pag.	Pag.	Pag.	Pag.	Pag.
Salary	19,438	19,792	20,340	20,861	22,054	12,401	1,01,735
Diet and Allowances	25,017	23,499	23,867	24,428	23,761	23,124	24,269
Peons and Servants Wages	9,724	10,032	10,000	11,315	10,015	9,569	9,352
Mayor's Court Charges	840	1,381	840	1,056	1,263	1,110	840
Court of Requests	[illegible]	171	171	172	172	172	180
Repairs of Buildings	10,178	8,601	10,884	8,598	6,851	12,279	[illegible]
Charges Extraordinary	26,414	10,002	18,522	17,366	19,078	27,581	46,734
Account Presents	4,938	4,821	[illegible]	1,896	994	1,506	1,274
Allowances to the Officers of His Majesty's Squadron	—	12,000	[illegible]	5,797	3,687	8,765	8,689
Charges General	30,592	39,970	35,594	30,333	29,520	33,812	31,936
Total Civil, Pag.	1,24,816	1,31,269	1,27,759	[illegible]	[illegible]	1,20,419	2,25,921
MILITARY.							
Garrison Charges at Subordinates	69,809	58,025	28,039	21,124	22,215	23,882	33,130
Hospital Charges	26,851	32,108	30,112	31,484	33,424	40,052	38,206
Pay to the Troops, &c. Stores expended, and Garrison Charges at the Presidency	4,70,805	2,57,619	4,60,799	4,62,347	4,46,620	3,68,310	4,83,755
Military Pay and Allowances, Stores expended, and Repairs of Forts in the Circars	1,61,809	1,56,250	1,54,213	2,15,237	2,03,588	1,54,407	2,28,547
Military Charges to be defrayed by the Nabob	8,54,527	8,56,465	10,19,620	7,57,077	4,20,550	4,66,847	5,23,000
Military Charges to be defrayed by the Rajah of Tanjore	—	—	—	—	—	3,14,396	3,10,537
Total Military Charges	15,83,601	13,60,467	16,92,783	14,87,269	11,86,297	13,67,894	10,17,175

East-India House,
Dec. 31st 1781.

Errors excepted.
John Annis,
Auditor of Indian Accounts

Your Committee will here subjoin the present Military Establishment under the Presidency of Fort Saint George, with the Pay of the several Corps; by which the Expence of that Military Establishment will appear at One View.

Pay, Gratuity, Additional Pay, Batta, and other Allowances, of the different Ranks in the several Corps composing the Army on the Madras Establishment.

For a Month of 30 Days.		Pay.	Gratuity.*	Additional Pay.	Batta when in Command, &c.	Horse Allowance.	Oil and Peon Allowance.
Cavalry	Captain	55 12 2	11 9 —	—	48 — —	—	2 1 —
	Lieut.	[illegible] 27 —	7 18 —	—	32 — —	—	— 15 —
	Cornet	30 — —	3 27 —	—	24 — —	—	— 15 —
	Serjeant	9 — —	—	—	2 29 20	—	—
	Corporal	7 — —	—	—	2 20 20	—	—
	Private Trooper	5 — —	—	—	2 29 20	—	—
Artillery	Lieut. Colonel	79 24 6	†	—	157 — —	—	2 1 —
	Major	60 [illegible] 32	—	—	120 — —	—	2 1 —
	Captain	41 24 —	11 9 —	—	48 — —	—	2 1 —
	Lieut.	[illegible] 30 —	7 18 —	—	32 — —	—	— 15 —
	Lieut. Fireworker	[illegible] — —	3 27 —	—	24 — —	—	— 15 —
	Serjeant	7 1 —	—	—	2 29 20	—	—
	Corporal	6 9 —	—	—	[illegible] 29 20	—	—
	Drummer	3 27 —	—	—	2 9 20	—	—
	[illegible]	[illegible] 2 4	—	—	2 [illegible] 2	—	—
	Gunner	5 — —	—	—	2 [illegible] 2	—	—
	Matross	[illegible] 27 —	—	—	2 29 2	—	—
European Infantry	Colonel	[illegible] 27 —	—	—	18[illegible] —	—	2 1 —
	Lieut. Colonel	[illegible] — —	—	—	15[illegible] —	—	2 1 —
	Major	[illegible] 6 —	—	—	1[illegible] —	—	2 1 —
	Captain	[illegible] —	11 [illegible] —	—	[illegible] — —	—	2 1 —
	Lieut.	[illegible] 27 —	7 15 —	5 14	32 — —	—	— 15 —
	Ensign	15 — —	[illegible] 27 —	4 —	24 — —	—	— 15 —
	Serjeant	6 [illegible] —	—	—	2 29 [illegible]	—	—
	Corporal	4 13 4	—	—	2 29 20	—	—
	Drummer	4 13 [illegible]	—	—	2 29 [illegible]	—	—
	Private Sentinel	3 4 4[illegible]	—	—	2 29 20	—	—
Sepoys	Captain	37 15 —	11 9 —	—	48 — —	—	2 1 —
	Lieutenant	13 27 —	7 18 —	—	32 — —	—	— 15 —
	Ensign	15 — —	3 27 —	—	24 — —	—	— 15 —
	Serjeant	7 9 —	—	—	2 29 20	—	—
	Commandant	32 — —	—	—	5 — —	—	—
	Subahdar	17 — —	—	—	5 — —	—	—
	Jemmautdar	5 — —	—	—	2 18 —	—	—
	Havildar	3 — —	—	—	1 4 20	—	—
	Naik	2 12 —	—	—	1 4 20	—	—
	Drummer	3 — —	—	—	2 29 20	—	—
	Puckalley	1 25 16	—	—	1 4 20	—	—
	Sepoy	1 25 16	—	—	1 4 20	—	—

* Batta is only allowed to the Troops when on March, in the Field, or on particular occasions, except to Officers commanding.

† N. B. Besides, the above Field Officers share in the Commission on the Revenues, as follow, viz.

Colonel	- -	Pag. 2,555 15 40 per Annum.
Lieut. Col.	- -	1,333 34 26 Do
Major	- -	665 17 24 Do

For a Month of 30 Days.		Pay.	Gratuity	Additional Pay.	Batta when on Command, &c.	House Allowance.	Oil and Peon Allowance.
						Pag.	
Engineers	Lieut. Colonel	75 — —	—	—	150 — —	12	2 1 —
	Major - -	56 9 —	—	—	120 — —	6	2 1 —
	Captain - -	37 18 —	11 9 —	—	48 — —	6	2 1 —
	Lieut. - -	18 27 —	7 18 —	—	32 — —	6	— 15 —
	Ensign - -	15 — —	3 27 —	—	24 — —		— 15 —
Lascars	Head Serang or Commandant	10 — —	—	—	2 18 —	—	—
	Serang - -	7 — —	—	—	2 18 —	—	—
	Tindal - -	2 18 —	—	—	1 24 —	—	—
	Lascar - -	1 30 —	—	—	1 4 20	—	—

Staff and contingent Allowances to the Commissioned, Warrant, and Non-commissioned Staff of the several Corps composing the Army on the Madras Establishment.

For a Month of 30 Days.		Staff Allowance			Contingent Allowances: Writers	[illegible]	H[illegible]	Stationary
		Pag.	f.	c.			Pa.	fa.
Artillery	Adjutant	18	27	—	—	—	6	18
	Quarter-Master	15	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Surgeon	21	7	—	—	—	—	—
	Inspector of Stores	37	18	—	—	—	—	—
	Director of Laboratory	20	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Conductor	15	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Serjeant Major	4	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Quarter Master Serjeant	[illegible]	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Drum Major	2	—	—	—	—	—	18
Cavalry	Adjutant	18	27	—	—	—	—	18
	Quarter Master	21	27	10	—	—	—	—
	Surgeon	15	12	0	—	—	—	—
	Serjeant Major	4	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Quarter Master Serjeant	4	—	—	—	—	—	—
	[illegible] R[illegible]der	6	9	—	—	—	—	—
	[illegible]	6	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Camp Colourman	2	30	70	—	—	—	—
							Pag.	fa.
European Infantry	Adjutant	18	27	—	—	—	6	18
	Quarter-Master	15	—	—	—	—	—	18
	Surgeon	21	7	—	—	—	—	—
	Serjeant Major	4	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Quarter-Master Serjeant	4	—	—	—	—	—	—
Sepoys	Drum Major	1	24	—	—	—	—	—
	Adjutant	17	1	—	—	—	6	18
	Serjeant Major	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Quarter-Master Serjeant	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
General and Warrant Staff	Commissary General	37	18	—	—	—	—	—
	Judge Advocate General	37	18	—	—	—	—	—
					Pag.			
	Adjutant General	75	—	—	40	—	12	—
	Adjutant Do.	18	27	—	—	—	—	—
	Town Major	37	18	—	30	2 1	—	—
								P.
	Town Adjutant	18	27	—	5	—	—	1
	Aide du Camp	37	18	—	—	—	[illegible]	—
	General's Secretary	37	18	—	20	—	—	—

ESTABLISHMENT of the Troop of Cavalry.

Strength.		Pay of each per Month of 30 Days	Pay.	Gratuity.	Batts when on marching	Staff Allowance.	S[illegible]tions	Oil and Pew Allowance.	Total.
			Pag. f. c.						
1	Captain	—	55 11 20	11 9 —	45 — —	—	—	2 1 —	116 21 20
1	Lieutenant	—	33 2[illegible] —	7 18 —	32 — —	—	—	— 15 —	73 24 —
1	Cornet	—	30 — —	3 27 —	24 — —	—	—	— 15 —	58 6 —
2	Serjeants	9 —	18 — —	—	—	—	—	— —	18 — —
3	Corporals	[illegible] —	21 — —	—	—	—	—	— —	21 — —
3	Private Troopers	5 —	160 — —	—	—	—	—	— —	160 — —
			318 2 20	22 18 —	104 — —	—	—	2 31 —	447 15 20
	STAFF.						fa.		
1	Adjutant	—	—	—	—	18 2[illegible] —	18	—	19 9 —
1	Quarter Master	—	—	—	—	21 20 10	18	fa.	22 2 10
1	Surgeon	—	—	—	—	15 12 60	—	— 15 —	15 27 60
1	Serjeant Major	—	—	—	—	4 — —	—	—	4 — —
1	Quarter Master Serjeant	—	—	—	—	4 — —	—	—	4 — —
1	Riding Master	—	—	—	—	6 9 —	—	—	6 9 —
1	Farrier	—	—	—	—	6 — —	—	—	6 — —
1	Camp Colourman	—	—	—	—	2 30 [illegible]	—	—	2 30 70
	Total Staff	—	— —	— —	— —	[illegible] 2[illegible] 60	1	— 15 —	80 6 60
	Contingent for Horses [illegible] at [illegible] per Day		314 18 —	—	—	—	—	—	314 18 —
	Total Expence of the Troop, for 1 Month	P	[illegible] 20 2[illegible]	2[illegible] 18 —	104 — —	[illegible] 27 6[illegible]	1	3 10 —	842 4 —
	Grand Total, Do. — Do for 1 Year	P	[illegible] 2[illegible] —	2[illegible] — —	1 48 — —	045 9 —	12	29 12 —	10,105 12 —

ESTABLI[illegible]

Strength.		P[illegible]			[illegible]	Batta [illegible]	Half [illegible] allowance	Stat on [illegible]	Oil and Peons	Total.
1	Col[illegible] Pres[illegible] }	0 24 [illegible]	159 13 4	—	—	300 — —	—	—	4 2 —	463 15 40
1	Lieut[illegible] Colonel }									
1	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	—	—	120 — —	—	—	2 1 —	182 25 30
9	Captains	11 24 —	[illegible] — —	1 1 0 —	—	—	—	—	18 9 —	494 18 —
14	Lieutenants	[illegible] 30 —	2 [illegible] 24 —	1 —	—	—	—	—	5 [illegible] —	402 18 —
1[illegible]	Lieut[illegible] Fire[illegible]	15 — —	240 —	[illegible] — —	—	—	—	—	6 24 —	306 24 —
49	Serjeants	7 18 -	3[illegible] 15 —	—	—	—	—	—	—	367 18 —
42	Corporals	6 9 —	93 [illegible] —	—	—	—	—	—	—	293 27 —
21	Drummers	3 2[illegible] —	11[illegible] —	—	—	—	—	—	—	116 9 —
47	[illegible]	[illegible] 22 [illegible]	[illegible] 22 4	—	—	—	—	—	—	320 22 40
112	G[illegible]	[illegible] — -	5[illegible] — —	—	—	—	—	—	—	570 — —
332	Ma[illegible]	3 27 —	1,24[illegible] — —	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,245 — —
			4,0[illegible] 9 30 3[illegible]	2 0 0 —		42[illegible] — —	—		36 30 —	4,762 33 30
	S T A F F.									
1	Adjutant	—	—	—	1[illegible] 2[illegible] —	—	6	1[illegible]	—	25 9 —
1	Quarter Master	—	—	—	15 —	—	—	[illegible]	—	15 18 —
1	Surgeon	—	—	—	21 [illegible] —	—	—	—	—	21 7 —
1	Inspector of Stores	—	—	—	3[illegible] 18 —	—	—	—	—	37 18 —
1	Director of Laboratory	—	—	—	20 — —	—	—	—	—	20 — —
4	Conductors	15 — —	—	—	6[illegible] — —	—	—	—	—	60 — —
1	[illegible]erjeant Major	—	—	—	4 — —	—	—	—	—	4 — —
1	Quarter Master Serjeant	—	—	—	4 — —	—	—	—	—	4 — —
2	Drum Majors	2 — —	—	—	4 — —	—	—	—	—	4 — —
				Total	1[illegible]4 16 —	—	6	1	—	191 16 —
	Total Expence of the Reg. for 1 Month Ps.		4[illegible] 0 30 3	260 0 —	1[illegible]4 16 —	420 — —	6	1	36 30 —	4,954 13 30
	Grand Total, Do of Do for 1 Year, Ps.		4[illegible],478 4 40	3,195 — —	2,233 12 —	5,040 — —	72	12	442 — —	59,452 16 40

ESTABLISHMENT of 1 Regiment of European Infantry.

Strength		Pay of each per Month of 30 Days	Pay.	Gratuity.	Staff Allowance.	Batta when Commanding	Horse Allowance.	Stationary.	Oil and Peon	Total.
1	Colonel	—	63 27 —	—	—	18[illegible] —	—	—	2 1 —	275 28 —
4	Lieutenant Colonels	75 — —	[illegible] — —	—	—	60[illegible] —	—	—	8 4 —	90[illegible] 4 —
2	Majors	[illegible] 6 —	112 16 —	—	—	240 —	—	—	4 [illegible] —	356 [illegible] —
25	Captains	7 1 —	63 18 —	281 9 —	—	—	—	—	5[illegible] 25 —	1,269 16 —
21	Lieutenant	1 2[illegible] —	3 3 27 —	15[illegible] 18 —	—	—	—	—	8 2[illegible] —	56[illegible] — —
18	Ensigns	1 — —	2[illegible]0 — —	0[illegible] 18 —	—	—	—	—	7 18 —	345 — —
44	Serjeants	0 9 —	27[illegible] — —	—	—	—	—	—	—	275 — —
44	Corporals	4 13 40	192 18 —	—	—	—	—	—	—	152 18 —
42	Drummers	4 13 40	1[illegible] 27 —	—	—	—	—	—	—	183 27 —
1,000	Private Centinels	3 4 40	3,12[illegible] — —	—	—	—	—	—	—	[illegible] — —
			5,[illegible]3 2[illegible] —	5 0 9 —	—	1,[illegible]20 —	—	—	8[illegible] 5 —	7,491 5 —
	STAFF.									
2	Adjutants	18 27 —	—	—	3[illegible] 18 —	—	12	1	—	50 18 —
2	Quarter-Masters	15 — —	—	—	30 — —	—	—	1	—	31 — —
3	Surgeons	21 7 —	—	—	63 21 —	—	—	—	—	63 21 —
2	Serjeant Majors	4 — —	—	—	[illegible] — —	—	—	—	—	8 — —
2	Quarter Master Serjeants	4 — —	—	—	8 — —	—	—	—	—	8 — —
4	Drum Majors	1 24 —	—	—	6 24 —	—	—	—	—	6 24 —
				[illegible] 1	1[illegible] 2[illegible] —	—	2	2	—	16[illegible] 27 —
	Total Expence of 1 Reg. for 1 Month P.		[illegible]5[illegible]3 27 —	[illegible] —	[illegible]	1,[illegible] —	12		[illegible]1 5 —	[illegible] 558 32 —
	Do Do. of 2 Do. for Do. P.		11,[illegible] 15 —	—	[illegible]	2,[illegible] —	4		1 2 [illegible]0 —	1,[illegible]3 7 28 —
	Grand Total Do. of 2 Reg. for 1 Year. P.		[illegible] —	1 — —	[illegible] — —	[illegible] —		[illegible]	[illegible] 2 —	1,8[illegible]13 1[illegible] —

ESTABLISHMENT [illegible]

Strength.		Pay of each per Month of 30 Days	Pay.	[illegible]	[illegible]	Staff Allowance	[illegible] Allowance.	Stationary.	Oil and Peon	Total.
1	Captain	— — —	3[illegible] 18 —	11 9 —	—	—	—	—	2 1 —	50 28 —
3	Lieutenants	18 27 —	5[illegible] 9 —	22 1 —	1 9 —	—	—	—	1 0 —	96 9 —
7	Ensigns	15 — —	1[illegible]5 — —	25 0 —	— —	—	—	—	2 33 —	162 6 —
5	Serjeants	7 9 —	3[illegible] 9 —	—	—	—	—	—	—	36 9 —
1	Commandant	— — —	[illegible] — —	—	—	—	—	—	—	32 — —
10	Subadars	17 — —	1[illegible] — —	—	—	—	—	—	—	170 — —
10	Jemautdars	5 — —	50 — —	—	—	—	—	—	—	50 — —
50	Havildars	3 — —	1[illegible] —	—	—	—	—	—	—	150 — —
50	Naicks	2 12 —	11[illegible] 2[illegible] —	—	—	—	—	—	—	116 24 —
13	Drummers	3 — —	[illegible] — —	—	—	—	—	—	—	39 — —
10	Puckallys	1 25 16	1[illegible] — —	—	—	—	—	—	—	17 — —
650	Sepoys	1 25 16	1,105 — —	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,105 — —
			1,[illegible]14 2[illegible] —	60 — —	44 9 —	—	—	—	6 7 —	2,025 4 —
	STAFF.							fa.		
1	Adjutant	— — —	—	—	—	17 1 —	[illegible] — —	18 —	—	23 19 —
1	Serjeant Major	— — —	—	—	—	2 — —	—	—	—	2 — —
1	Quarter Master Serj.	— — —	—	—	—	2 — —	—	—	—	2 — —
7	Pioneers	2 — —	—	—	—	14 — —	—	—	—	14 — —
					Total	35 1 —	6 — —	18 —		41 19 —
	Total Exp. of 1 Bat. for 1 Mo. Ps.		1,[illegible] 24 —	60 — —	44 9 —	35 —	6 — —	18 —	6 7 —	2,066 23 —
	Do 29 Do for Do. Ps.		55,525 12 —	1,740 — —	1,283 9 —	1,015 29 —	174 — —	14 18 —	779 23 —	59,932 19 —
	Grand Total Do. of 29 Do. for 1 Year		6,66,304 — —	20,880 — —	15,399 — —	12,189 24 —	2,088 — —	174 — —	2,155 24 —	[illegible],10,190 12 —

ESTABLISHMENT of the Corps of Engineers.

Strength.		Pay of each per Month of 30 Days.	Pay.	Gratuity.	F[illegible] Allowance.	O[illegible] Pe[illegible]	Total.
1	Lieut. Colonel	—	75 — —	—	12 —	2 1	89 1 —
1	Major	—	56 9 —	—	6 —	2 1	64 10 —
2	Captains	7 8 —	75 — —	22 18 —	12 —	4 2	113 20 —
3	Lieutenant	—	19 27 —	7 18 —	6 —	— 15	32 24 —
7	Ensigns	15 — —	1[illegible]5 — —	26 9	42 —	[illegible] 35	1[illegible] 6 —
	Total of the Corps of Engineers for 1 Month - -		330 — —	56 9 —	78 —	11 16	475 25 —
	Ditto of Do. for 1 Year, P		3,960 — —	675 — —	936 —	[illegible]	[illegible]

ESTABLISHMENT of L[illegible] [illegible]

Strength.		Pay of each per Month of [illegible] Days.	Total.
1	Commandant - - - -	10 — —	10 — —
41	Serangs - - - -	7 — —	287 — —
12	Tindals - - - - -	2 18 —	317 18 —
2320	Lascars - - - - -	2 — —	4,640 — —
	Total Establishment of Lascars for 1 Month		5,254 18 —
	Ditto of Do. for 1 Year, Ps		62,054 — —

EXPENCE

EXPENCE of INVALIDS.

[illegible]	[illegible]	—	—	—	—	37 18 —
	[illegible]	[illegible] —	1 —	—	—	3 18 —
		— —	— —	—	—	271 — —
[illegible]		[illegible] — —	— —	—	—	72 — —
		[illegible] —	[illegible] —	—	—	71 18 —
	[illegible]	[illegible] —	1 [illegible] —	—	—	160 0 —
	[illegible]	[illegible] —	1 —	—	—	164 18 —
	[illegible]	[illegible]	9 —	—	—	[illegible] 9 —
	[illegible]					
[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible] —	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] —
[illegible]	[illegible]	—	1 [illegible] —	2	— [illegible]	6 3[illegible] —
[illegible]	[illegible]	—	1 — —		—	19 0 —
[illegible]	[illegible]	—	1 [illegible] —	[illegible]	— [illegible]	[illegible] —
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] — —	594 — —	—	—	59[illegible] — —
[illegible]	D[illegible]	[illegible] — —	[illegible] — —	—	—	[illegible] — —
	[illegible]	[illegible] — —	1,[illegible]19 — —	—	—	1,[illegible]9 — —
	[illegible]	Pagodas	[illegible],481 — —	3[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] 14 28 —
	[illegible]					
[illegible]	[illegible]	— —	19[illegible] — —	—	—	192 — —
	[illegible]	—	1[illegible] — —	—	—	1[illegible] — —
[illegible]		—	[illegible] 0 —	—	—	[illegible] 0 —
	D[illegible]	— —	[illegible] — —	—	—	6 — —
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] — —	[illegible] — —	—	—	459 — —
4	[illegible]	[illegible] — —	— —	—	—	[illegible]0 — —
[illegible]	Havildar	— —	[illegible] — —	—	—	10 — —
[illegible]	N[illegible]ck	1 —	11[illegible] —	—	—	116 24 —
6	[illegible]	[illegible]	1,[illegible]	—	—	1,[illegible] —
T[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	1 —	—	—	1[illegible] —
T[illegible]	[illegible] M. P.		[illegible] —	[illegible]	1[illegible]	5[illegible]3 16 —
Grand Total Do. Do.	[illegible]		[illegible] — —	[illegible] —	[illegible] 12	[illegible] —

ESTABLISHMENT of Artificers.

Number
462 Artificers—not being particularized in the Returns, the Expence cannot be ascertained.

ESTABLISHMENT of Bheasties, Bildahs, Leaspecks, and Coolies.

Number
3,500 Bheastie, &c.—not being particularized in the Returns, the Expence cannot be ascertained.

ESTABLISHMENT of Sibindy Militia.

Strength.		Pay of each per Month of 30 Days.	Pay.	Gratuity.	Additional Allowance.	Oil and Pe[illegible]	Total.
						fa.	
1	Lieutenant	—	18 27 —	7 18	5 15	15	32 3 —
1	Ensign	—	15 — —	3 27	4 —	15	23 6 —
4	Serjea. Majors	4 — —	40 — —	—	—	—	40 — —
3	Serjeants	7 9 —	21 7 —	—	—	—	21 7 —
45	Subadars	17 — —	765 — —	—	—	—	765 — —
52	Jemautdars	5 — —	260 — —	—	—		260 — —
21	Drummers	3 — -	63 — —	—	—	—	63 — —
13	Puckallys	1 25 1[illegible]	22 3 4[illegible]	—	—	—	22 3 4[illegible]
126	Havildars	3 — —	378 — —	—	—	—	378 — —
126	Naigues	2 1[illegible] —	294 — —	—	—	—	294 — —
3,948	Sepoys	1 25 10	6,7[illegible]1 [illegible] [illegible]	—	—	—	6,711 21 4[illegible]
Total Establishment of Militia for 1 Month			8,558 23 10	11 9	9 15	30	8,610 5 16
Grand Total Do. for 1 Year, Ps.			[illegible] 25 32	135 —	113 —	1[illegible]	1,03,321 26 32

N. B. The Havildars, Naigues, and Sepoys, not being specified in the Returns, the Proportion is estimated in the above Account.

ESTABLISHMENT of General and Warrant Staff.

[illegible]		Staff Allowance per Month of 30 Days.	Contingent A[illegible]				Total.
			Writers.	Horse.	Stationary.	O[illegible]	
		Pags.					
1	Commissary General	37 18 —	—	—	—	—	37 18 —
[illegible]	Judge Advocate	37 18 —	—	—	—	—	37 18 —
[illegible]	Adjutant General	75 — —	40	12	—	—	127 — —
[illegible]	Adjutant Do.	18 27 —	—	—	—	—	1[illegible] 27 —
1	Town Major	37 18 —	30	—	—	[illegible] 1	69 9 —
[illegible]	Town Adjutant	18 27 —	5	—	1	—	24 27 —
1	Aid de Camp	37 18 —	—	6	—	—	43 18 —
[illegible]	General Secretary	37 18 —	20	—	—	—	57 18 —
	Total Establishment of General and Warrant Staff for a Month	3[illegible] — —	95	18	1	[illegible] 1	416 1 —
	Grand Total Do. Do. for a Year	3600 — —	1,140	216	12	[illegible]4 12	4092 12 —

GENERAL ABSTRACT of the Pay of the Army, agreeable to the foregoing Establishments of the several Corps.

	Pay.	Gratuity.	Additional Allowance.	Staff Allowance.	Batta whilst commanding.	Contingent Allowances. Writers.	Horse.	Stationary.	Oil and Pen.	Sum Total for a Month of 30 Days.	Grand Sum Total for a Year.
Troop of Cavalry	632 20 20	22 12	—	78 2[illegible] 60	1 4	—	—	1	3 10	842 4 —	10,105 12 —
Regiment of Artillery	4,030 30 30	266 [illegible]	—	134 1[illegible] —	420	—	6	1	36 3[illegible]	4,054 13 30	59,452 16 40
2 Reg. of European Inf.	11,[illegible]67 18 —	1,012 1[illegible]	—	[illegible] 18 —	2,[illegible]40	—	24	4	162 10	1[illegible],317 28 —	1,83,815 12 —
20 Battalions of Sepoys	55,525 12 —	1,[illegible]40 —	1,283 9	1,[illegible] [illegible]9 —	—	—	1[illegible]4	14 18	1[illegible]9 23	59,932 19 —	7,19,190 12 —
Corps of Engineers	330 — —	56 9	—	—	—	—	78	—	11 10	475 25 —	5,[illegible]08 12 —
Lascars attached to Corps	[illegible],251 18 —	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5,254 18 —	63,054 — —
Invalids	[illegible] 24 —	30 12	—	—	—	—	—	—	3 1[illegible]	5,543 16 —	66,521 12 —
Sibendi Militia	8,558 23 16	11 9	9 15	—	—	—	—	—	3[illegible]	8,010 5 15	1,03,321 26 32
General and War. Staff	—	—	—	3 0 — —	—	95	18	1	2 [illegible]	416 1 —	4,992 12 —
Grand Total. P.	91,648 1 06	3,[illegible] [illegible]	1,2[illegible]2 24	1,8[illegible]6 18 [illegible]	[illegible]	95	3 0	21 18	3[illegible]9 2[illegible]	1,01,[illegible]46 21 46	12,16,159 6 72
£. ſtg.	36,660 — —	1,256 —	51[illegible] —	755 — —	1,[illegible]	38	128	8	160	40,539 — —	

Major General, Commander in Chief - - - - - - 5,000 — —

P[illegible] 12,2[illegible],159 6 72

£. ſtg. 488,464 — —

Fort-India House,
2[illegible] [illegible] 17[illegible].

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] Indian [illegible]

Your Committee having stated such Particulars, respecting the Receipt and Expenditure of the Revenue, under the Presidency of Fort Saint George, as the Materials they had Access to have enabled them, called for an Account of the Debts due by the East India Company at that Presidency for each Year, since the Year 1771, to the latest Period to which it could be made up. This Account, as delivered in by Mr. John Annis, Auditor of Indian Accounts, they now lay before the House.

AMOUNT of Debts due by the East India Company at Madras, at the following Periods.

1771-2	Pag.
Debt at Interest - - -	1,36,220
Accountant General of the Mayor's Court -	8,697
Prize Mignione - -	2,245
Deposit of the Captors of Manilha - -	1,37,044
Sundry Debts - - -	1,915
Sundry Estates - - -	3,081
Pagodas	2,89,202

1772-3.	Pag.
Debt at Interest - - -	1,89,342
Accountant General of the Mayor's Court -	3,809
Prize Mignione - -	2,245
Deposit of the Captors of Manilha - -	1,37,044
Sundry Debts - -	1,557
Sundry Estates - - -	3,081
Pagodas	3,37,078

1773-4.	Pag.
Debt at Interest - - -	1,88,116
Accountant General of the Mayor's Court -	3,809
Prize Mignione - -	2,245
Deposit of the Captors of Manilha - -	—
Sundry Debts - - -	1,498
Sundry Estates - - -	391
Pagodas	1,96,059

1774-5.

1774-5.	Pag.
Debt at Intereft - - -	1,73,692
Accountant General of the Mayor's Court -	3,809
Prize Mignione - - -	2,245
Sundry Debts - - -	1,495
Sundry Eftates - - - - -	391
Pagodas	1,81,632

1775-6.	Pag.
Debt at Intereft -	1,31,[illegible]12
Accountant General of the Mayor's Court -	3,809
Prize Mignione - -	2,245
Sundry Debts - -	1,1[illegible]6
Sundry Eftates - - - -	391
Pagodas	1,38,933

1776-7.	Pag.
Debt at Intereft - -	1,29,995
Accountant General of the Mayor's Court -	3,809
Prize Mignione - - -	2,245
Sundry Debts - - -	6,093
Sundry Eftates - - -	391
Pagodas	1,42,533

31ft January 1778.	Pag.
Debt at Intereft - - -	1,36,362
Accountant General of Mayor's Court -	3,809
Prize Mignione - - -	2,245
Sundry Debts - -	6,093
Sundry Eftates - -	391
Pagodas	1,48,900

28th February 1779.	Pag.
Debt at Intereft - - -	2,81,716
Accountant General of Mayor's Court -	3,809
Prize Mignione - -	2,245
Sundry Debts - - -	6,093
Sundry Eftates - - -	391
Pagodas	2,94,254

29th

29th February 1780.

	Pag.
Debt at Interest	4,06,878
Accountant General of Mayor's Court	3,809
Prize Money	2,245
Sundry Debts	2,572
Sundry Estates	391
Pagodas	4,15,895

[illegible] November 1780.

	Pag.
Debt at Interest	6,29,302
Accountant General of Mayor's Court	3,809
Prize Money	2,245
[illegible]	—
Sundry Estates	391
Pagodas	6,35,747

I [illegible] the House, [illegible] Errors excepted.

John Ann[illegible],
Auditor of Indian Accounts.

Your Committee [illegible] what they have to say regarding the Revenues [illegible] of the Presidency of Madras; but [illegible] of the Company under this Presidency [illegible] from the Nabob of Arcot and the Rajah of [illegible], they think it not foreign to the Object of their Report to lay before the House such Information as they have been able to obtain respecting the Revenues of these Two Princes.

In a Letter from the President [illegible] of Fort Saint George to the [illegible] Fort St George Council [illegible] dated the [illegible] 8th 1774, the [illegible] of the Nabob, [illegible] Vol. [illegible] then in his Possession, are estimated at [illegible] upwards of Two Crore of Rupees.

Mr. William Petrie, who has resided for about Fifteen Years in India and was for some Time Secretary to the Political Department of the Government of Madras, having been desired to give such Information as he could respecting the Revenue of the Nabob of Arcot, informed your Committee, That while he was in the Station above mentioned, the Amount of the Nabob's Collections was a Subject which came frequently under the Consideration of the Board—That an exact Account [illegible] for, he believed, never obtained—That he had seen various Estimates, some at 36 Lacks of Pagodas Annual Revenue, others at 32, and some lower—That he understood,

understood, as he thought from good Authority, that, under proper Management, the Country would produce considerably above 30 Lacks; but that he had it from good Information, that, for some Time past, not 20 Lacks a Year had been carried to the Credit of the Nabob's Exchequer.

Fort St. George Select Conf. 30th Nov. 1778, Fol. 675.

And your Committee find, in the Select Consultations of Fort Saint George, of the 30th of November 1778, a Minute of Sir Thomas Rumbold's, then Governor; in which, after mentioning that the Governor General and Council of Bengal had written very pressingly for an Account of the Revenues of the Carnatic, he proceeds to lay before the Board, the best Account of these Revenues, which, he says, he had been able to obtain. He adds, that the Governor General and Council did not seem to be aware, that an exact Account of the Revenue of the Carnatic was not very easily obtained; for that the Nabob was very jealous of their Interference, and would not furnish them with a Rent-Roll of his Receipts; but that, however, he believed the Account he then delivered in, might be depended on. The Account then delivered in by Sir Thomas Rumbold, is as follows.

Annual Rent and Revenue of the Nabob of the Carnatic.

Arcot	12,00,000	
Nellore	3,50,000	
Pulnadoo	70,000	
Vingote	1,00,000	
Serva Pully	50,000	
Bengai Yesma	25,000	
Bomarase	40,000	
Damel Vanketa	10,000	
Veloor Jageer	1,00,000	
Trichinopoly	4,00,000	
Madura	85,000	
Tinnavelly	6,00,000	
Ramnadaporam	2,00,000	
Sevagunga	1,00,000	
Mel Naut Keestmah	25,000	
Voaderjan Palum Ancayalore	1,20,000	
Trivengore	50,000	
Arney	60,000	
Sautgaddy	40,000	
Teaga Durgum	17,000	
Culva Fort	10,000	
Palam Cotah	8,000	
		36,60,000
Deducting Sebundy	4,00,000	
And Loss on Collections, or usual Allowance	2,60,000	
		6,60,000

Supposing

Supposing the Carnatic to be properly managed, in Point of the Rent and Revenue, it will yield every Year, about - -	Pagodas 30,00,000
In the Year 1776, the nett Collection, about	Pagodas 26,00,000
In the Year 1777, D° - -	Do - 22,00,000

Of the Establishment and Expences of the Nabob, your Committee has not been able to obtain any accurate Information. They observe that Mr. Sadlier, in his Minute of the 29th of July 1780, quoted above, says, that the Nabob's Expences are by no Means adequate to his Revenues—That his Country had remained in Peace ever since the Year 1769, and yet that his Revenues had been daily diminishing.

It is certain that the Nabob is very much in Debt to Individuals, independent of the Demands of the Company. The Amount of his Debts to Individuals cannot be exactly ascertained; besides that, from the Nature of the Thing, they must be variable. The President and Council of Fort Saint George, in their Letter upon this Subject to the Governor General and Council of Bengal, of Date February 25th, 1779, say, "It is conjectured that the Nabob's whole "Debt, which has been accumulating ever since "his first Connection with the Company, amounts "at this Time to Fifty Lacks of Pagodas." They add, "He has indeed acquired in his Hands, "by Degrees, a very considerable Share of the "Property belonging to Individuals in the Settlement, Europeans "and Natives; and from the Plan he has invariably pursued, of borrowing as much, and paying as little as he can, his Debt continues "to swell daily, and threatens, by its Enormity, to become a perpetual Incumbrance on the Carnatic."

Letter from the President and Council of Fort St. George to the Governor General and Council, 25th Feb. 1779.

Your Committee find, in the Records of the Company, much Correspondence between the Presidency of Madras and the Nabob, upon the Subject of his Debts and Arrangements with his Creditors; which shews, in a very strong Light, to how great a Degree he is distressed. This Situation of the Nabob's Finances is represented by the President and Council to the Directors, as very alarming. In their Letter of the 19th of September 1777, they say, "The Nabob's Affairs at present appear much embarrassed "by the Debts he has contracted, and the large "Assignments granted upon the Carnatic, as a "Security for those Debts. Whatever Causes "may have produced this Embarrassment, it can "admit of no Doubt, that whilst the Revenues of "his Country, upon which we principally rely "for Support, are absorbed by private Creditors, "the Company's Affairs must be endangered, even "in Time of Peace; but in Case of a War, we "need not say what must be the Consequence of "the Nabob's Inability to apply any Part of his Revenues to the "Support of the heavy Charges that would thereby be incurred."

Letter from the President and Council of Fort St. George, in their Military Department, to the Court of Directors, dated 19th Sept. 1777, Par. 16th.

The growing Amount of the Debts contracted by the Nabob, great Part of which was due to Servants of the Company, together with the Danger to be apprehended with respect to the Payments to the Company, from Assignments of Lands to private Creditors, appear to have been the Motives for the strict Orders given by the Directors, "That no Company's Servant, nor any "Person under the Company's Protection, should "be permitted to lend Money to any of the Country Powers in India, nor to any Person holding "Commission under, or employed by them directly, "or indirectly, to be re-paid at a future Time, on "Mortgages, or Securities in the Nature of Mortgages, upon Lands, "or from the Produce, or any growing Revenue of the Country. "And for more effectually preventing such Loans, they direct that "all the Country Powers, with whom such Transactions were likely "to take Place, should be informed of this Regulation, and requested "not to permit any Dealings of the Nature above-mentioned, with "the Company's Servants, or with Persons under the Company's "Protection."

Letter from the Court of Directors, dated 11th June 1777, Par. 18.

See 1st Report, Page 60, 61.

The large Arrears frequently due to the Nabob's Troops, have been taken Notice of in a former Report.

Your Committee find, that the irregular Payment of the Troops, and their consequent mutinous Disposition, joined to the very disordered State of the Nabob's Finances, induced the Presidency frequently to urge the Nabob to a Reduction of his Expences, and particularly to the Measure of disbanding Part of his Troops. To this Measure the Nabob had been generally very averse. It does however appear, that in the Year 1777, under Mr. Stratton's Government, the Nabob agreed to disband Nine thousand of his Sepoys, and to reduce his Cavalry from Four thousand to Two thousand One hundred, provided the Company would assist him with a Loan of Four Lacks of Pagodas, to enable him to pay their Arrears. The Government of Madras informed the Nabob, that they could not comply with his Proposal for a Loan of the Sum wanted; but being sensible of the Advantages that would arise to his Affairs from such a Reduction, of his Expence, they recommended to him to borrow the Money from Individuals; promising, on the Part of the Company, to become Sureties to the Lenders for its Re-payment.

Fort St. George Mil. Cons. 17th and 18th April 1777.

Accordingly, it does appear, that the Four Lacks of Pagodas were advanced to the Nabob by Messrs. Call, Majendie, and Taylor, Three of the Company's Servants; and the President and Council gave the Company's Security for the Debt.

This Transaction your Committee find to have been very much disapproved of by Sir Thomas Rumbold, when he came to take Possession of the Government. In his Minute upon that Subject, of Date the 23d of February 1778, he says, "He could not help expressing his "Astonishment at the late Administration venturing to lend the

"Company's

"Company's Security to Messrs. Call, Majendie, "and Taylor, Three of the Company's Servants, "for so considerable a Sum as Four Lacks of "Pagodas; at a Time too, when the Gentlemen "then in Government observe, that they are apprehensive they shall be distressed even for sufficient to defray their "own current Charges, and supply the Sums absolutely wanting for "the Investment." He adds, "When they had gone such a Length, "as they say, to accomplish so desirable an End as the Reduction of "his Highness's Forces, unnecessarily kept up, would it not have "been proper they should have seen the Money wholly applied to "that Purpose? But, on the contrary, we find nothing on the Re-"cords, but vague, uncertain Declarations, that his Highness has "made a considerable Progress in the Reduction of his Troops; and "this large Sum becomes a further Burthen upon the Revenues and "Resources of the Carnatic." Upon the President's Motion, therefore, it was resolved, "That "the Security given by the late Administration "to Messrs. Call, Majendie, and Taylor, for the "Sum of Four Lacks of Pagodas, do not receive "the Sanction of the Government, but wait to be determined by the "Company's own Authority."

Fort St. George Military Conf. 23d Feb. 1778.

Fort St. George Mil. Conf. 4th Mar. 1778.

And your Committee find, that the Court of Directors, in their Letter to Fort Saint George, of the 17th of April 1778, expressly disavow the Transaction, as being a direct Breach of their Orders, and entered into without any Authority from them.

Letter from the Court of Directors, 17th April 1778, Par. 7th.

The Irregularity in the Payment of the Nabob's Troops gave Rise to a Transaction somewhat similar, and about the same Period, which also affords an Example of the distressed State of the Nabob's Finances. The Nabob's Second Regiment of Cavalry, quartered at Mellore, exasperated at their Pay being Eighteen Months in Arrear, had, in the Month of November 1776, gone off in a Body, with their Arms and Accoutrements. Lieutenant Colonel James, then commanding at Trichinopoly, alarmed at this Event, and with a Report that Two other Regiments were ready to pursue the same Measures, did, by the Advice of the Nabob's Manager, immediately send after them, inviting them to return; and promising, upon their so doing, to pay them instantly Five thousand Pagodas, and to be answerable for One thousand every Month, until their Affairs should be settled by the Nabob. He sent, at the same Time, to each of the other Two Regiments, 1500 Pagodas, in order to pacify them; promising to do all he could to assist them in their Distress. The Attempt of Lieutenant Colonel James, to bring back the Regiment of Cavalry, failed; but, upon the Matter being reported to the President and Council, they "ordered their Secretary to acquaint "him, that his Conduct in sending and promising Money to the "mutinous Cavalry of the Nabob, merited their entire Approbation."

Fort St. George Mil. Department, 25th Nov. 1776.

Fort St. George Mil. Conf. 7th April 1777.

The Means used to keep the other Two Regiments quiet, appear to have been effectual for a very short Time; for in the Month of April 1777, your Committee find that a general Mutiny broke out in one of them, commanded by Captain Dugald Campbell, in which Captain Campbell himself and several of the Officers were wounded, and all of them put into close Confinement; and their Lives threatened, in case of any Attempt being made to relieve them. In this Extremity, it appears that Lieutenant Colonel James did, upon his own Credit, advance them Ten thousand Pagodas, which had the Effect to pacify them for the Time; in which his Conduct was approved of by Colonel Stuart, then Acting Commander at Tanjore; and, upon his Report, by the President and Council at Fort Saint George.

Besides these Sums, it appears that Money had been advanced at other Times by Lieutenant Colonel James, for the Pay of the Nabob's Troops; which Advances he sets forth, in a Representation to the President and Council, on the 11th of April 1778, to have been made in Dependence upon the Promises of Ameer Ul Omrah, the Nabob's Son, for his Re-payment.

Fort St. George Mil. Conf. 20th April 1778.

It appears, however, that during the Course of Three Years and an Half, Colonel James had applied in vain to the Nabob, for Payment of this Debt, then amounting, as by an Account given in by him to the President and Council, to upwards of Forty thousand Pagodas. He frequently represented, during the same Time, the Hardship of his Case to the President and Council; the President and Council as often urged the Nabob to discharge the Debt; who excused himself on account of the Difficulties and Distresses in which he was involved.

Fort St. George Sel. Conf. 20th Nov. 1780.

But your Committee find, that in the Month of November 1780, upon the Nabob's refusing to repay the Money in a short Time, the Company's Bond was given by the President and Council to Colonel James, for Pagodas 40,742. 25 fs. 60 cs. the Sums to which the Debt then amounted.

Append. N° 20.

In the above Cases, in which the Security of the Company was interposed for the Nabob, the Reasons given by the President and Council appear upon the Face of the Transactions themselves. But your Committee find another and a more recent Instance, so late as the 26th of June 1780, in which the President and Council appear to have paid a Debt of the Nabob's, amounting to Pagodas 25,880½, for no other Reason that appears upon the Face of the Transaction, than that the Creditor was desirous to have his Money, and the Nabob wished the Company to advance it. The Debt here alluded to was due to Colonel James Capper, and consisted, as the Nabob himself explained it, principally of Disbursements which Colonel Capper had made in England, upon his Highness's Account, when he last went Home with Dispatches from the Presidency. The Nabob adds, That the Colonel soon after his Return to India had settled Accounts with him, taking his Bond as an Acquittance of his Demand: That the Bond

would not fall due till the Month of December following, but that the Colonel had present Occasion for the Money, to enable him to make good a Sum he owed to Sir Robert Barker in England, and which Sir Robert had ordered his Attornies in India to deposit in the Company's Treasury, until good Opportunities of remitting could be procured; and that the Nabob had promised to Colonel Capper to request of the Government to pass the Company's Receipt to him for the Amount of his Highness's Bond, meaning that the same should be included in the Kists which were then settling to be paid by his Highness to the Company in the Course of the Year ending the 30th of April 1781.

This Proposition being stated by the President, appears to have been immediately agreed to by the Council.—A Bond for the Money was ordered to be granted to Colonel Capper, with a Recommendation to the President, to make such a Settlement with the Nabob, as that the Company should sustain no Loss or Risk by the Transaction.

It is remarkable that this Transaction, by which the Company was subjected to an Advance for the Nabob, was upon the 26th Day of June 1780, just Twenty-seven Days before Hyder Ally's Irruption into the Carnatic.

When the Country was actually invaded, your Committee find the Nabob was even then unable to bring his Troops into the Field for Want of Money to pay their Arrears. On the 2d of August 1780, he writes to the President, representing his Inability to discharge the Pay due to his Cavalry; that the Collections of the Revenues set apart for their Pay were at a Stand from the Depredations of the Enemy; that he had been endeavouring to treat with Individuals for a Loan, but could not procure the Money unless the Company would give their Security to the Lenders.—Upon this Application, the Council was of Opinion, that it was better to supply the Nabob with what he wanted, than to give Security to Individuals for what they might chuse to advance; and accordingly at a subsequent Consultation, the Nabob having agreed to assign certain Districts of Country for Re-payment of the Money, it was resolved that the Arrears of Pay due to the respective Regiments of Cavalry should be discharged in the Manner proposed by the Nabob, viz. Two-thirds, amounting to Pagodas 91,750, in Notes or Bonds payable in a limited Time, and the Remainder amounting to Pagodas 45,875, in ready Money.

Fort St. George Sel. Cons. 2d August 1780.

Sel. Cons. 30th Oct. 1780.

Your Committee find repeated Complaints of the Nabob's Irregularity in fulfilling his Engagements to the Company. A very strong Picture of that Irregularity, and of the Inconvenience as well as the Danger thence arising to the Company's Possessions, is drawn in the Governor's Minute of the 20th July 1778, inserted in the Appendix to the Second Report.

Appendix to 2d Report, N° 143.

Similar Complaints occur in many other Passages of the Proceedings of the Presidency.

In their Letter to the Governor General and Council, of the 25th of February 1779, in reply to what the Governor General and Council had

had said, that it depended upon their own Firmness to obtain from the Nabob the regular Discharge of his Debts to the Company, they write, That they are not conscious of wanting Firmness in their Transactions with the Nabob; but as their Firmness could only consist in Words, and Words were too weak a Weapon to force Money from him, they ask, how they were to act in case he should deceive them? They then state a recent Failure in the Nabob's Engagement to reduce his Debt by certain Installments, and conclude in this Manner, "the Difficulties "we experience in respect to the Nabob, may be comprized in a few "Words. We sustain a considerable Monthly Expence on his Ac-"count. We have nothing to trust to for Reimbursement but Month-"ly Promises, which may or may not be performed. If they be per-"formed, we are able to make the necessary Advances for the ensuing "Month. If they be not performed, we instantly find ourselves in-"volved in the greatest Distress. In such alarming Situations, what "Course can we take to procure Relief?"

Letter from Fort St. George to the Governor General and Council, 25th Feb. 1779.

Your Committee will here insert a State of the Nabob's Debt to the Company, for his Military Charges at various Periods, exclusive of the Arrears of Rent due for the Lands he possesses.

Nabob of Arcot's Debt at several Periods.

30th April	1771	-	Pag.	2,26,604	22	7
	1772	-	—	4,44,251	10	0
	1773	-	—	4,52,314	8	51
	1774	-	—	8,02,689	34	57
	1775	-	—	7,25,433	5	70
	1776	-	—	5,94,877	20	9
	1777	-	—	7,71,332	9	48
	1778	-	—	6,62,559	33	22
28th Feb.	1779	-	—	7,70,174	2	34
30th Sept.	1779	-	—	7,12,583	30	49
15th March	1780	-	—	5,92,447	34	21
31st Dec.	1780	-	—	8,63,396	11	32

The last Sum includes Pag. 1,21,599. 6. 30. due from the Nabob, for a Loan to him for the Payment of his Cavalry.

The above Sums are what was due from the Nabob at the respective Periods, for the Charges of his Garrisons, and sundry Stores, &c. supplied him, exclusive of what he remained indebted to the Company, for the Rent of Lands leased to him.

East India House,
9th Jan. 1782.

Errors Excepted,
John Annis,
Auditor of Indian Accounts.

With respect to Tanjore, your Committee find, in the Select Consultations of Fort Saint George, of the 21st of November 1778, a particular Account of the Revenues of that Country for a Series of Years, delivered in to the Board by Mr. William Petrie, who resided in

in Tanjore for a considerable Time, first, as Resident at the Rajah's Court, and afterwards as Chief of Nagore and Karical. This Account Mr. Petrie informs the Board, he had received from an old Man, who had been a Writer under the Dobeer and Manager in the Time of Pretap Sing, Father to the present Rajah of Tanjore.

Mr. Petrie at the same Time delivered in to the Board, an Account of the Tanjore Revenues extracted from the Circar Books.

The Extract of the Consultation upon this Subject, with the Two Accounts themselves, are inserted in the Appendix. Append. N° 21.

Supposing the First of these Accounts to be accurate, it affords a striking Proof of the Decline of the Revenues of Tanjore, which are stated as having amounted from the Year 1675, during the 36 Years of the Reign of one of the Princes of that Country, to no less than 32,050,000 Collums of Paddy (a Mode of Computation which will be explained in the Appendix) and to have fallen in the Reigns of the succeeding Princes to Twenty-four, to Twenty, to Fifteen, and during the Two Years immediately preceding 1778, so low as Thirteen Millions of the same Measure of Grain.

Mr. Petrie having lately returned to Great Britain, was examined by your Committee respecting the present State of the Country of Tanjore. Such Part of his Evidence as relates to the Revenues of that Country, is inserted in the Appendix.—He represents Tanjore as having been Append. N° 22. not many Years ago one of the most flourishing, best cultivated, and most populous Countries in Hindostan; that in 1768, when he first saw it, it exhibited a very different Picture from what it does at present. After giving a general Account of its Trade, and Description of its Fertility, he adds, "Such was Tanjore not many Years ago; "but its Decline has been so rapid, that in many Districts, it would "now be difficult to trace the Remains of its former Opulence."

For this rapid Decline, Mr. Petrie assigns various Causes;—the Revenues having fallen short of the former Collections even before the Capture of Tanjore, he imputes to the Rapacity of the Ministers who governed the Country, and plundered their Master while they oppressed the Inhabitants, mortgaging Districts for present Supplies, and settling Jaghires upon themselves, many of which have not yet reverted to the Circar. But that as those Evils were not of long Duration, their Effects were only partially felt; and that even at that Period, as he was informed, Manufactures flourished, the Country was populous, and well cultivated, the Inhabitants were wealthy and industrious. That from the Year 1771, the Æra of the first Siege, till the Restoration of the Rajah, the Country having been the Seat of War, and having undergone Two Revolutions of Government, Trade, Manufactures, and Agriculture, were neglected, and many Thousands of Inhabitants went in quest of a more secure Abode. He mentions at the same Time, as a remarkable Circumstance, that during the Year 1774, while Tanjore was governed by the Nabob, all the Accounts which he had seen make the Revenue to amount to One-third more than the Year preceding the Conquest, and to more than Double the Sum which appeared in the Circar Books for the Year he resided

at Tanjore;—he accounts for a Circumstance so extraordinary at first Sight, by the high Price of Grain in the Year 1774, when the Scarcity was so great as almost to amount to a Famine; by the Tuncan Duties being raised, and by many of the old Jaghires, or Grants from the Circar, being resumed by the Nabob.

That since the Restoration of the Rajah in 1776, many Causes had contributed to lessen the Revenues, and to impoverish the Country.—First, The Ignorance and Rapacity of his principal Managers;—Secondly, The Failure of many of the principal Farmers, and the unusual Cheapness of Grain;—and Thirdly, The general Opinion which had prevailed, that the Rajah's Government would not be of long Duration; and that another Revolution was approaching.—"Hence every Species of Embezzlement and Peculation; his Ministers extorting Money from the Zemindars; they oppressing the People, who were often obliged to dispose of their Cattle, and the very Implements of Husbandry, to satisfy the Calls of their unrelenting Landlords."

Mr. Petrie mentions the great Scarcity of Specie in Tanjore as an Evil which had been long felt, and which, when he left India, had got to an alarming Height—That ever since the Rajah's Restoration, he had been oppressed with a heavy Load of Debt—his Expenditure had been enormous—that many of the Farmers who owed him large Balances had absconded—that he had no Money but what was levied from his People, or raised by destructive Loans, at an exorbitant and ruinous Interest.

With regard to the Payments due by the Rajah to the Company, Complaints of his Irregularity in making those Payments have been above inserted—At the same Time, your Committee has not found Evidence in any of the Accounts hitherto transmitted Home, or produced to them, of his having been actually much in Arrear during the short Time for which his Agreement with the Company, for his Subsidy of Four Lacks, has subsisted—They find that Governor Rumbold, in a Letter to the Rajah, dated August the 6th 1779, charges him with being very backward in his Payments; and writes, that One Lack was due for the June preceding—The Rajah in his Answer, dated the 3d of September 1779, vindicates himself from the Charge; and by a Statement of Accounts, shews that he had paid in full for the Three Years for which his Agreement with the Company had subsisted, and that he was even 56,000 Pagodas in Advance.

Letter from Governor Rumbold to the Rajah of Tanjore, 6th Aug. 1779.

Letter from the Rajah of Tanjore to Gov. Rumbold, 3d Sept. 1779.

The Directors, in their Letter to the President and Council, dated 18th October 1780, pronounce in Favour of the Rajah, and write to him a Letter of the same Date, in which they say, "They observe with Satisfaction, that the Arrears of Money due by his Excellency, on account of his Annual Subsidy, were reduced to a very inconsiderable Sum."

Letter from the Court of Directors to the President and Council at Fort St. George 18th Oct. 1780.

Letter to the Rajah of Tanjore, 18th Oct. 1780.

APPENDIX.

A P P E N D I X.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX, N° 1.

Copy of a Letter from the Governor to the Nabob, dated 26th July, 1780.

I HAVE the Honour to receive your Highness's several Letters on the Subject of Hyder Ally, whose Motions within these few Days, have unveiled the Design he seems to have entertained for some Time past against the Carnatic.

Whilst there was any Possibility of his Intentions being frustrated, or directed to another Object, I chose not to put the Company or your Highness to the Expence of great military Preparations, because I am very sensible, after the Exertion we have lately made against the French, that such Expence could not be provided for without much Difficulty, and without neglecting other Objects of great Importance; but now, when Hostilities are actually commenced on the Part of Hyder, it becomes expedient, at all Events, to attend to the Safety of the Country; and I trust your Highness will exert yourself to the utmost on this Occasion, to promote the Success of our Operations.

As I have given Orders for assembling Troops in the Field, I earnestly entreat your Highness to inform me what Supplies of Money you can depend upon furnishing, and at what Period, that I may take the necessary Steps accordingly. I beg your Highness will also take the most effectual Measures for collecting Bullocks and Provisions for the Use of the Army. Give me Leave to add, that however desirous I may be to defend the Company's and your Highness's Forts and Possessions in the Carnatic, it will in a great Measure depend upon the ample Supplies of Money your Highness can furnish me with at this critical Juncture. It will likewise determine me in what Manner I shall write to the Supreme Council of Bengal; and how far I shall feel myself authorized, with Consistency, to engage them in the present expected Troubles, so as not only to co-operate with this Government in what may tend to the Interest of the Company, but also answer your Highness's Purpose fully, with Respect to chastising Hyder Ally, and the Protection of the Subject, and the future Safety of the Carnatic.

APPENDIX, N° 2.

Copy of a Letter from the Governor to the Rajah of Tanjore, dated 29th July, 1780.

YOU have doubtless been already informed by Report, of the sudden March of Hyder Ally's Troops into the Carnatic. We cannot account for this Invasion otherwise than by supposing that Hyder has entered into some Engagements with the French, to disturb the Peace of the Country. However this may be, the Company and their

Allies are called upon to act with the utmost Vigour in repelling this Attack. I trust you will shew yourself particularly zealous in a Cause, in which the Welfare of your Government, as well as that of the Company and the Nabob, are so much interested. A large Supply of Money is absolutely necessary to carry on the military Operations; and to this Object I shall be thankful if you will contribute amply, and soon. The Nabob's Country has always suffered considerably by the Incursions of Hyder's Horse: Your's being as yet uninvaded, I flatter myself you will find less Difficulty in furnishing Money to the Company. I request also that you will encourage as much as possible, the Exportation of Grain to Madras. The Duties in that Article are taken off at this Port, a Circumstance which will, no Doubt, when known to the People of your Country, induce them to send large Supplies. May your Happiness daily increase. What can I say more?

APPENDIX, N° 3.

Extract of a Letter from Fort Saint George to the Governor General and Council of Fort William, dated the 26th July, 1780.

Extract Fort Saint George Select Cons. 26th July 1780.

OUR last Letter (of which we inclose a Duplicate) gave you Information of the Approach of Hyder Ally, with a large Army, towards our Frontiers. We now transmit Two Papers of Intelligence just received from the Nabob, by which you will learn that he has actually detached Part of his Cavalry into the Carnatic, and is preparing to follow with his whole Army.

We are taking Measures for assembling our Troops in a proper Situation to oppose this Attack, and defend the Country in the best Manner we are able; but the Alarm already occasioned by the Report of an Invasion, and the Ravages which have been actually committed by Hyder's Horse, have driven the People from their Habitations, and put an entire Stop to the Tillage of the Ground.

Under these Circumstances it will be impossible for us to draw Resources from the Country, in any Degree equal to the Expences which this War must inevitably produce, and if we do not obtain a speedy Supply of Money from you, we see no Probability of our being able to act with Vigour and Effect proportionate to the Exigency of our Situation.

Extract of a Letter from Fort Saint George to the Governor General and Council of Fort William, dated 14th September 1780.

Extract Fort Saint George Select Cons. 14th Sept. 1780.

But besides Troops, our Occasions for Money are very pressing. We have no Means whatever to answer the extraordinary Expences of this War; and it will be totally impossible for us to carry it on, unless we can be sure of receiving Supplies of Money from you. We earnestly request your immediate Attention to this Object, and that you will do us the Favour to inform us to what Extent we can be assisted. It would be a great Relief to us if a Sum of Money could be sent immediately after the Receipt of these Dispatches.

APPENDIX, N° 4.

Extract of a Letter from the Select Committee at Fort Saint George to the Court of Directors; dated 15th October 1780.

WE have been put to the greatest Distress for the Want of Money to carry on the War, owing to a total Failure in our usual Resources. The Carnatic waste, by the Incursions of the Enemy. The Nabob pleads this in Excuse for not discharging any of his Engagements.

The Rajah of Tanjore, whose Country hath not been disturbed in any Shape, has yet given us no Assistance, nor have we yet obtained any Supply of Money from Bengal, though the Governor General and Council have expressed an Intention to assist us.

Under these Circumstances we had no Alternative for supplying the various Exigencies of the Service, but that of borrowing from Individuals, and taking up Money for Draughts upon England. The Resolutions we came to on this Subject, will be communicated to you from the Civil Department.

Extract of the General Letter from Fort Saint George to the Court of Directors; dated the 13th of October 1780.

On a Review of the State of your Treasury, when Hyder Ally invaded the Carnatic in July last, we judged it absolutely necessary to issue Advertisements for receiving Loans from the Inhabitants of this Settlement, for which Company's Bonds were to be granted, payable in Eight Months after Date, bearing an Interest of Eight per Cent. per Ann.

But the Supply raised by this Means proving very inadequate to the heavy Expences of Government, and having no Hope of any immediate Relief that could be deemed effectual, either from the Northern Subordinacies, from the Nabob, or from Bengal, in this Exigency, after much Deliberation, however averse we are in any Instance to act contrary to your Orders, we found ourselves under the unavoidable Necessity, as the last Resource, to draw Bills on your Honours to an Amount not exceeding £. 200,000.

APPENDIX, N° 5.

Extract of a Letter from the Governor General and Council, at Fort William in Bengal, in their Secret Department, to the Court of Directors, dated the 13th of October 1780.

WITH Respect to the Treasure which we have sent to them, as it is a handsome, so we trust it will be a seasonable Supply. We have not spared the Sum of Fifteen Lacks of Rupees, the Amount of the Supply, without great Inconvenience to ourselves. The Demands on us at Home are large and pressing; but on a general Consideration of the Company's Interests, we have not hesitated, and shall not hesitate, to use every Exertion within our Power and Ability, both in this and every other Instance, to contribute our utmost to support them. The Treasure which has been dispatched we have consigned to the Commander in Chief, and we have nominated a Paymaster for the immediate Charge of it. It is intended for the Payment of the Troops under Sir Eyre Coote's Command, and is wholly to answer military Expences: But we have impowered him also to make use of it in supplying the Requisitions of the President and Select Committee, if he shall agree in the Expediency of doing so.

Extract

Extract of a Letter from the President and Select Committee at Fort Saint George, to the Court of Directors, dated 29th November 1780.

We cannot obtain any Money from the Nabob, or the Rajah of Tanjore. The Nabob is indeed, we believe, very much distressed, by a total Failure in the Revenues of that Part of the Carnatic which has been subject to the Incursions of Hyder's Horse, but the Rajah of Tanjore has not yet had a Grain of his Country touched. Thus, from our past Disappointments and present Prospects, we can place but little Dependence on any other Resource than that of Bengal, for carrying on the War, and as to the Expences of the Civil Department, we have very slender Hope of procuring sufficient to answer them from any Quarter.

APPENDIX, Nº 6.

Extract of Fort Saint George Select Consultations, dated the 14th Ja[illegible] 17[illegible]

Par. 105. THE Arrival of Sir Eyre Coote at this Presidency, on [illegible] Bengal, at so critical a Juncture, I e[illegible] on my Account [illegible] Circumstance. He will be able to form a Judgment from his own Observ[illegible] Situation, with Respect to Resources, and the Conduct both of the Nabob and the Rajah of Tanjore, and I most [illegible] recommend to him, to take a View of [illegible] Proceedings both before and since the C[illegible] of P[illegible], [illegible] he may be [illegible] acquainted with the Difficulties we have had. I still h[illegible], [illegible] that [illegible] his Seat at the Council General at Bengal, he m[illegible] own Knowledge, [illegible] the Representation we have found [illegible] necessary [illegible], [illegible] we [illegible] sup[illegible] in the Advice and Opinion of th[illegible] Board, if any Mean[illegible] may be [illegible] to adopt for the Public Good, [illegible] the Preservation [illegible] the Carnatic. I have been [illegible] full in the several Minutes I have given in to th[illegible] Committee, that I h[illegible] only to [illegible] Sir Eyre Coote to them, for a true Representation of [illegible] Difficulties. The M[illegible] we have been obliged to adopt, of drawing Bills on the Company, though [illegible] Amount, was unavoidable. It was against my Wish and Inclination [illegible] that the Company are very desirous we should av[illegible] any Drafts on them, [illegible] they have a Right to expect that their Resources here should [illegible] the Expences of the Establishment, but every Trial was made in vain to procure Money [illegible] the Nabob, from the Rajah of Tanjore, and even from Individuals, [illegible] Interest Notes payable to a certain Time. The Distress for Specie [illegible], [illegible] we had no Alternative, we were obliged, by the Prospect of an [illegible] Remittance, to induce those who had Cash by them to supply our immediate Wants, [illegible] the Account delivered in to the Committee will shew. There was an absolute Necessity that the Troops should not be kept in Arrears, and notwithstanding the Money [illegible], we have now an empty Treasury. It is true, the Nabob has promised us a [illegible] Sum this Month, and to be more regular in his Payments in future, but we have no other Security than his Word. Should he fail us, as he has seldom been very punctual in Engagements, I apprehend the most serious Consequences. We have represented to Bengal our Situation. We have acquainted them in a [illegible] Letter, that if we did not receive a Supply, we should be under the Necessity of drawing upon Europe. The Council General, however, were unable to supply us, I will not say unwilling, being convinced the Co-operation with the different Presidencies, for the mutual [illegible] port of the Company's Possessions, is the first and most material Object of their political Conduct. Under all these Circumstances, I have no Doubt but we shall stand justified to the Company for our Conduct, but at the same Time it is absolutely necessary to [illegible] with Spirit and

and Vigour, to obtain Money from those Channels from whence it ought to flow; and, by a determined Plan of Oeconomy, and Reduction of all Expences, to endeavour to supply our Treasury, that we may never again be under the Necessity of giving Drafts on the Company. To accomplish that Point, I have no Doubt of meeting with the Concurrence and steady Support of the Committee: And I propose, that an Auditor of Accompts may be immediately appointed, that he proceed to examine the Accounts, both civil and military, for the last Six Months, or, if it should be thought too great a Task for One Person, that Two Persons be appointed, the one to audit the civil, the other the military Accounts; and that all unnecessary Charges may be struck off; and that they make a Report to the Committee or Council, every Fortnight, of the Progress they have made; and that their Allowance and Emolument depend in a great Measure on the Reduction made by them in the monthly Expences. It would appear extraordinary, at the Commencement of a War, to propose a Reduction of our military Force; it would at this Juncture undoubtedly be highly improper and dangerous. But I do not hesitate to give it as my Opinion, that our Establishment is too great for our Resources; and either a fixed or certain Revenue from the Carnatic, or Tanjore Country, must be allotted for the Payment of our Troops, or a considerable Reduction must take Place at a more favourable Period. The Nabob should be in Advance, not in Arrear, for the Payment of what depends on him; but on the contrary, the Debt is accumulating; and the Company strongly recommended to us, in their Letter of the last Season, to call upon him for Payment, and not to suffer the Payment of Individuals to interfere with their Demands. We know not what Step our Enemies are taking, what Force they have at the Mauritius; but we have every Reason to believe that they are not inactive, and that they will attempt some Stroke to recover the Ground they have lost. We have no immediate Prospect of Support, and therefore must find Resources amongst ourselves, and must pursue such a Conduct as to provide against all Difficulties and Contingencies.

APPENDIX, N° 7.

Extract of Fort Saint George Select Consultations, dated the 4th February 1779.

THE President lays before the Committee the following Minute, with Intelligence just received from the Nabob.

I am concerned to lay before the Committee, a Letter from the Nabob, containing Advices from his Vackeel at Poonah, of a very serious Nature, and though we may suppose the Account of the unfortunate Situation of the Bombay Army is greatly exaggerated, and that when we hear from Bombay, we shall be informed of some favourable Circumstance with which we are not yet acquainted; still, from the circumstantial Account received, we have no Reason to doubt but the Event of the Expedition for conducting Ragonaut Row to Poonah, has been unfortunate and disgraceful, both to our Arms and Councils; and our present Situation, with respect to the different Powers of Hindostan, renders it absolutely necessary that we should immediately take into Consideration our own State and Resources, as well for the Defence of the Carnatic, as to afford Assistance to any other Parts where the Company have Possessions or Alliances, that may stand in Need of our Support.

The first Consideration is, the State of our Treasury. I have already, on many Occasions, represented to the Committee, the Difficulties we have to struggle with, and that the utmost we can expect, is to supply our Exigencies on a Peace Establishment, and provide our Investments; which being an Object of Consequence to the Company, ought not to be neglected. Our Situation has been represented to the Governor General and Council; but I am of Opinion, we may still, in a more particular Manner, address

them

them again on the Subject, and requeſt, that they will not only afford us Aſſiſtance from the Bengal Treaſury, that we may be ſupplied with a Fund to enable our Army to take the Field, ſhould Circumſtances make it neceſſary; but that they will give us their Opinion on thoſe Points we have already ſubmitted to their Conſiderations, and upon ſuch others as we may now propoſe to them. Firſt, I would recommend, that we fully ſtate to them the Situation of the Tanjore Country, and the Meaſures we have taken in conſequence, in order to ſecure the regular Payment of the Rajah's Subſidy, and the Nabob's Peſhcuſh, which, if punctually remitted to our Treaſury, will not only greatly aſſiſt in keeping up our preſent Eſtabliſhment, but will contribute, with other Means, to ſecure in Time ſuch a Supply, as will enable us to act with Vigour as Occaſion may require. The Tanjore Revenues ought to be taken Care of. Neceſſity obliges us to watch over them with Attention, and ſhould the preſent Negociation entruſted to General Munro fail of producing the deſired Effect, I am perſuaded it is our Duty to take ſuch Meaſures that no Miſmanagement, or any Cauſe whatever, may deprive us of that Support which is abſolutely neceſſary to contribute to the Protection of the [illegible] Tanjore, and our Northern Settlements. For, Where is the Force for the Defence of thoſe ſeveral Countries, but what is kept up, diſciplined, and paid by the Company?

Secondly; It will be neceſſary that we take the Opinion of the Governor General and Council, how we are to act in Caſe of Failure in the Nabob's Engagements. I hope we ſhall never be drove to take any Meaſures inconſiſtent with his Rights, or [illegible] to his Feelings; but without we ſtate with Preciſion our Difficulties, we may find ourſelves embarraſſed, and at a Loſs to act in particular Points when our Diſtreſs [illegible] Force upon us. It is true, we have lately received a very conſiderable Sum from the Nabob, but the Account delivered in by me to the Committee, dated the 30th of November laſt, will ſhew, that he was, at the End of January, greatly in Arrears of the Amount which, by his own voluntary Agreement, he engaged to pay to that Period, and the Debt is monthly encreaſing. Our Expences are certain, and muſt be provided for. Our Eſtimations at preſent are great; for, excluſive of our Standing Army, upwards of Twenty-ſeven thouſand Men, we have the heavy Expence of compleating our Fortifications, which muſt not, on any Account, be neglected; and we have the Maintenance of the French Priſoners, Military and Civil, with the Number of Articles to be provided them, which the Capitulation of Pondicherry obliges us to furniſh. All Attention and Support is certainly due to the Nabob, as our old and faithful Ally, connected with us by every Tie, and demanding from us every Indulgence. For, if we take a View from the Southern Boundary of Hindoſtan to the Northern Extremity, where the Engliſh Forces have proved victorious, where ſhall we find one Native Prince who has not ſeverely felt the Effects of our Power, and that is not now lamenting the rapid Succeſs of our Arms, and the Credulity that ever induced him to truſt to our Engagements? Mahomed Ally can alone boaſt, that we have not entirely violated every Principle on which he has depended, and who, with his Family, it is to be wiſhed, may long remain Inſtances of our National Faith; but at the ſame Time I expreſs theſe Sentiments towards the Nabob, it is neceſſary that we inſiſt on a Punctuality in fulfilling his Engagements, or that the Committee are furniſhed with ſome Line to guide their Conduct, when they find him fail in his Engagements. To various Cauſes may be imputed his Reluctance to part with Money, and ſeveral Circumſtances may have contributed to give him Diſguſt. We have no Right or Grounds to ſuppoſe his Reluctance proceeds from Diſaffection. We are to conſider his Load of Debt, the increaſed Expences of the Eſtabliſhment, the Decreaſe, from various Cauſes, and perhaps from ſome Miſmanagement, of his Revenue, the Diſappointments he has been ſubject to in this Matter, where he conceived himſelf to be juſtly entitled to Deciſions in his Favour; and, laſtly, to the Impoſitions of Individuals, and the attendant Paſſion ſo common to Men of advanced Stages in Life, of hoarding up for future unforeſeen Contingencies; all theſe may have operated to increaſe the Difficulties of obtaining from him the neceſſary Supplies of Caſh. That ſuch Difficulties have frequently exiſted, no one acquainted with this Government can doubt. But the Reflection alone, of our depending on precarious Circumſtances for certain and unavoidable Expences, on which our very Safety depends, render it abſolutely neceſſary to have the Advice of the Governor General to aſſiſt our Reſolutions, if ever we ſhould be obliged to go beyond the Line that we wiſh to be preſerved.

Extract of Sir Eyre Coote's Minute.

I agree entirely with the Governor's first Proposition, in regard to the Necessity there is for representing to the Supreme Council the State of our Treasury, and the Situation of the Tanjore Country, as well as to require their Sentiments upon the Measures which the Board here ought to adopt, in Case the Nabob's Engagements should not be so punctually fulfilled as the Necessity of our Affairs may demand. And I imagine those Representations cannot fail to have the desired Effect, in inducing them to give such speedy and proper Assistance as may enable the Governor and Council here, to pursue the disinterested and spirited Plan which they have hitherto supported alone, so much to the National Benefit, and to their own Honour.

APPENDIX, N° 8.

Extract of a Letter from the President and Council at Fort Saint George, to the Governor General and Council of Bengal; dated 7th December 1774.

1774. Fort St. George Mil. Cons. 8 Dec. Fol. 833.

OUR Expences on the Coast, in Time of Peace, are generally about 14 Lacks of Pagodas, and the Investment for Europe requires 6 Lacks, which make the Disbursements on the Coast amount to 20 Lacks of Pagodas. The annual Amount of the Revenue, upon a mean Calculation, may be estimated at upwards of 16 Lacks, and the Sum paid by the Nabob, in certain Kists, in the Course of the Year, for the Pay of the Troops kept by the Company on his Account, and the Expences of the Garrisons defrayed by them, at about 4 Lacks, making in all 20 Lacks of Pagodas. But of these Receipts, near 8 Lacks are to be paid by the Nabob, for, exclusive of the Money advanced on his Account, estimated as above at 4 Lacks, he has, by the Company's Orders, the Inaum Lands at Rent for Pagodas 3,68,350 per Annum, which is likewise received in certain Kists, payable in the Course of the Year. But a certain Resource, from the Nabob's own Declarations, must become precarious in Time of War.

APPENDIX, N° 9.

Grant of the Jaghire to the Company.

BE it known to the Deesmookees, Deespondees, principal Inhabitants and Husbandmen of the Tripatore, &c. Pergunnahs, belonging to the Carnatic Payen Gaut, and dependent upon the Subah of Mahomed Poor, alias Arcot; That I have appointed and made over to the English East India Company (who have taken great Pains and Labour in my Affairs, are my true Friends, and will ever remain firm and steady in Alliance

with, and in supporting, myself and Sons) the aforesaid Pergunnahs, &c. as hereunder explained, by Way of Jaghire, the Revenues of which, as entered in the Mogul's Book, amount to Four Lacks Four hundred and Ninety-four Pagodas Four Annas and a Quarter (4,00,494. 4¼), and Chucrams Six thousand and Thirty three (6,033) You the said Deesmookees, &c. must therefore take Care to live in due Obedience to the said Company, and to pay them the proper Revenues, at the fixed and stated Times, as, according to their Report, whether in your Praise or Dispraise, will be our Favour or Displeasure upon you. Look upon this as an Order, and comply accordingly.

Computed Revenues as put down in the Mogul's Book.

	Pagodas.	Annas.	Churrams.	No of Districts.	No of Villages.
Madras, Customs included -	1,200	—	—	1	1
St. Thomé's District, Customs included	6,346	15	—	1	7
Pounamalee District, Customs included	34,840	—½	—	1	231
Teervenda Poor, &c. - -	—	—	26,250	1	26

N. B. The Revenues of these Four within the Circumflex, amounting to Pagodas 42,386. 15½ Chucrams 26,250, are mentioned not to be included in the Sum of Pagodas 4,00,494 4¼, and Chucrams, 6,003 specified in the Sunnud, there being in a prior Grant.

Computed Revenues as put down in the Mogul's Book.

	Pagodas.	Annas.	Chucrams.	Ann.	No of Mahals or Districts.	No of Villages.
Tripasore entire, Customs included	30,177	4	—		1	211
The Villages of Cotumbauc, &c. belonging to the Seven Magans entire - - -	17,450	2	—		1	99
Poneer District entire, Customs included - - -	20,351	—	—		1	150
Chucutcota District entire, Customs included - - -	4,450	—	—		1	3
Peddapollam Districts entire, Customs included - -	12,414	12	—		1	80
Perumbauc District entire -	6,707	9	—		1	32
Munemungulum District entire, Customs included - -	10,000	—	—		1	81
Ootremaloor District, Customs included - - -	20,985	13	—		1	6[illegible]
Sallwauc District entire, Customs included - -	19,229	11	—		1	71
Seeva, or Great Conjeveram, ditto - -	19,414	6	—		1	69
Bishun, or Little Conjeveram, ditto - -	25,105	11	—		1	133
Cavantandelum District entire	18,385	2½	—		1	74
Chingleput District entire, Customs included - -	100,446	10	—		1	36½
Saudet Bunder, alias Covelong District, entire, Customs included - -	17,512	5½	—		1	54
Carangoly ditto, all on this Side the River Mercawn, entire, Customs included - -	62,257	7½	—		1	3[illegible]½
Chunnamanaik Pollum Village, belonging to the Trivedy Pergunnah, entire - -	—		1,071	8	1	1
Nulacput Village, belonging to the Vencatompente Pergunnah, entire - -	—		927	8	1	1

Carremundel,

	Pagodas	Annas	Chucrams	Anas	No of Mehals or Districts	No of Villages
Curremundel, &c. Villages, belonging to the Pullicat, entire	216	2	—		1	4
Chittamour, &c. Villages, belonging to the Tundewullum Pergunnah, all that arise on that Side the River Mercawn, entire	—		744	8	1	12
Hulsoor, &c. Villages, belonging to the Pergunnah of the same Name, all that are on that Side the River Mercawn entire, Customs included	—		3,288	8	1	15
Total Amount of the present Grants, and those of the 16th of October 1763	4,00,494	4½	6,033	—	20	1,934
From the Old Grants mentioned in the First Part	42,386	15½	26,250	—	4	267
Grand Total, Pagodas	4,4[illegible]	1 3	32,283	—	24	2,201

Subdivision thereof.

	Pag	Ann	Chuc	Dis	Vill
By the present Grants now	34,430	4½	4,033	—	175
By those of the 16th of October 1763	3,66,064	0	2,000	20	1759
By the old Grants	42,386	15½	26,250	4	267
Pagodas	4,42,881	3¼	32,283	24	2,201

Dated the 21st of the Moon Rabbi ul Sawni, in the Year of Hegira 1177, equivalent to the 29th of October 1763.

Forms on the Back of the Sunnud.

The Serishtidar's Letter to the Nabob, informing him of the Sunnud's having been made out for the English East India Company, the 16th of October 1763, to the Amount of Pagodas 3,66,064, and Chucrams 2,000, out of the several Countries from which this Sum arose, there were many Villages, to the Value of Pagodas 34,430 4½, and Chucrams 4,033 (as entered in the Mogul's Books) excepted; he requests therefore the Nabob's Orders, whether a new Sunnud for the Whole, which he particularises in the same Manner as it is in the Sunnud, should be made out or not? To which the Nabob is said to answer, in his own Hand Writing: "In Consideration of the true Friendship of the English East India Company, and their remaining always in Alliance with me, let a Sunnud for the whole Jaghire, without any Exception, be made out."

Registered in the Dewan's Office, the 21st of the Moon Rabbi us Sawni, in the Year of Hegira, 1177, equal to the 29th of October, 1763.

N. B. This is twice mentioned.

Registered in the Nabob's own Office the same Day.

Firmaun from the Mogul, being a Confirmation of the Nabob's Grants to the Company in the Carnatic.

In these happy Times, our Firmaun, full of Splendor, and worthy of Obedience in all, is descended, purporting, That whatever formerly has been given by preceding Moguls, or lately by Serajah Dowlah Mahomed Ally Khan, from the Circar of the Carnatic, in the Parts above Madras, &c. to the High, Mighty, &c. &c. English Company: We, in Consideration of their great Pains and Services, have, from our Throne,

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the Basis of the World, conferred upon, or confirmed to them, by way of Inaum or Free Gift, without allowing any Person whatever any Part or Share therein. You, therefore, our Sons, Omrahs, Vizirs, Governors, Mutrisseddees, for the Affairs of the Dewanship; Mootecophils for those of our Kingdom, Jaghiredars and Karorees, both now and hereafter, for ever and ever, exert yourselves in the strengthening and carrying into Execution this our Most High Command, and cede and give up to the above-mentioned English Company, their Heirs and Descendants, for ever and ever, the aforesaid Circar, and esteeming them likewise as entirely exempt, free, and safe from all Displacing or Removal, by no Means whatever molest or trouble them, either on Account of the Demands of the Dewan's Office, or those of our Imperial Court.

Looking upon this high Firmaun as an absolute and positive Order, obey it implicitly.

Dated the 24th of the Moon Sophar, in the Sixth Year of our Reign, equal to the 12th of August, 1765.

APPENDIX No 10.

A Copy of Requests made by Colonel Forde to Nabob Salabut Jung, and his Compliance thereto, in his own Hand.

THE Whole of the Circar of Masulipatam, with Eight Districts, as well as the Circar of Nizampatam, and the Districts of Condavir and Wacalmanner, shall be given to the English Company as an Inaum or Free Gift, and the Sunnuds granted to them in the same Manner as was done to the French.

The Nabob Salabat Jung will oblige the French Troops which are in his Country, to pass the River Ganges within Fifteen Days, or send them to Pondicherry, or to any other Place out of the Decan Country, on the other Side of the River Kistna; in future he will not suffer them to have a Settlement in this Country, on any Account whatsoever, nor keep them in his Service, nor assist them, nor call them to his Assistance.

The Nabob will not demand or call Gauzeputty Rauze to an Account for what he has collected out of the Circars belonging to the French, nor for the Computation of his Revenues of his own Country in the present Year, but let him remain peaceable in it in future, and according to the Computation of the Revenues of his Country, before the Time of the French, agreeable to the Custom of his Grandfather and Father, and as was then paid to the Circar, so he will now act and pay accordingly to the Circar, and if he, the Rajah, does not agree to it, then the Nabob may do what he pleases. In all Cases the Nabob will not assist the Enemies of the English, nor give them Protection.

The English Company, on their Part, will not assist the Nabob's Enemies, nor give them Protection.

Dated Moon Ramadan, the 16th Hegira, 1172, which is the 14th of May 1759.

* I swear by God and his Prophet, and upon the holy Alcoran, that I with Pleasure agree to the Requests specified in this Paper, and shall not deviate from it, even an Hair's Breadth.

Firmaun from the Mogul for the Northern Circars.

In these happy Times, our Firmaun, full of Splendor, and worthy of Obedience, is descended, purporting, That whereas Salabat Jung Behauder, Subahdar of the Decan, conferred the Circar of Siccacole, &c. on the French Company, and that, in Consequence

* In the Nabob's own Hand, which may be seen on the Top of the Original, as well as his Grand Seal.

of its not being confirmed by us either by Firmaun or otherwise, the High, mighty, glorious Chiefs of the Khans, chosen of the Omrahs, Sepoy Sardars, truly faithful, worthy of receiving Favours and Obligations, our invariable and never failing Friends and Wellwishers, the English Company (having sent a large Force for that Purpose) did expel the French therefrom. We therefore, in Consideration of the Fidelity and good Wishes of the above High, Mighty, &c. &c. English Company, have, from our Throne, the Basis of the World, given them the aforementioned Circars, by Way of Inaum or Free Gift, without the least Participation of any Person whatever in the same, from the Beginning of the Fussul of Tuccaucooul, in the Year of Phusly 1172, equal to the Month of April 1762: It is incumbent therefore on you our Sons, Omrahs, Vizirs, Governors, Muttasseddees for the Affairs of our Dewanship, Mootecophils for those of our Kingdom, Jaghiredars and Karorees, both now and hereafter, for ever and ever, to use your Endeavours in the strengthening and carrying into Execution this our most high Command, and to cede and give up to the abovementioned English Company, their Heirs and Descendants, for ever and ever, the aforesaid Circars, and esteeming them likewise free, exempt, and safe from all Displacing or Removal, by no Means whatever either mould or trouble them, on Account of the Demands of the Dewan's Office, or [illegible] our Imperial Court.

[illegible] upon this high Firmaun as an absolute and positive Order, obey it implicitly.

[illegible] the 24th of the Moon Sophar, in the Sixth Year of our Reign, equal to the [illegible] of August, 1765.

Terms made use of on the Back of the Firmaun.

From the Secretary, setting forth, That his Majesty had been pleased to sign a Petition (supposed to be from the Company) of the same Date as the Firmaun, directing, That whereas Salabut Jung Behauder, Subahdar of the Decan, conferred the Circar of Siccacole, &c. on the French Company; and that in Consequence of its not being confirmed by his Majesty, either by Firmaun or otherwise, the High, Mighty, &c. &c. English Company (having sent a large Force for that Purpose) did expel the said French therefrom, his Majesty therefore, in Consideration of the Fidelity of the aforesaid English Company, has given them (without the Participation of any Person whatever in the same) the abovementioned Circars, by way of Inaum or Free Gift.

Then follow Two Orders from the Mogul, the first supposed to be in his own Hand, addressed to his Son, Mirza Mahomed Akbur Shah Behauder, telling him to comply with the Contents of the Firmaun, the other directing, that the English Company be under his Son's Command, or in his Kessault.

The Whole attested under Kazi Inaujet Khan's Seal, to be a true Copy from the Original.

A Treaty of perpetual Honour, Favour, Alliance, and Attachment,

Between the Great Nabob, high in Station, famous as the Sun, Nabob Ausuph Jaw, Nizam ul Mulck, Nizam ul Dowla, Meer Nizam Ally Cawn, Behauder Phuttah Jung, Sepoy Sardar, and the Honourable English East India Company.

Signed, sealed, and ratified, on the one Part, by his Highness the said Nabob, and on the other, by John Caillaud, Esquire, Brigadier General, invested with full Powers on behalf of the said Company.

Done at Hyderabad, the Ninth of the Moon Gemmaul-ussany, in the Year of Hegyra 1180, equal to the 12th of November 1766.

Article 1.

The Two contracting Parties do, by virtue of this Treaty of Honour, Favour, Alliance, and Friendship, solemnly engage a mutual Assistance, to esteem the Enemies of one the Enemies of both, and contrarywise, the Friends of one the Friends of the other.

Article 2.

The Honourable English East India Company, in Return for the gracious Favours received from his Highness, consisting of Saneds for the Five Circars of Ellore, Siccacole, Rajahmundry, Mustaphanagur, and Murtazanagur, expressing the Free Gift thereof, on them and their Heirs for ever and ever, do promise and engage to have a Body of Troops ready to settle the Affairs of his Highness's Government, in every Thing that is right and proper,

proper, whenever required, provided that they be at Liberty to withdraw the Whole, or such Part thereof as they shall judge proper, whenever either the Safety of their own Settlements and Possessions, or the Peace and Tranquillity of the Carnatic, be the least endangered. In case of the falling out of which Circumstances (which God forbid) they do promise and engage to give the most timely Notice thereof to his Highness, in their Power.

Article 3.

The honourable English East-India Company do further engage and promise, that in whatever Year the Assistance of their Troops shall not be required they will pay to his Highness, as a Consideration for the Free Gift of the above-mentioned Five Circars, for ever and ever, the following Sums, by Kists, as specified in the Eighth Article of this Treaty; viz. for the Three Circars of Rajahmundry, Ellour, and Mustephanagur, Five Lacks of Rupees, and for those of Siccacole and Murtezanagur, as soon as they are in their Hands, and the settling the same is well effected, Two Lacks each, in all Nine Lacks of Rupees per Annum.

Article 4.

The Reduction of the Siccacole Circar, by the Blessing of God, the Company will effect as soon as possible, but that of Murtezanagur, in Consideration of his Highness having, by former Agreements, given it to his Brother Bazalet Jung, as a Jaghire, the honourable English East-India Company do promise and engage not to take Possession of, until it be his Highness's Pleasure, or until the Demise of his said Brother. But to prevent all future Disputes and Difficulties that may hereafter arise concerning the same, the aforesaid Company do further explain their Intentions in the following Article:

Article 5.

As the Circar of Murtezanagur borders on that of Nizampatam and the Country of the Carnatic, which, by virtue of the former and present Treaties and Alliances, the aforesaid Company are bound to maintain and protect in all its Extent; therefore, in case the said Bazalet Jung, his Agents or Dependents should cause any Disturbances to the Prejudice thereof, it is hereby agreed on by both Parties, that the aforesaid Company shall then have it in their Power to take immediate Possession of that Circar.

Article 6.

As by the Tenor of the Second Article of this Treaty, the aforesaid Company have engaged to furnish a Body of Troops, to be ready to march to the Assistance of his Highness, it is agreed on by both Parties, that the Expences thereof shall be paid in the following Manner, to wit, If the Expence of the Number of Troops his Highness may require, should fall short of the Sum of Five Lacks of Rupees, mentioned to be paid for the Three Circars of Rajahmundry, Ellour, and Mustephanagur, the Company will account to his Highness for what Balance may remain due, and in case of its exceeding the above mentioned Sum, the aforesaid Company do hereby engage themselves to be answerable for the Payment of the Remainder. The same Agreement in like Manner to hold good for the Sums stipulated to be paid for the Two Circars of Siccacole and Murtezanagur when settled.

Article 7.

In Consideration of the Fidelity, Attachment, and Services of the aforesaid Company, and the Dependence his Highness has upon them, his said Highness, out of his great Favour does hereby entirely acquit the above-mentioned Circars of all Arrears and Demands, down to the present Date of these Writings.

Article 8.

In case the Assistance of the Honourable Company's Troops is not required, the annual stipulated Sum expressed in the Third Article of this Treaty, the aforesaid Company do engage to pay in Three Kists, after the following Manner, and to give Soucar Security for the same; viz. The First Payment, the Thirty-first of March, the Second, the Thirtieth of June; and the Third, the Thirty-first of October.

Article 9.

Whenever his Highness goes into Winter Quarters, and the Troops of the other Sardars have Leave for that Purpose, those of the aforesaid Company shall have Leave also to depart to their own Country.

Article 10.

Article 10.

His Highness engages to give as early Notice as possible, (not less than Three Months) of the Service in which he will require the Assistance of the Troops of the aforesaid Company, that they may have timely Notice to make the necessary Preparations; and that the Number of Troops sent may be sufficient for the Service required of them, of which the aforesaid Company are to be left the entire and sole Judges, and as the Success of all Expeditions depends much upon Secrecy in Council, both Parties do hereby engage themselves not to reveal any such Designs as they may communicate to each other, until every Thing on both Sides is ready for Execution.

Article 11.

The Honourable English East-India Company, in Consideration of the Diamond Mines, with the Villages appertaining thereto, having been always dependent upon his Highness's Government, do hereby agree that the same shall remain in his Possession now also.

Article 12.

His Highness, in order to convince the whole World of the great Confidence and Trust he reposes in the English Nation, agrees and consents, that the Fort of Condapillee shall be entirely garrisoned by the Troops of the aforesaid Company, in Consideration of which the aforesaid Company do hereby agree and consent likewise, that there be a Killedar therein on the Part of his Highness, and that the usual Jaghire annexed to the Killedary shall be ceded to him.

Article 13.

In virtue of this Treaty of mutual Favour, Alliance, and Friendship, between the Two contracting Parties, his Highness promises and engages to assist the aforesaid Company with his Troops, when required, reserving to himself the same Liberty of withdrawing the Whole, or any Part thereof, in the same Manner as is expressed for the aforesaid Company in the Second Article of this Treaty, whenever the same shall become necessary.

Article 14.

In virtue of the above Treaty of Favour, Alliance, and Friendship, both Parties do mutually and solemnly engage to the punctual and strict Observance of all and every one of the above mentioned Articles, that from this Time all Doubts and Suspicions shall cease between them, and in their Room a perpetual, just, and sincere Confidence be established, that the great Affairs of the Decan Government, and the Business of the Company, may increase every Day in Honour, Riches, and Happiness, from Generation to Generation.

In Confirmation of which his Highness on the one Part, and John Caillaud, Esquire, Brigadier General, invested with full Powers from the English Company, on the other, have hereunto affixed their Hands and Seals.

Done at Hydrabad the [illegible]th of the Moon Gemace-dulluny, in the Year of Hegyra 1180, equal to the 12th of November 1766.

A TREATY of perpetual Friendship and Alliance, made and concluded at Fort St. George,

Between the honourable United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East-Indies, in Conjunction with the Nabob Wolau Jau, Omdetul Mulck, Ummeer-ul-Hind, Serajah Dowlah, Anneverdeen, Cawn Behauder, Monsoor Jung, Sippa Sardar of the Carnatic Payen Gaut, on the one Part; and the Great Nabob, high in Station, Ausuph Jau, Nizam-ul Mulck, Meer Nizam, Ally Cawn Behauder, Phuttah Jung, Sippa Sardar, Soubah of the Decan, on the other Part, by the honourable Charles Bourchier, Esquire, President and Governor of Fort Saint George, and the Council thereof, on Behalf of the said English East-India Company, the Nabob Wolau Jau, Omdetul Mulck, on Behalf of himself, as Nabob of the Carnatic, and the Nabob Ruccun-ud-Dowlah, Dewan, invested with full Powers on Behalf of the said Nabob Ausuph Jau, Nizam-ul-Mulck, his Heirs and Successors, as Soubah of the Decan.

Done on the 23d Day of February, in the Year 1768 of the Christian Æra, and on the 4th of the Moon Shevaul, in the Year of the Hegyra 1181.

The

The Treaty.

Whereas on the 12th of November, in the Year of the Christian Æra 1766, or on the 9th of the Moon Gemmee dussany, in the Year of the Hegyra 1180, a Treaty was concluded at Hydrabad, by and between General John Caillaud, invested with full Power on Behalf of the English East-India Company, and the Nabob Ausuph Jau Nizam ul Mulk, &c. on Behalf of himself, as Soubah of the Decan, with a Design to establish an [illegible] and lasting Friendship and Alliance between the Two contracting Powers, and where some Misunderstandings have since arisen, which have perverted the Intent of the said Treaty, and kindled up the Flame of War, Now, be it known to those who [illegible] the before mentioned Nabob Ausuph Jau, and the English Company, with [illegible] Wallau Jau, have entered into another Treaty, of the strictest Friendship and Alliance, on the following Conditions.

Article 1.

The exalted and illustrious Emperor of Hindostan, Shaw Allum Padshaw, having, out of his gracious Favour, and in Consideration of the Attachment and Services of the English East India Company, given and granted to them for ever, by Way of Inam or Free Gift, the Five Circars of Mustephanagur, Rajahmundry, Sicacole, and [illegible], or Condavir, by his Royal Firmaund, dated the 12th of August 1765, or the 24th of the Moon Suphier, in the 6th Year of his Reign, and the Nabob Ausuph Jau Nizam ul Mulck, as Soubah of the Decan, having, by the Second and [illegible] Articles of the afore-mentioned Treaty, ceded and surrendered by Sunnuds, under his Hand and Seal, to the English East India Company for ever, the afore mentioned Five Circars, it is further acknowledged and agreed by the said Ausuph Jau, Nizam ul Mulck, Soubah of the Decan, that the said Company shall enjoy and hold [illegible] as their [illegible] Property, the said Five Circars, on the Terms hereafter mentioned.

Article 2.

By the afore-mentioned Treaty of Hydrabad, it was stipulated, that the Nabob Ausuph Jau, having given the Circar of Murtezanagur as Jaghire to his Brother the Nabob Ummeer ul Omrah, Soujah ul Mulck Behauder, Bassalet Jung, the Company should not take Possession of the said Circar, till after the Death of [illegible], or till he broke the Friendship with the said Company, by invading the Country of Nizampatam, or the Carnatic, and though the Company might [illegible] a Right to take Possession of the said Circar, from the late Conduct of Bassalet Jung, yet, in Consideration of their Friendship for Ausuph Jau and his Family, and that they may not distress his Affairs, by obliging him to provide for his Brother [illegible] another Jaghire, the Company do agree and consent, that Bassalet Jung shall hold the Circar of Murtezanagur on the aforesaid Conditions, or till it be the Pleasure of Ausuph Jau, that the Company should take Possession thereof, provided that [illegible] Bassalet Jung returns immediately to his own Country of [illegible], and [illegible] with nor receives from Hyder Naigue, any Vakeel or [illegible], [illegible] Peace and Harmony with the English Company and the Nabob Wallau Jau, [illegible] Protection or Assistance whatever to the said Naigue, or any of his [illegible], nor any other Enemies of the Company or the Nabob Wolau Jau. But if these [illegible] at any Time be infringed, the Company shall be at Liberty, by virtue of this Treaty, to take Possession of, and keep the Circar of Murtezanagur, in the same Manner [illegible] other Four; and the Nabob Ausuph Jau engages to assist them therein with [illegible] if necessary.

Article 3.

The Fort of Condapillee, with its Jaghire, shall for ever hereafter remain in Possession of the English Company, and be garrisoned with their Troops, [illegible] Officers only; notwithstanding any Thing to the contrary stipulated in the [illegible] Article of the Treaty of Hydrabad.

Article 4.

Narraindoo, one of the Zemindars of the Circar of Sicacole, having lately raised Disturbances in the Ichapoore Country, and refused (as he alledges, in Conformity to the Nabob Ausuph Jau's Orders) to pay his Rents, or Obedience to the Company; the Nabob Ausuph Jau agrees, on the Signing and Exchange of the present Treaty, to write Letters not only to Narraindoo, but to all the Zemindars in the Circars of [illegible]

lour, Mustephanagur, Rajahmundry, and Siccacole, acquainting them, that they are in future to regard the English Company as their Sovereign, and to pay their Rents and Obedience to the said Company, or their Deputies, without raising any Troubles or Disturbances: The Nabob Ausuph Jau further agrees, that he will not in future encourage or protect in raising Troubles or Disobedience, any Zemindars, Renter, or Servants of the English Company, or the Nabob Wolau Jau; who on their Parts engage the same to his Highness Ausuph Jau.

Article 5.

It has been the constant Desire and Endeavour of the English Company, and the Nabob Wolau Jau, to preserve their Possessions in Peace, and to live on Terms of Friendship with the Soubah of the Decan. they still desire to do the same; and though the Operations of War have lately obliged the Company to send their Troops towards Hydrabad, and to take Possession of the Circars of Commamet and Worangole; yet, as a Proof of their Friendship for the Nabob Ausuph Jau, &c. Soubah of the Decan, on the Signing and Exchange of this Treaty, the Company's Troops shall be recalled to the Fort of Commamet, from whence they shall also retire into their own Circars, so soon as the Soubah, with his Army, has crossed the Kistnah, leaving the Fort of Commamet to the Soubah's Deputy. And as a farther Proof of the Company's sincere Desire to preserve a Friendship with the Soubah of the Decan, they agree to bury in Oblivion what is past, and to pay him annually, for the Space of Six Years, to be computed from the 1st of January 1768, or the 10th of the Moon Shibaun, in the Year of the Hegyra 1181, the Sum of Two Lacks of Arcot Rupees, at Madras or Mazulipatam; that is to say, One Lack on the 31st of March, and also One Lack on the 31st of October, or Two Lacks every Year, and One Lack more at each of these Periods, whenever the Circar of Condavir is put into the Company's Possession. The Company moreover promise, that if they peaceably possess the Circars during the aforesaid Term of Six Years, and the Soubah gives them no Trouble, they will pay annually, from the 1st of January 1774, the Sum of Five Lacks, in Two equal Payments, as before expressed; or of Seven Lacks, if Condavir be then in their Possession, but in case the Soubah, or the Marattas, by his Instigation, should invade the Circars or Carnatic, or they, or any other Power should conquer the Circars from the English Company, the Payment of the said Sums shall be suspended till Peace, and the Circars are restored to the Company.

Article 6.

It was stipulated, in the former Treaty made at Hydrabad, that the Company and the Soubah should mutually assist each other with their Troops, when required, and their own Affairs would permit. But it being apprehended at present that such an Agreement may subject both Parties to Difficulties, and that Misunderstandings may arise on that Account, it is now agreed only, that a mutual Peace, Confidence, and Friendship, shall subsist for ever between the English Company, his Highness Ausuph Jau, and the Nabob Wolau Jau. The Enemies of either shall be regarded as the Enemies of the other Two Powers, and the Friends of either be treated as the Friends of all. And in case any Troubles should arise, or any Enemies invade the Countries under the Government of either of the contracting Parties, the other Two shall give no Countenance or Assistance to such Enemies or Invaders, the Company, and the Nabob Wolau Jau, willing however to shew their voluntary Attachment to the Soubah, will always be ready to send two Battalions of Sepoys, and Six Pieces of Artillery, manned by Europeans, whenever the Soubah shall require them, and the Situation of their Affairs will allow of such a Body of Troops to march into the Decan, provided the Soubah pays the Expence during the Time that the said Troops are employed in his Service.

Article 7.

The exalted and illustrious Emperor Shaw Allum having been pleased, out of his great Favour and high Esteem for the Nabob Wolau Jau, to give and grant to him and his eldest Son, Meyen ul Mulck Omdetul Omrah, and their Heirs for ever, the Government of the Carnatic Payen Gaut, and the Countries dependent thereon, by his Royal Firmaund, bearing Date the 26th of August 1765, or the 27th of the Moon Zuphur, in the 6th Year of the said Emperor's Reign, and the Nabob Ausuph Jau, Nizam ul Mulck, &c. having also, out of his Affection and Regard for the said Nabob Wolau Jau, released him, his Son Meyen ul Mulck, &c. and their Heirs in Succession for ever, from all Dependence on the Decan, and given him a full Discharge of all Demands, past, present, and to come;

coma, on the said Carnatic Payen Gaut, by a Saned under his Hand and Seal, dated the 12th of November 1766, in Consideration of the said Nabob Wolau Jau having paid the Soubah Five Lacks of Rupees, it is now agreed and acknowledged by the said Ausuph Jau Nizam ul Mulck, that the said Nabob Wolau Jau, and after him his Son Meyen ul Mulck, and their Heirs in Succession, shall enjoy for ever, as an Ultumgau, or Free Gift, the Government of the Carnatic Payen Gaut, in the fullest and amplest Manner; the said Nabob Ausuph Jau promising and engaging not to hold or keep up any Kind of Correspondence with any Person or Persons in the said Carnatic Payen Gaut, or in the Circars before and now ceded to the English Company, except the said Nabob Wolau Jau, or the said English Company, by the Means of their President and Council of Madras; who on their Part, in Conjunction with the said Nabob Wolau Jau, engage likewise not to hold or maintain any Correspondence with any Person or Persons in the Decan, except the Nabob Ausuph Jau, his Dewan, and the Securities whose Names are hereunto subscribed.

Article 8.

The Nabob Ausuph Jau, out of his great Regard and Affection, and from other Considerations, having been pleased to grant and confer on the Nabob Wolau Jau, and his eldest Son, Mayen ul Mulck Omdetul Omrah, several Saneds, viz.

An Ultumgau Saned for the Whole of the Carnatic.

An Ultumgau Saned for the Whole of the Pergunnah of Imungundela, with the Gudda of Ghunpoora.

An Ultumgau Saned for the Whole of the Villages of Cathasera, &c.

An Ultumgau Saned for the Killedary of the Fort of Cohaur.

An Ultumgau Saned for the Whole of the District of Sonedaupe; and

A full and ample Saned, containing a Discharge for all Demands past, present, and future, on Account of the Carnatic, &c.

It is hereby agreed, That all and every one of these Saneds shall be regarded equally binding with any other Article of the Treaty, and be as duly observed by the Nabob Ausuph Jau, as if entered here at full length.

Article 9.

Hyder Naigue having for some Years past usurped the Government of the Mysore Country, and given great Disturbances to his Neighbours, by attacking and taking from many of them their Possessions, and having also lately invaded, and laid waste with Fire and Sword, the Possessions of the English Company, and the Nabob Wolau Jau, in the Carnatic, it is certainly necessary, for the Peace and for the general Benefit of all the neighbouring Powers, that the said Naigue should be punished, and reduced so that he may not hereafter have the Power to give any Person farther Trouble; to this End, the Nabob Ausuph Jau hereby declares and makes known to all the World, that he regards the said Naigue as a Rebel and Usurper, and as such divests him of, and revokes from him, all Saneds, Honours, and Distinctions, conferred by himself, or any other Soubah of the Decan, because the said Naigue has deceived the Nabob Ausuph Jau, broken his Agreement, and rendered himself unworthy of all further Countenance and Favours.

Article 10.

That the English Company may hereafter carry on their Trade peaceably on this Coast of Coromandel, and also on the Coast of Malabar; and that they, with the Nabob Wolau Jau, may hold the Carnatic and their other Possessions in Peace, it appears necessary that the Countries of Carnatic Balagaute, belonging to the Soubahdarry of Viziapour, now or lately possessed by Hyder Naigue, should be under the Management and Protection of those who will do Justice, and pay Obedience to the high Commands from Court; it is therefore agreed by the Nabob Ausuph Jau, that he shall relinquish to the English Company, all his Right to the Dewannee of the said Carnatic Balagaute, belonging to the Soubahdarry of Viziapour, and that the Company shall present an Arzee or Petition, to the Royal Presence, to obtain from the Emperor Shaw Allum, a Firmaund, confirming and approving their Right thereto; but that the Nabob Ausuph Jau, as Soubah of Decan, may not lose his Dignity, or the Revenue arising from the said Countries, the English Company agree to pay him annually, out of the Dewannee Collection, from the Time they are in Possession thereof, the Sum of Seven Lacks of Arcot Rupees, including Durbar Charges, being the Sum annually paid heretofore, in Two equal Payments, at the Space of Six Months from each other; provided the said Ausuph Jau, Soubah of the Decan, assists the said Company,

Company, and the Nabob Wolau Jau, in punishing Hyder Naigue, and neither receives from or sends either Vackeels or Letters to him.

Article 11.

As the English Company do not intend to deprive the Marattas of their Choute, any more than the Soubah of his Pisteush, which used to be paid from the Carnatic Balagaut belonging to the Soubahdarry of Viziapour, now or lately possessed by Hyder Naigue, it is hereby agreed, and the Company willingly promise, to pay the Marattas, regularly and annually, without Trouble, for the whole Choute, as settled in former Times, from the Time the said Countries shall be under the Company's Protection as Dewan, provided however that the Marattas guarantee to the Company the peaceable Possession of the said Dewannee To this End, the Nabob Ausuph Jau promises to use his best Endeavours, jointly with the English and the Nabob Wolau Jau, to settle with the Marattas concerning the Choute of the said Countries, how and where it is to be paid, so that there may be no Disturbances hereafter on that Account, between any of the contracting Parties or the Marattas.

Article 12.

All the foregoing Articles are sincerely agreed to by the subscribing Parties, who resolve faithfully to execute and abide by the same, so that a firm and lasting Friendship may mutually subsist between them, and while such an Alliance subsists, what Power will dare to disturb the Possessions of either Party. The English Company, and the Nabob Wolau Jau, will endeavour, on all Occasions, to shew their Friendship and Attachment to the Nabob Ausuph Jau, Nizam ul Mulck, as Soubah of the Decan, and look on the Support of that Government as the Support of their own; in short, there will be no Manner of Difference in Interest between them.

In Witness and Confirmation of all the above Articles, and every Part of the aforegoing Treaty, we whose Names are underwritten, have interchangeably subscribed to and sealed Three Instruments of the Tenor and Date, viz. The President and Council of Fort Saint George, on the Behalf of the English East-India Company at that Place, this 26th Day of February, in the Year of the Christian Æra 1768; the Nabob Ausuph Jau, Soubah of the Decan, at his Camp near Pillere, on the 22d Day of the Moon Shevaul, in the Year of Hegyra 1181, and the Nabob Wolau Jau, for himself, at Fort Saint George the 7th Day of the Moon Chevaul, in the 1181st Year of the Hegyra.

Charles Bourchier,
Samuel Ardley,
John Call,
George Stratton,
George Dawson,
James Bourchier,
George Mackay.



N. B. The Names of the contracting Parties were transferred in the Parts kept by each of them, and each took the Precedence by Turn.

The above contracting Parties, to wit, the President and Council of Fort Saint George, on Behalf of the English East-India Company, the great Nabob, high in Station, Ausuph Jau, Soubah of the Decan, and the Nabob Wolau Jau, Soubah of Mahomed Poor, having duly considered, and voluntarily entered into the above Articles, which they have respectively Signed and Sealed, in our Presence, we whose Names are hereunto subscribed,

 do

do solemnly promise and engage, under our Hands and Seal, that we will guarantee to the said English Company, and the Nabob Wolau Jau, the due and just Observance of the above Treaty on the Part of the Nabob Ausuph Jau.

I take God to Witness, that of my own Free Will I am Security.

The Seal of
Ruccun ud
Dowla.

I swear by Vencatash and Bali Behauder, that of my own Free Will and Consent I am Security.

The Seal of
Rum Chunder
Rauze.

I swear by Sactasha and Bail Behauder, that I am truly and sincerely Security.

The Seal of
Beer
Behauder.

I swear by Uncatash and Bail Behauder, that of my own Free Will and Consent I, Dundaveram, Vackeel to Mahaudiwarow, Pundit Prudane, am Security on the Part of the said Mahaudayarow.

The Seal
of
Dundaveram.

N. B. The foregoing Guarantee Agreement was signed and executed by the Guarantees subscribing the same, and annexed to the Parts of the Treaty delivered to the Company and the Nabob and to the Part delivered to Nizam Ally Cawn, the following Guarantee or Agreement was fixed, viz.

The above contracting Parties, to wit, the great Nabob, high in Station, Ausuph Jau, Soubah of the Decan, the Nabob Wolau Jau, of Mahomed Poor, and the President and Council of Fort Saint George, on Behalf of the English East-India Company, having duly considered, and voluntarily entered into the above Articles, which the President and Council,

Council, on Behalf of the said English East-India Company, have signed and sealed in my Presence, I the said Nabob Wolau Jau, whose Name is hereunto subscribed, do solemnly promise and engage, under my Hand and Seal, that I will guarantee to the said Nabob Ausuph Jau, the due and just Observance of the above Treaty, on the Part of the said English Company.



And we, the said President and Council of Fort Saint George, on Behalf of the said English East India Company, do solemnly promise and engage, under our Hands, that we will guarantee to the said Nabob Ausuph Jau, the due and just Observance of the above Treaty, on the Part of the said Nabob Wolau Jau.

Charles Bourchier,
Samuel Ardley,
John Call,
George Stratton,
George Dawson,
James Bouchier,
George Mackay.

APPENDIX, N° 11.

Extract of the General Letter from Fort Saint George, dated the 8th of March 1769.

Par. 50. LEAST your Honours should not clearly understand the Distinction between Zemindaries and Government Lands, we beg Leave to inform you, that the Zemindaries are Lands held by certain Rajahs or Chiefs, as their hereditary Estates, paying a certain Tribute to the Government, and being subject to Suit and Service, in Manner very similar to the ancient Feudal Tenures. The Tributes ought to be certain and invariable, though that has not always been strictly observed, and Changes in Government have also introduced Changes in the Tributes, which indeed is of no great Consequence, for, besides these fixed Tributes (supposing they were so) the Supreme Government has always demanded (and Custom has given Sanction and Title to) a further Sum, as a Nazar or Free Gift, and these Two Sums, the Tribute and Nazar, are what we mean when we speak of settling the Jumabundy with the Zemindars. Besides these Zemindaries or hereditary Estates, there are certain Lands (more in Chicacole than any other of the Circars) which are called Havely or Government Lands, and are the Property of the State or Lord Paramount, such are your Jaqueer, &c. Lands in the Carnatic, and these are the Lands which we propose to let out, even should we by Way of Trial endeavour to settle ourselves the Jumabundy with the Zemindars for their Lands.

APPENDIX, N° 12.

Extract of the Proceedings of the President and Council at Fort Saint George, in their Revenue Department, the 11th January 1777.

Extract of Letter from the President and Council at Fort Saint George to the Chief and Council of Mazulipatam, dated 11th January 1777.

WE desire you will state the following Questions to some of the principal Zemindars dependent on your Settlement, and obtain their Answers in Writing for our Information.

1st. In what Manner ought Zemindaries to descend by the Laws and Customs of the Country?

2d. If a Zemindar dies, leaving no Children, but Male Cousins of different Degrees, and also Sisters, in what Manner ought the Zemindary to be disposed of?

3d. Supposing there to be Children of Daughters of Sisters, or of Aunts, as well as Male Cousins, how ought the Estate to be disposed of?

Extract of the Proceedings of the President and Council at Fort Saint George in their Revenue Department, the 23d May 1777.

Read the following Letter from Masulipatam, with the several Papers enclosed.

To the honourable George Stratton, Esquire, President and Governor, &c. Council of Fort Saint George.

Honourable Sir and Sirs,

Conformable to your Commands, we have the Honour to transmit to you, Translates of the Opinions of Four of the principal Zemindars in these Circars, on the Questions you directed us to put to them, respecting the Rights of Succession in Zemindary Lands.

As we conceived it would be acceptable to your Honour, &c. to receive, at one Point of View, the fullest Information we could obtain on the Subject, we have necessarily deferred the sending you any, until all their respective Opinions could be collected.

We are, with great Respect,
Honourable Sir and Sirs,
Your most obedient humble Servants,
Charles Floyer,
Charles Desvoeux.
James Hodges,
Alex. Pringle.

Masulipatam,
9th May 1777.

The Replies of Row Vencitterow, Sirdar of Rajamundry Circar, to the Queries referred to him, concerning the Laws and Customs in Matters of Succession, of his Cast and Country.

1st. That a Zemindar who has several Sons may during his Life-time name One of them to succeed him in the Management of his Country, which Son shall, at his Father's Death, succeed accordingly to the Management; but then his Brothers shall have a Right to share in the Profit arising from the Country.---Should the Father during his Life-time not have appointed any one of his Sons to succeed him, or should the Son so appointed die, the Mother shall have a Right to give the Power to whichever Son she shall please; but the other Brothers have a Right to share in the Profits.

2d. If a Zemindar dies without Sons, or Brother's Sons, or Uncle's Sons, then, after the Death of the Wife, the Zemindary is to go to the distant Male Cousins, and not to the Sisters.

3d.

3. If a Zemindar dies without Sons, and he has Cousins of the Male Line, and also Aunts, and Sisters, and Daughters Sons, then his Wife has a Right to appoint whichever of the Male Cousins she chooses to succeed, but he must take Care of, and support the Relations of the Female Line.

The Replies of Rajah Culdindy Tripettirauze, Zemindar of Mogultore, to the Queries referred to him, concerning the Laws and Customs in Matters of Succession of his Cast and Country.

After the Death of a Zemindar, his Son is to inherit his Country. If he has no Sons, and his Brothers have divided into Shares, he may adopt any one of his Nephews or Cousins, which Nephew or Cousin so adopted, shall have a Right to succeed to the Zemindary. If he has not adopted any Son, and has either Brother or Brother's Son, they are to succeed. If he has neither Brothers nor Nephews, then his Father's Brothers, or their Sons, are to succeed. If a Zemindar dies without having any of the above-mentioned Relations, or any Cousins of the Male Line, and if he has a Daughter, and at her Wedding he publickly declares, that on her having a Son he will adopt him, and fix him in the Right of his Muras, then, according to the Gentoo Laws, such Daughter's Son being adopted, shall succeed to the Zemindary; but in case there should be no Daughter's Son so adopted, then any distant Relation of the Male Line may succeed; but even if there are no such Relations, neither his Daughter's Husband's Family, his Sister's Son, his Father's Sister's Son, nor any of the Female Line, cannot inherit the Zemindary. This is what I think.

The Replies of Rajah Opporow, Zemindar of Noozeed, to the Three Queries referred to him, concerning the Laws and Customs in Matters of Succession of his Cast and Country.

1st. If a Zemindar leaves several Sons, the Eldest is to have a large Share, separately for himself, the rest is to remain equally with the other Sons.

2d. If a Zemindar dies without Sons, and has Male Cousins and Sisters, then, I think, that if the Wife of the Zemindar be also dead without Sons, that the Male Cousins should succeed.

3d. If a Zemindar dies without Sons, then his Wife may choose any of his Male Line Cousins, and appoint him to the Zemindary, but if the Zemindar, in his Life-time, appointed any Allowance for the Maintenance of his Daughters, or Sisters, or Aunts, then the Person who succeeds, is to take Care and give them such Allowance.

The Replies of Rajah Vochovoy Jaggapetyrauze, Zemindar of Peddapore, to the Queries referred to him, concerning the Laws and Customs in Matters of Succession of his Cast and Country.

1st. If a Zemindar has a Son, then the Son is to be the Heir of the Father.

2d. If his Zemindar has no Sons, or has Brother's Sons, or Uncle's Sons, which ever of them he, or (after his Decease) his Wife, shall impower, that Person shall succeed to the Zemindary.

3d. If a Zemindar dies without appointing any body to succeed him, then the nearest Male Cousin shall succeed; but not the Generation of his Father's Sister, his own Sister, or his Daughter.

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APPENDIX, N° 13.

Extract of General Letter from the Court of Directors to the President and Council at Fort Saint George, dated 25th March 1768.

Par. 109. HAVING taken under our Consideration, the State of the Company's Servants upon the Fort Saint George Establishment, and being sensible that they will be considerably affected in Point of Trade, by the great and necessary Demands for extending the Company's Investments; considering also the great Increase of Business in which our principal Servants are engaged, and which requires their utmost Care and Attention, we are come to a Resolution to allow them a reasonable Encouragement, to exert themselves with Zeal and Alacrity in their several Departments; but which, however, they are to look upon as a Free Gift from the Hand of their Employers, offered to them annually, so long as their Behaviour shall continue to merit the same, and the Revenues of the Country shall admit of such a Gratification; we therefore hereby order and direct, that in order to constitute a Fund for the said Purpose, you do set apart a Sum not exceeding 60,000 current Pagodas yearly, out of the Produce of the Company's territorial Revenues, to be distributed among the Company's civil and military Servants, which said Sum is to be divided into 100 Parts or Shares, and proportioned out in the following Manner, viz.

For the Governor, 21 Shares.

For the Second in Council, Five Shares and an Half.

For the rest of the Council, not having Chiefships, Two Shares and an Half each.

For it is our Meaning and Directions, that the Chiefs of Masulipatam, Vizagapatam, and Ingeram, are not to have any Proportion of the said Shares.

110. You are to observe, that the Shares allotted to the Governor, as abovementioned, are in Addition to his present Salary of Three thousand Pounds a Year, and his Perquisites arising from Coinage, and Consulage on Coral and Diamonds. The Shares for the other civil Servants are to be in Addition to their present Appointments of Salary, Diet Money, and the Posts they may respectively hold, excepting the Chiefships as before excepted.

111. Having likewise taken into Consideration the present stated Allowance to the Company's junior Servants, and finding them to be inadequate to their Support and Maintenance, we do hereby order and direct that the following Additions be made thereto, by Way of Gratuity, to all such of them who do not enjoy any Posts of Profit, viz.

To a Factor, Five Pounds a Year.

To a Writer, Ten Pounds a Year.

These last Gratuities are to be paid out of the Company's Cash, and not out of the said Fund of 60,000 current Pagodas a Year.

112. We further direct, that all the before-mentioned Allowances, as well out of the Fund, as of the Company's Cash, do commence upon your Receipt of these Advices.

Extract of separate General Letter from the Court of Directors to the President and Council, at Fort Saint George, dated 25th March 1768.

Par. 80. Being satisfied how much our Trade and Possessions may be affected by the good Services of the Company's military Officers, the better therefore to encourage them to exert their Endeavours in the Preservation of these great Objects, we have thought proper to allow them also to partake of the Fund mentioned in our General Letter of this Date, of 60,000 Pagodas a Year, by Way of Gratuity, over and above their established Pay and Allowances, and on the same Conditions as our civil Servants; in the following Proportions, that is to say,

The Commander in Chief is to have, as such only, he not being to have any Proportion as a Counsellor, if he should at any Time hereafter be admitted of Council, Eleven Shares.

The

The Colonels, each, Four Shares.

The Lieutenant Colonels, each, Two Shares and a Half.

The Majors, each, One Share and a Quarter.

81. The ample Provision here assigned to the Commander in Chief, assures him of an honourable Competency, and we expect Colonel Joseph Smith, and his Successors in the Command, will have a constant and zealous Attention to their Duty, by keeping up a regular Discipline among the Troops, and in preventing, by good Oeconomy, all Frauds and Abuses in the Expences of the Army.

82. The Appointments to the rest of the Field Officers are such as put our Servants on a more advantageous Footing than in any other military Service whatsoever, and gives them a Prospect of improving their Fortunes by a gradual, but certain Progression.

83. After the Distribution to our civil, as directed in our said General Letter, and the above to our military Servants, there will remain a considerable Sum of the said Fund unappropriated, in order, therefore to encourage the rest of the Company's military Off[illegible] [illegible] [di]rect, that they also be granted, by Way of Donation or Gratuity, over and above their usual Pay and Allowances, viz.

A Captain, Three Shillings a Day.

A Lieutenant, Two Shillings a Day.

Ensigns and Lieutenants, Firework[er]s, One Shilling a Day each.

84. In case it shall happen, that the Amount of the unappropriated Shares should not be sufficient to [an]swer the said last-mentioned Gratuities, we direct, that the Deficiency [be] made good out of the Company's Cash, on the contrary, if there shall happen to be a Surplus, the same is to be carried to the Company's Credit, under the Head of Unappropriated Fund, until you shall receive further Orders from us concerning the Disposition of it. But we must [illegible] observe to you, and accordingly direct, that neither a Colonel, Lieutenant Colonel, or Major, is to be allowed the Three Shillings a Day as Captain of a C[ompany].

We further direct, that all the before-mentioned Allowances, as well out of the F[und as] the Company's Cash, do commence upon your Receipt of these Advices, in like M[an]ner as ordered with Respect to our civil Servants.

APPENDIX, N° 14.

Extract of the Company's General Letter to Fort St. George—23d March 1770.

47. FROM the Variation to which the State of your Revenues is at all Times subject, and the more to animate your Care, and excite your Attention to the Security and Improvement of them, we have thought fit to regulate our Bounty to the Principal of our Civil and Military Servants on your Establishment, in Proportion to the Advantages the Company shall receive from the Revenue of your Presidency. And we accordingly do hereby order and direct, that from the Receipt of these Dispatches, a Commission of Five per Cent. be drawn by you, on the Amount of the Nett Territorial Revenues of Fort Saint George and its Subordinates, as a Fund to be appropriated for the Benefit of our Civil and Military Servants, instead of the specific Sum Pag. 60,000, directed in our General and Separate Letters of the 25th March 1768.

48. And as we have thought it necessary, for the greater Security of the Company's Possessions, and the better Discipline of their Forces, to augment the Number of Field Officers on your Establishment, it is become expedient for us to make a new and certain Disposition of the Shares to be divided amongst our principal Civil and Military Servants; we therefore hereby direct, that from the Amount of a Commission of Five per Cent. on your Nett Territorial Revenues, as before mentioned, one Twenty-fourth Part be first

drawn, and paid as a separate Share to Major General Coote, Commander in Chief of all the Company's Forces in India, and that after such Deduction, the Residue of the said Commission be divided into 100 Parts or Shares; which Parts or Shares are to be appropriated in the following Manner, viz.

To the Governor 21 Shares.

Second of Council 5½.

Rest of the Council (not having a Chiefship) as far as the Establishment of 12 Members of Council, each 2½.

First Colonel, Brig. General Joseph Smith, as 1st Colonel, 11.

The other Colonels 8 Shares, to be divided in equal Proportions amongst them.

The Lieut. Colonels 12½ Shares, to be divided in equal Proportions.

The Majors 6½ Shares, to be equally divided amongst them.

49. By the Rest of the Council above-mentioned, besides the Governor and Second, we mean only the Members of the Council next in Rotation to them, and who are not Chiefs of Masulipatam, Vizagapatam, or Ingeram, for it is our positive Orders, that neither of those Chiefs, nor any of the junior Members of the Council, exceeding the Establishment of Twelve, do receive any Advantage from the said Shares, nor must those Proportions of this Fund, which we have allowed to Major General Coote or Brigadier General Smith, be continued to any Persons who may be appointed to succeed them, without our express Leave.

50. And you are to take Notice, that the Whole of the unappropriated Shares, together with what may be added thereto, by the Decease or Resignation of Major General Coote, or Brigadier General Smith, be applied as directed in 64th Paragraph of our Separate Letter of 25th March 1768.

APPENDIX, N° 15.

Extract of General Letter to Fort Saint George, of 11th June 1777.

Par. 16. AS it appears by the Advices already received, that much of the present Confusion has arisen from the private Engagements of our Servants, and their Concerns, Dealings, and Transactions, on their own separate Account, with the Princes and Natives of the Country, we hereby order, that no Governor and President of our Council at Fort Saint George at Madras, after our present Governor and President George Lord Pigot, nor any of the Council of our said Presidency, except as hereafter is mentioned, shall, directly or indirectly, by themselves, or by any other Person or Persons for his or their Use, or on his or their Behalf, carry on or be concerned in, or have any Dealings or Transactions by Way of Traffick or Commerce, in Money or in Goods of any Kind whatsoever, for his or their Use, Benefit, Profit, or Advantage, or for the Benefit or Advantage of any other Person or Persons whomsoever, the Trade and Commerce of the Company only excepted.

Par. 17. And it is our further Order, that in case any Person or Persons who shall have carried on any Trade, or have been concerned in the buying or selling any Goods, Wares, or Merchandize, or other Commodities whatsoever, by Way of Traffick or Trade, or shall have been any Way concerned in Money Transactions as aforesaid, shall be appointed to be Governor and President, or to be of the Council of the said Settlement, or shall hereafter succeed to any of the said Offices respectively, every such Person or Persons shall be permitted to collect in his or their outstanding Debts, and to sell and dispose of the Goods, Wares, Merchandize, Effects, and Stock in Trade, of which such Person or Persons shall severally be possessed at the Time when such Prohibition shall, with respect to him or them, take Place; so as each such Person or Persons who is, are, or shall be

so restrained, shall, and each and every of them respectively do, deliver to the President and Council of Fort Saint George, at Madras, for the Time being, within Thirty Days from the Time when such Restrictions and Prohibition shall take Place as aforesaid, a full and just Specification, upon Oath, of the Debts due to such Person or Persons, and so to be collected, and of the Goods, Wares, Merchandize, Effects, and Stock in Trade of which he or they shall be at that Time so respectively possessed, and so as such Person or Persons shall and do sell and dispose of such Goods, Wares, Merchandizes, Effects, and Stock in Trade, within the Space of Nine Months after such Restriction and Prohibition as aforesaid, shall commence and take Place; and so as no new Trade, or Concerns in Commerce or Merchandize, or in Money Transactions, be entered into, contracted for, or carried on by such Person or Persons.

Par. 18. It is our further Order, that no Company's Servant, or any Person under the Company's Protection, be permitted to lend Money to any of the Country Powers in India, nor to any Person or Persons holding Commissions under, or employed by them, directly or indirectly, to be repaid at a future Time, on Mortgages, or Securities in the Nature of Mortgages, upon Lands, or from the Produce or any growing Revenue of the Country; and in case any of the Company's Servants are now concerned in any such Loans as aforesaid, such Servant or Servants shall draw up a specific and particular Account current of the whole Transaction from the Beginning, setting forth how such Loan or Loans is or are secured, to be delivered to our President and Council within Thirty Days after the Regulation shall be made known, and before such Person or Persons shall proceed to recover such Money; and afterwards they shall and may proceed to recover the same, as they shall think fit.

19. And for more effectually preventing such Loans, we hereby direct, that you inform all the Country Powers with whom such Transactions may be likely to take Place, of this Regulation, and request them not to have or permit any Dealings of the Nature above-mentioned, with any of the Company's Servants, or with Persons under the Company's Protection.

20. In Consideration of the expected Services of our Governor and President, and of our Council of Fort Saint George, and of the Restrictions and Prohibitions to which they are subjected by the preceding Regulations, we direct, that every Governor and President of Fort Saint George aforesaid, after Lord Pigot, be allowed and paid the certain and established Salary of 40,000 Pagodas by the Year, and each of the Council for the Time being, as hereafter is mentioned, 16,000 Pagodas by the Year, such Salary to any Person who shall have a military Command, to be in full of all Pay and Allowances as a military Commander, except such Field Allowances as the Court of Directors shall think fit to make to him, whilst employed on Service in the Field. And we direct, that the above-mentioned Salaries be paid to each Person out of the Revenues arising and accruing from our territorial Possessions within and under the Management of the said Presidency; and that such Salaries shall commence and take Place, in respect to the said Thomas Rumbold, John Whitehill, and Hector Munro, and to all such other Persons as shall be resident in Great Britain at the Time of their Appointment, upon and from the Day on which such Persons shall embark for India, and in respect to all those who are or shall be resident in India at the Time of their Appointment, upon and from the Day of their taking upon them the Execution of their Offices. And we direct that all such Salaries to such Governor and President, and Council, shall be in lieu of all Fees of Office, Perquisites, Emoluments, and Advantages whatsoever; and that no Fees of Office, Perquisites, Emoluments, or Advantages whatsoever, shall be accepted, received, or taken, by such Governor and President, and Council, or any of them, in any Manner, or on any Account or Pretence whatsoever, other than such Salaries and Allowances as are herein before directed to be paid to them respectively; except as before mentioned, respecting Field Allowances to a military Commander, and likewise except that the Governor and President shall continue to have the Advantage of residing in the Fort House, together with the Use of the Company's Plate and Furniture, and shall likewise be allowed to take such Commission on Coral as hath usually been allowed to be taken by the Governor of the said Presidency.

21. To prevent any Misunderstanding of the foregoing Regulation, for Payment of certain Salaries to our Governor and Council, in lieu of Trade, or other Advantages, we think it proper to say, that we do not mean the Regulation shall take Place in respect to Lord Pigot, but that his Lordship, during his Continuance in the Government, shall

enjoy the same Salary, and other Advantages, as he was entitled to under his former Commission; nor do we mean it to extend to the said Alexander Davidson, John Hollond, and James Daniel, but as they are only named as occasional Members, as before is mentioned, and their Continuance in their Office as Members of Council will be very short, they are to be allowed to trade in the same Manner as Persons of the Council might have done before the said restrictive Regulation, and as they are to be allowed to trade, they are to be paid such Salary, and have such Allowance only, as were paid and given to Members of Council before the said Regulations took Place.

APPENDIX, N° 16.

Extract of General Letter to Fort Saint George, dated the 11th of January 1781.

Par. 3. IN Consideration of the expected Services of Lord Macartney, our present Governor of Fort Saint George, and of his Lordship being totally restricted by his Covenants, from being concerned, directly or indirectly, in any Dealings, Transactions, or Commerce, in Money, or in Goods of any Kind whatsoever, for his Use, Benefit, Profit, or Advantage, or for the Benefit or Advantage of any other Person or Persons whatever, the Trade and Commerce of the Company excepted, we have agreed, and hereby direct, that Lord Macartney be allowed and paid the certain and established Salary of 40,000 Pagodas by the Year, to commence upon, and be computed from, the Day of his Lordship's Arrival at Fort Saint George.

4. We hereby revoke the Orders given in the 20th Paragraph of the Court's Letter of the 11th of June 1777, respecting the Salary of 16,000 Pagodas per Annum to each of the Members of Council at Fort Saint George.

5. It is our Order, that the Salary and Allowances to be paid to all the Members of Council below the Governor, be the same as were paid and allowed to the Members of our Council at Fort Saint George, before the Establishment of the temporary Government of the 11th of June 1777, the present Commander in Chief of our Forces excepted, in whose Salary we for the present make no Alteration.

6. It is our Pleasure, that Lord Macartney be allowed to take such Commission on Coral as has usually been taken by the Governor of Fort Saint George.

7. It is our further Pleasure, that all the Members of Council, below the President, be allowed to trade in the same Manner as Members of Council might lawfully have done, before the restrictive Regulation in the Court's before-mentioned Letter took Place. They must also fill such Places of Trust and Emolument as hath been usual at the Presidency, and likewise succeed to or be appointed to Chiefships of subordinate Factories, when such Chiefships shall not be filled by special Appointments made by the Court of Directors.

APPENDIX, N° 17.

Extract of General Letter from Fort Saint George to the Court of Directors, dated the 27th of October 1778.

Par. 6. IT appears from the System hitherto pursued in the Management of the Circars, that the Zemindars have been unnecessarily incumbered with heavy Debts, accumulating and pressing upon them with such encreasing Weight, from Year to Year, that they are at length become almost insupportable, and few of the Zemindars, except those whose paternal Inheritance was too considerable to be wasted, are in Circumstances of Responsibility to answer even their former Engagements to the Company. Various Causes may have contributed to produce that Effect; but One alone, which we shall mention, is, of itself, sufficient to account for it. The Practice hitherto observed in settling with the Zemindars of the Masulipatam District, to whom we principally allude, has been, to receive in Advance from them, at the Time of settling, Two Thirds of the Annual Amount of their Jemmabundy, and to follow the same Rule in the Beginning of every Year. The Zemindars, unable to make such Advances from the Produce of their Revenues, which could not be realized till some Months after, having been obliged, at every Time, to take up from the Soucars, or any other who would lend them considerable Sums of Money, at the exorbitant Interest of Two and Three per Cent. per Month, giving Assignments on the Harvest, by way of Security for Repayment. This Mode, so destructive to their own Fortunes, and ultimately to the Interest of the Company, might have been easily avoided, only by fixing upon the Periods for receiving the different Kists of the Year, so as to give Time to the Zemindar to realize the Produce of his Grain, and relieve him thereby from the Necessity of borrowing. However simple this Remedy may appear, the Evil has been suffered to continue so long, that it is become almost too late to apply it. The Zemindars, with Countries for the most Part ruined or impoverished, have exhausted all their Credit with the Soucars, and are now fallen into Arrears, which cannot, together with the growing Jemmabundy, be discharged, but by a long Course of prudent Management, under every indulgent Consideration that can be shewn them by the Company.

Par. 7. Another Cause, which has operated in no small Degree to the Distress of the Zemindars, arises from the short Term of the Settlements with them, which have been formed for One, Two, and never more than Three Years at a Time. When the Leases are so confined, it can never be expected that the Zemindar will attend to the Improvement of his Lands; on the contrary, extending his Views no further than the Term of his Lease, all his Endeavours will be employed to benefit himself to the utmost, without regarding the Consequences which may fall upon the Revenue at a future Time. This Conduct is natural enough, and we cannot blame it, if we consider how unsettled the Ideas of these People must be concerning the State of their Property, after it has passed through such various Changes, and the Sovereignty so often transferred from the Soubah of the Decan to the French, then back to the Soubah again, and lastly to the English, all in the Course of a few Years.

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APPENDIX, N° 18.

Extract of the General Letter from Fort Saint George to the Court of Directors, dated the 20th of July 1771.

Par. 41. THE Cowles for the Enaum called Jaghire Lands, and for Ponamalee, expired at the same Time: And we had great Hopes, that in consequence of our repeated Representations, we should have been furnished with your clear Directions for the future Disposal of those Lands, but, notwithstanding our first Application on this Subject was so long ago as the 27th of June 1769, by the Thames, we have not, to this Hour, the most distant Hint of your Sentiments, and we did not dare to be guided by our own Judgment, in a Point so truly critical. The Inconveniencies of continuing them under the Nabob, the Oppressions which have been exercised in them, have been clearly stated to you, and to us it is beyond a Doubt, that the Advantages that might be reaped from such Territorial Possessions, will never be obtained, so long as the Nabob has any thing to do with them, but these Reasons were not sufficient to deprive him of them, when through the Whole of your Orders last Year, it is evident, that you inclined to favour him, and to discredit the Representations of your Servants. These Circumstances considered, we would not venture on such a Step, however necessary, without your Orders; and not having them, the only Method was to temporize. The Nabob applied to us to have the Management of the Jaghire in future. We returned, through our President, that we willingly acquiesced to their Continuance under him for One Year longer; by which Time your further and full Sentiments relative to the Jaghire would certainly be known.

42. As this Letter will probably reach you in Time for us to be furnished with your Orders in Consequence, by the Ships of next Year, should your Honours not have finally determined on this Subject before the Receipt of it, we beg you will be pleased to consider all that we have represented on the Subject. We believe it may be summed up in these few Words: That the Inhabitants undergo continual Oppressions: That the Lands, though capable of great Improvement, experience none: That the great Reservoirs by which the Lands are supplied with Water, are yearly falling into Decay: That almost all the Weavers that manufacture the Madras Investment, reside within the Bounds of the Jaghire, and more might be induced to come, had they proper Encouragement, which it is not in our Power to give: That we have as little Influence in these Lands as in those the immediate Property of the Nabob, and that, except the mere Rent, no one Benefit is derived from them. We know not what they are capable of producing; and in case we should have Occasion for their Produce, we have no more Reason to expect it, than from the Nabob's Country. Such are, in brief, the Inconveniences; and it remains with you to determine, whether they shall be submitted to, or whether an Attempt shall be made to render these Lands more beneficial.

Extract of General Letter from Fort Saint George to the Court of Directors, dated 14th October 1775.

Par. 41. It is not in our Power at present to enter on the Subject of the Inaum Lands, as the Survey and Accounts of the Lands collected by Mr. Barnard are not all translated and copied fair; but from the Examinations which have been made, we cannot help forming an Opinion, that they are in a most wretched State; and we see the absolute Necessity of your adopting some other Plan. That we might omit no Opportunity of providing, as far as we are able, for their Improvement, and for the Relief of the People residing in them, we took Occasion to point out and recommend to the Nabob, such Measures as appeared to us necessary for these Purposes; and though we can hardly flatter ourselves, that what we have said to him, will produce any favourable Change in the Management of the Country, it is some Satisfaction to us, when we reflect, that nothing has been wanting on our Part, to make it beneficial, and to free the People from those Oppressions to which they have been so long exposed. We shall send Copies of the Survey, and of all Mr. Barnard's Accounts, as soon as they can be fairly transcribed.

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APPENDIX, N° 19.

Extract of a Letter from Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote, to the Committee of Correspondence; dated Fort Saint George, 30th November 1780.

BOTH the Army and Inhabitants are maintained chiefly by Supplies from Bengal, and upon which, I am sorry to observe, they must principally depend for their future Support. A Circumstance, than which we can have no more convincing Proof of the bad Policy, in renting the Company's Lands under this Presidency, to the Nabob, and of thereby rendering ourselves so intirely dependent upon him for every kind of Supplies; and which, by keeping them in our own Hands, we might ourselves command. It is a System which, from the present Experience of its bad Effects, I am induced to recommend to your serious Consideration for Remedy.

APPENDIX, N° 20.

Extract of the Proceedings of the President and Select Committee at Fort Saint George, the 19th June 1780.

READ Letter from the Nabob.

From the Nabob to the Governor; dated 15th June, received 17th Ditto.

Colonel Capper has my Bond for the Sum of Twenty-five thousand Eight hundred and Eighty Star Pagodas and a Half (25,880½), this is not due for Six Months to come; yet, as Colonel Capper has represented to me the Difficulties he is put to, by the Demands of his Creditors, it is my Desire to pay the above-mentioned Sum into the Company's Treasury (provided the Country is in Peace) along with the Kists for current Charges, ending the 30th June 1781. You will be kind enough to satisfy Colonel Capper regarding the Discharge of this Money.

What shall I say more?

The President is requested to desire the Nabob to explain the Nature of his Debt to Colonel Capper.

Extract of the Proceedings of the President and Select Committee at Fort Saint George, 26th June 1780.

The President delivers in the following Minute.

The President acquaints the Committee, that having, at their Recommendation, applied to the Nabob for an Explanation of the Ground of his Letter, concerning an Account now subsisting between his Highness and Colonel James Capper, he has, in Consequence, been requested by the Nabob to inform the Committee, That the Balance due from him to Colonel Capper, amounting, as per his Bond, to Pagodas 25,880½, exclusive of Interest upon it, consisted principally of Disbursements which the Colonel had made in England, upon

upon His Highness's Account, when he last went Home with Dispatches from this Presidency: That the Colonel, soon after his Return to this Country, settled Accounts with the Nabob, taking the said Bond from him as an Acquittance of his Demand That the Bond will not become due till the Month of December next, but that the Colonel having present Occasion for this Money, to enable him to make good a Sum which he owes Sir Robert Barker in England, and which Sir Robert had ordered his Attornies here to deposit in the Company's Treasury, until good Opportunities of remitting could be procured, had solicited the Nabob to assist him in this Emergency, so that he might be authorized to tell Sir Robert's Attornies, who were constantly importuning him for Payment of his Debt, that so much had, through his Means, been safely lodged in the Company's Funds, agreeably to Sir Robert's Directions, and that the same would be forth-coming whenever they (his Attornies) should have Occasion to draw for it, in order to remit it by such Conveyances as Sir Robert had pointed out.

That the Nabob being inclined to do all in his Power towards relieving Colonel Capper from his present Embarrassment, had promised the Colonel that he would request this Government, to pass the Company's Receipt to Colonel Capper, for the Amount of his Highness's Bond to him, as so much paid into the Company's Cash, on Account of [illegible] Sir Robert Barker, he (the Nabob) meaning that the same should be included in the Kists which are now settling to be paid by his Highness, in the Course of the Year ending 30th April 1781.

That by this Transaction the Nabob's benevolent Intentions towards Colonel Capper would be fulfilled, the Company, in all Probability, so far from becoming Losers by this Interference, would enjoy the full Use of the Money in Question for a considerable [illegible] of Time without Interest, by the Nabob's making good the Payment of it, [illegible] Robert's Attornies could meet with suitable Occasions of Remittance.

Upon a Review of the above recited Particulars, which the President [illegible] to the Consideration of the Committee, the President is of Opinion, that the Request of the Nabob should be complied with, as there does not appear in it any thing unreasonable, or in any Shape inconsistent with the Interest of the Company, [illegible] to treat, with the most favourable Attention, every Matter that is stated, in which his Highness's Wishes are immediately concerned.

As the Nabob seems very anxious that the Committee should [illegible] Colonel Capper, in regard to the Debt due to him, it is agreed to oblige the Nabob in this Instance, by granting Colonel Capper a Bond for the Money, but it is recommended [illegible] to make such a Settlement with the Nabob, that the Company may sustain no Loss or Risque by this Transaction.

Extract of Letter from the President and Select Committee of Fort Saint George, to the Court of Directors, dated 9th January 1780.

Par. 97. Shortly upon the Departure of Sir Thomas Rumbold, we were solicited by the Nabob to assist him with a small Loan [illegible] in discharging a Demand made upon him by Colonel James Capper. As the Nabob appeared very anxious that this Debt should be cleared off, and [illegible] that the Company should neither sustain [illegible] nor Risk by this Transaction, we acquiesced in the Proposition made to us by his Highness, and accordingly granted Colonel Capper a Bond for the Amount, as is particularly set forth in our Proceedings of the Day referred to in the Margin.

Committee, 26th June 1780.

APPEN-

APPENDIX, N° 21.

Extract of Governor Rumbold's Minute.

Fort St. George Sel. Cons. 21 Nov. 1778. Fol. 615.

MR P P trie, when he was called before the Board, before the ... of Pondicherry, promised to deliver me a State of the Tanjore Revenue for some Years past, which he had obtained from good Authority. That Statement he has delivered to me, and I ... lay it before the Committee, they will see from it how the R...n have been reduced.

A particular Account of the Tanjore Country. Fol 620.

... I was the First Man who took Possession of the Fort and Country of ... The Event happened on the ...th Day of February 1675, ... Sam Vacka am Magah Sudh September.

... in the Bo... which are kept in the Palace, that there were 5,753 Villages, ... Villages were divided into the five following Soubahs or Districts:

Soubah Tr...,
Soubah Comb...am,
Soubah Munjaveram,
Soubah Mannargoody,
Soubah Patte...ah and Vallamput.

The C... in the Year 1675, under ... Rajah, ...	32,050,000
... to the Government, and the ... thirty six Years, ...	32,050,000
... his Brother S... and held the Government ...	24,000,000
... attributed to the Carelessness of ...	
... and reigned Six Years. The ... Country ...	24,000,000
... who lived One Year, the ...	20,000,000
At his Decease, his Wife ... took Charge of the Government for Two Years, and the P... Annum,	20,000,000
At her Death, the ... (called Colerajah) succeeded to the Government for One Year. The Produce was	20,000,000
At ... Pretap Sing, youngest Son of the deceased ... He enjoyed the Government 24 and an Half Years. His Four Managers were ..., Shanjejee, Ragupaty, and ... Dobeer. Under these Four Managers the Country produced every Year,	17,000,000
Pretap Sing's eldest Son, Tuljajee Maharajah, succeeded to the Throne. He employed the undermentioned Managers, viz. Manajee Hussain Cawn, Swororow Balaje Sindu Dobeer, Gilbilerpah Buchannt, ... Ranga. The Country produced, under these Managers, every Year,	15,000,000
Some time after this the Nabob took Possession of the Country and Fort of Tanjore. He appointed the Dobeer to be the sole Manager, under whose Management the Country produced,	17,000,000
As soon as the Rajah was restored to his Fort and Country, he appointed Buchana Laula Vincatiaputty, Tondamanapa Ranajia. Under these Managers the Country annually yielded	15,000,000
The two last Years I believe it has fallen as low as	13,000,000

N. B. The foregoing Account I received from an old Man, who was a Writer under the Dobeer, and Manager, in the Time of Pretap Sing, Father to the present Rajah of Tanjore. I have given it literally from the Maratta Translation.

Wm Petrie.

An

An Account of the Tanjore Revenue, extracted from the Circar Books.

In the Three last Years of the Rajah's Father's Reign, viz.		
In the Year 1759 - -	32 Lacks of * Chuckram's	
1760 - -	33 Do -	Do
1761 - -	37 Do -	Do
In the Two First Years of the present Rajah's Administration,		
In the Year 1762 - -	28 Do -	Do
1763 - -	33 Do -	Do
In the Year 1771 being the Year of the First Siege of Tanjore, - -	34½ Lacks of Chuckram's	
During the Nabob's Government,		
1773 - - -	33½ Lacks of Chuckrams	
1774 - - -	52 Do -	Do
1775 being the Year of the Rajah's Restoration, the Nabob received during the Time the Country was possessed by him, - - -	20 Lacks of Chuckrams	
The Rajah received, in the Remainder of that Year,	10 Do -	Do
Lost by a Change of Government, - -	1[illegible] Do -	Do
In the Year 1776 - - -	26 Do -	Do
1777 - - -	24 Do -	Do

Wm Petrie.

Extract of Mr. Petrie's Evidence before the Committee, in Explanation of the above Accounts.

The Committee will observe, that the Account of the Revenues of the Tanjore Country is estimated in Collums of Paddy, or in Chuckrams. The Collum is a Measure which varies in different Parts of Hindostan. In Tanjore I believe it is between [illegible] and 80 English Quarts, and the Medium Price of a Collum of Paddy (or Rice before it is beat out) is 3½ Gold Fanams, or 7 Silver Fanams, or nearly One Shilling and Four Pence Sterling, so that One Lack, or 100,000 Collums of Paddy, at the aforementioned Price, will produce Star Pagodas 15,555. 25 fs.

In the Tanjore Country the Star Pagoda is valued at 4[illegible] Madras or Silver Fanams. The Porto Novo Pagoda is from 10 to 15 per Cent. inferior to the Star.

A Chuckram is equal to 20 Madras or 10 Gold Fanams.

Two Chuckrams and One Fanam are equal to One Porto Novo Pagoda.

Forty-two Madras or Silver Fanams are equal to One Porto Novo Pagoda, in the Tanjore Accounts, but in the Company's Books the Porto Novo Pagoda is reckoned at 36 Fanams, and the Star Pagoda at 42, although in Fact it varies from 41 to 47, and even more.

A P P E N D I X, N° 22.

Extract from Mr. Petrie's Evidence before the Committee.

BEFORE I speak of the present State of the Tanjore Country, it will be necessary to inform the Committee, that not many Years ago, that Province was considered as one of the most flourishing, best cultivated, populous Districts in Hindostan. I first saw this Country in 1768, when it exhibited a very different Picture from its present

* 10 Fanams - -	make One Chuckram.
2 Chuckrams and 3½ Fanams, or 23½ Tanjore Fanams	make One Star Pagoda.

Situation.

Situation. Tanjore was formerly a Place of great Foreign and Inland Trade. It imported Cotton from [illegible] and Surat, Raw and Worked Silks from Bengal; Sugar, Spices, &c. from Sumatra, Malacca, and the Eastern Islands; Gold, Horses, Elephants, and Timber, from Pegu, and various Articles of Trade from China. It was by Means of Tanjore that a great Part of Hyder Ally's Dominions, and the North-western Parts of the Maratta Empire, were supplied with many European Commodities, and with a Species of Silk Manufacture from Bengal, which is almost universally worn as a Part of Dress by the Natives of Hindostan. The Exports of Tanjore were, Muslins, Chintz, Handkerchiefs, Ginghams, various Sorts of long Cloths, and [illegible] coarse painted Cloth; which [illegible] constitutes a material Article in the Investments of the Dutch and Danes, being in great Demand for the African, West Indian, and South American Markets.—[illegible] Countries [illegible] more [illegible] Advantages than Tanjore, it possesses a rich and fertile Soil, [illegible] well supplied with Water from the Two great Rivers, Cavery and Coleroon, which, by Means of Reservoirs, Sluices, and Canals, are made to disperse their Water through almost every Field in this Country. To this latter Cause we may [illegible] the uncommon Fertility of Tanjore; the Face of the Country is beautifully [illegible] and in its Appearance approaches nearer to England than any other Part of India that I have seen. Such was Tanjore not many Years ago, but its Decline has been [illegible] in many Districts it would now be difficult to trace the Remains of its former [illegible]

To account for this Revolution, various Causes must be assigned. That the Revenues [illegible] short of [illegible] Collections some Years preceding the Capture of Tanjore for the N[illegible] chiefly [illegible] the rapacious Ministers who at that Time ruled the Country, and [illegible] their Master while they oppressed the Inhabitants. Districts [illegible] Supplies, and Jaghires to a large Amount settled upon themselves [illegible] yet reverted to the Circar. But [illegible] these Evils were not [illegible] Duration, th[illegible] only partially felt, for at this Period, as I have been [illegible] the [illegible] the Country was populous, and well culti[illegible] [illegible] Since the Year [illegible], the Æra of [illegible] the Rajah, the Country having been during that Period [illegible] Two Revolutions in the Government [illegible] Agriculture, were neglected, and many Thousands of Inhabitants [illegible] It is however necessary in this Place to [illegible], that [illegible] while Tanjore was governed by the Nabob, and [illegible] the Revenue to amount to One third more than [illegible] and to more than Double the Sum which appeared in the [illegible] at Tanjore. Strange as this Circumstance may appear [illegible] explained by the unusual high Price of Grain in the Years [illegible] Scarcity was so great [illegible] almost to amount to a Famine, by the [illegible] and by many of the old Jaghires and Grants from the Circars being resumed [illegible]

Since the Restoration [illegible] the Rajah in 1776, many Causes have contributed to lessen the Revenue and [illegible] Country. I will first mention the Ignorance and Rapacity of his [illegible] as I look upon this as the great and primary Evil from whence most of the [illegible] Secondly, to the Failure of many of the principal Farmers, and to the unusual Cheapness of Grain. And thirdly, to a general Opinion, which for a long Time [illegible] through the Country, that the Rajah's Government would not be of long Duration, and that another Revolution was approaching. Hence every Species of Embezzlement and Peculation, his Ministers extorting Money from the Zemindars, they oppressing the People, who are often obliged to dispose of their Cattle, and the very Implements of Husbandry, to satisfy the Calls of their unrelenting Landlords. The thousand Evils resulting from such a regular System of Oppression, are too obvious to render it necessary to enlarge upon the Subject.

Ever since his Restoration, the Rajah has been oppressed with a heavy Load of Debt. His Expenditure has been enormous. Many of the Farmers who owed him large Balances, have absconded. He had no Money but what was levied from his People, or raised by destructive Loans at an exorbitant ruinous Interest.

The great Scarcity of Specie in the Tanjore Country is an Evil which has been long felt, and when I left India, it had got to an alarming Height. Pagodas and Fanams were formerly coined to a large Amount at Tanjore. But a former Rajah having sold the Right of Coinage to the Dutch at Negapatam, the Country depends chiefly upon that Source now for its Supplies of Specie.

 APPENDIX,

APPENDIX, N° 23.

20 February, 1782.

EDWARD COTSFORD, Esquire, attending, was examined as followeth, viz.

1st.

Q. How long has he been in India, and in what Stations?

2d.

Q. When did he go first there, and when return?

3d.

Q. In what Station was he?

A. I was appointed a Writer on the Madras Establishment, in November [illegible] I was first put under the Military Storekeeper, as his Assistant [illegible] Months, but [illegible] Siege of Madras, I was appointed to act as Practitioner Engineer [illegible] in that Corps, I continued in it (but chiefly in the Field) until the Reduction of Madura, about the latter End of 1764 [illegible] to England [illegible] the End of March, 1765 About a Year after I [illegible] India, [illegible], my Military [illegible], was appointed Chief [illegible] in April [illegible] I quitted Ganjam (as I think) the latter End of the [illegible], and [illegible] Madras, was [illegible] a Member of the Council (my [illegible] left India In January [illegible] I was appointed Chief [illegible] Masulipatam, by the Court of Directors The following August I [illegible] at Madras, and took Charge [illegible] in the December of the same Year I quitted [illegible] Chiefship at the [illegible], and left Madras for England in January following, where I arrived [illegible] End [illegible].

4th.

Q. He will please to give the Committee such Information respecting the Company's Possessions under the Presidency of Fort Saint George, as may enable them to judge of their present State.

A. The State of the Affairs of the Company, under the Presidency of Fort Saint George is, I think, alarming.

All that Part of the Carnatic contained between Nelloor to the Northward, and Trichinopoly Inland, and Cuddalore on the Sea Coast to the Southward, is possessed by the Enemy, and (as I believe) almost all the Forts and Strong Holds therein, except Trichinopoly, Vellore, and Wandewash, consequently no immediate Supplies of any Kind can be drawn from those Countries.

In the Districts under Nelloor to the Northward, the Authority of the Nabob's Government is much shaken; and the Conduct of his Servants in the Revenue Branch there, has been contradictory to his Orders, therefore their Fidelity to him may be suspected. This Information I received in private Letters from Captain Welford of the Company's Troops, who was in the Command of Nelloor when I left Masulipatam, but is (as I understand) since dead.

The Vencatighery and Calastry Rajahs, whose Zemindaries are inland of Nelloor may, and probably will be, dilatory in paying any Tribute; for which Conduct, considering their near Situation to Cuddapah, in Hyder's Possession, they may urge several ostensible Reasons.

The Ongole and Palnaud Countries, situated still to the Northward of Nelloor, were, when I left India, unmolested, but the Revenue arising from them is inconsiderable. It is my Opinion, the Resources to be drawn from all the Countries above-mentioned are uncertain, and, at all Events cannot be considerable.

From the Four Circars at present in the Possession of the Company (if the Investment for England must for the present be discontinued to supply the Exigencies of the Govern-

Government abroad) after disbursing the Civil and Military Charges dependent upon them, the following Supplies for the Carnatic might be drawn annually:

	Star Pagodas.
From Masulipatam and its Dependencies - - -	3,00,000
Vizagapatam and its Dependencies - - -	1,00,000 *
Ganjam and its Dependencies - - - -	70,000
Total	4,70,000

There is an Annual Payment of Peshcush to Nizam Ally, the Soubah of the Decan, for the Circars, which is not provided for in the above.

The Countries dependent upon Trichinopoly, Madura, and Palamcotah, are liable to Incursions of the [illegible] Cavalry, which although such a Force may not attempt to [illegible] main Posts in [illegible], and probably will, prevent any Revenue [illegible] collected, particularly in the two [illegible] of the Countries, where the leading People, I understand, are not [illegible] to the Nabob's Government.

The [illegible] St[illegible], and the Degree of Good-Will of the Rajah towards the [illegible], I really do not know; therefore I cannot say what Assistance he may [illegible] Conjuncture.

The [illegible] of the large Country possessed by the Company) [illegible] by a Detachment of Hyder's Troops, some Time in [illegible].

[illegible] of the Nabob Mahommed Ally Cawn, to bear [illegible] War in the Carnatic will [illegible] Wit[illegible] Assistance [illegible] in the [illegible] of M[illegible] [illegible] realized [illegible] even at not [illegible] can be supplied [illegible] from [illegible].

5th.

Q. W[illegible] his [illegible] Ca[illegible] con-[illegible]?

[illegible] to [illegible] the Ma[illegible] under [illegible] I have [illegible] any Difficulties of M[illegible] the Impediment to the C[illegible] of [illegible] Correspondence [illegible] Presidency and Masulipatam, [illegible] same.

I understand, [illegible] there, that the Vicinity of M[illegible] has been, [illegible] Cauleton [illegible] at the C[illegible] they have been for [illegible] Years past, particularly as the Countries have [illegible], even in a partial Degree, experienced the Rigours of War, since they have been in the Possession of the Company.

6th.

Q. What are the Causes of that State of the Zemindars?

A. From the best Information I have [illegible] during my Residence in the Circars ([illegible] and Masulipatam) the Tribute [illegible] from the Zemindars, in the Government of the Mahomedans, since the Time of Nadir Shaw's Invasion of the Empire, was very uncertain and irregular; frequently large Sums were [illegible], but rarely [illegible], owing to the very uncertain Possession which the [illegible] exercising the Government had in those fluctuating Times. Pretenders also to Authority have frequently [illegible] the Countries, and demanded Money. In these Times the Zemindars found it necessary to maintain Troops, both for immediate Protection, and to enable them to make Use of such Advantages as the frequent Changes of Government presented to them; and, upon the whole, they generally evaded paying any Thing considerable. When the French, under Mons. Bussy, took Possession of these Circars, the different Zemindars entertained large Bodies of Men. Things were in much the same State when Colonel Forde took Masulipatam. Since that Period, the Company have had permanent Possession of the Circars, under the Jurisdiction of Masulipatam, and have enforced regular

Payment

Payment of their Tribute: But the Zemindars took some Years before they disbanded their Troops; and even now, in many of their Zemindaries, great Portions of Land are sequestrated, and held by the Possessors as Jaghires. Whether it proceeds from a Principle of Pride in the Zemindars, that these Lands are not resumed, or whether their principal Servants prevent it from other Motives, I cannot say. This Drawback, however, without any Advantage attending it to them, as formerly, is in my Opinion one Reason of their Decline. The Zemindars pay very high Interest to Soucars, or Bankers, who advance them Money to make good their Tribute, before the Collections in the Country can be made. This is a heavy Charge upon the Zemindars. European Individuals have also been accustomed to lend Money at high Interest to the Zemindars, before the Publication of the regulating Act, but I know of no such Interference by Europeans since that Time. This I consider as another Cause of their Decline.

I do not recollect that the Company's Tribute has ever been remitted in Consideration of unfavourable Seasons, though Delays in Payments in some Instances have. As the Tribute paid to the Company exceeds what had been generally paid to Nizam Ally, the Soubah of the Decan, this also may have had some Influence to their Detriment.

7th.

Q. In what Circumstances are the Zemindars in general? Are they in a prospering or declining State?

A. The principal Zemindars under Masulipatam are much in Debt to Soucars and other Individuals. I believe, not less than Six Lacks of Pagodas, over and above their Arrears due to the Company.

In the Cossimcotah and Chicacole Provinces of the Chicacole Circar, which are under the Jurisdiction of Vizagapatam, most of the Zemindaries are at present held by Viseram Rauze. He cannot, I think, be much in Arrear to the Company, or in any Respect distressed, as the Tribute he pays is comparatively very small to the Countries in his Possession. What his Concerns with Soucars or other Individuals are, I know not.

In the Itchapore District of the Chicacole Circar, under the Jurisdiction of Ganjam, the Zemindars have ever, I believe, been poor and inconsiderable, but I know no immediate Cause why that Country should not flourish, since the Terms upon which the present Renter holds it are reasonable: The Maratta War may indeed have an Influence to its Detriment. The latter Part of this Query is already answered above in the 6th Article.

8th.

Q. What are the Causes of their Advance or Decline?

A. This Query is already answered in the 6th Article.

9th.

Q. Does he consider the Measure of calling down the Zemindars to Madras, as having contributed to the Deficiency of the Payment.

A. Certainly the calling down the Zemindars to Madras must have occasioned them some additional Expence, and some Confusion in the internal Management of their Countries must have arisen from their long Absence; for these Reasons I think it has contributed to the Deficiency of the Payment in some Degree; but whether in the Degree equal to what the Zemindars themselves alledge, I will not take upon me to say, but probably not. Considering the State of the Zemindars in general, and the State of India at the Time, I think the insisting upon an Increase of their Tribute or Jemmabundy was injudicious.

10th.

Q. To what is the Necessity owing of the Dependence of the Zemindars upon the Soucars.

A. It has been the constant Usage of the Country, for the Zemindars to make their Payments, through the Medium of the Soucars. Sometimes, and most frequently, they are constrained to borrow of them through Necessity; sometimes their Interference is intended to conceal the real State of the Zemindar's Affairs, and excite an Idea that he is poor. The Transactions between them are conducted with the greatest Secresy, the Soucar never disclosing the State of the Affairs of the Zemindars.

11th.

Q. Do the Soucars oppress the Zemindars?

A. Soucars are Money-lenders: They do not, I believe, always take the same Premiums for the Sums they advance, but proportion their Demand to the Exigency of the Borrower; and this is the only Way that I know of, in which they can be said to oppress the Zemindars.

The Chief and Council at Masulipatam, in a Letter to the President and Council at Madras, under Date the 13th of June 1780, have entered pretty largely on this Matter.

12th.

Q. Would it be advisable to render the Tribute of the Zemindars fixed and certain?

A. That the Annual Tribute should be fixed, is, I conceive, the Mode best calculated for the Welfare of the Countries and the Zemindars, and in no Shape detrimental to the Company. In saying it should be fixed, I by no Means mean that the Company should be bound by any written Engagement to the Zemindars to that Effect. Indeed I have always understood, that the assembling the Zemindars was principally to receive from them sufficient Bills upon the Soucars, for their Tribute due; at the same Time the Zemindar received annually a Cowle, stating, with other Matters, the particular Periods of Payment. Some Years ago they assembled at Rajahmundry, where the Chief settled with them; and of later Years at Masulipatam, where their Concerns came more immediately under the Cognisance of the Chief and Council.

13th.

Q. Does he think the present Mode of leasing the Lands a proper one; or does he consider it as having a Tendency to oppress the Zemindars and Renters?

A. I do not conceive that the Mode of receiving the Revenues from the Zemindary Land is at all oppressive to the Zemindars. No Agents of the Company have any Interference with the internal Management of their Countries, unless in Cases where they forfeit their exclusive Right, by Non-payment of Tribute, or some other great Cause, and even in those Cases the Zemindar himself gives a written Order to his Servants in Trust in the Country, to deliver up his principal Fort, and the Management of his Country, to such Persons as the Company may send to take Charge of them.

In the 6th Article, I have observed, that Europeans have sometimes lent Money to the Zemindars. This, I think, might have been in some Instances a Ground for Oppression. It has been customary in these Cases, to make over the Produce of certain Villages or Districts, in which the Creditor has his Agent, to take Care that the Revenue there of is properly applied. When such Creditor is the Chief, or any other Member of the Council, the Servant employed under the Strength of his Master's Influence, may be very faulty, almost with Impunity. Indeed I believe it has been no very uncommon Case, where the Servants of the Zemindar and his Creditor have combined together to cheat their respective Masters. Chiefs of Subordinates may be in some Degree oppressive, by granting Dustucks or Orders for the Passage of certain Articles through the Country Duty-free, by which the Zemindars are deprived of so much of their Revenue. The principal Servant of the Chief has it also much in his Power to oppress Individuals, and in many Cases with Security. I do not mean here to apply the Two last Cases to any Individual. It is an Evil arising from the Principles of despotic Government, although that Government is administered by an Authority not professing those Principles.

Renters may be liable to Oppressions from similar Cases.

14th.

Q. Does he think the Agreements for the Possession of the Lands too short?

A. What concerns the Zemindars in this Article, is already answered in the 12th.

With Respect to the Havelly Lands (which may be translated Demesne Lands) given in Farm to Renters, I think short Leases are preferable, not exceeding Three Years. When I was resident at Ganjam, I recommended the letting the Havelly Lands for One Year only. My Reason for this Opinion is, that there is a greater Probability to a Renter who has regularly fulfilled his Engagements, that he may have a Renewal of his Lease, than there is to the Company, that they may not suffer considerable Losses in a long Lease, taking it for granted, that the Servants of the Company continually watch over the Welfare of the Countries committed to their Charge.

15th.

Q. Does he think the Sums exacted from them above what the Lands can bear?

A. I have already in Part given an Answer to this Query, as far as the same concerns the Zemindars.

"I believe it is no very uncommon Case for Renters to give in Proposals, by which, where they have been accepted, they have been considerable Losers. They have chiefly been urged to this from a Principle of Pride or Competition. Where this happens, the Countries so rented out, must suffer some Devastation. I think many of the Farms are rented out too high.

I have been told, that in Times before the Europeans had any Interference in these Matters, the Tribute from the Zemindars, and the Rents from the Havelly Lands, were much lower than they have ever been since. Such a Conduct certainly qualified the Rigour of a despotic Government, and provided for the Prosperity of the Country.

Anwar a dien Cawn (Father to Mahommed Ally, the present Nabob of the Carnatic) who was the Nizam's Deputy in the Chicacole Circar, took a very low Tribute from the Zemindars, the Havelly Lands also were letted out upon easy Terms. This I learned from the Records of the Country when I was at Ganjam.

16th.

Q. Does he think the Renters really unable to pay, or is it only a Pretence?

A. I believe in general, when the Renters fail in their Payments, it proceeds from Inability, the Cause of this Inability is partly stated in the 1st Article, the Natives in general do not pay Attention enough to Oeconomy, and in some Cases they are very extravagant, particularly in celebrating the Weddings which happen in their Families, which may also promote this Inability.

17th and 18th.

Q. Are the inferior Possessors of the Lands in a State of Ease or not?

Q. What are the Causes?

A. When the Lands are farmed out at a Rent higher than they will bear (as stated before) the inferior Possessors will be oppressed. I do not see [illegible], speaking in general.

19th.

Q. Are the Lands better or worse cultivated than formerly?

A. From the Consideration that a larger Rent is now exacted from the Lands, whereby the Ryots or Inhabitants have a smaller Share, the Inference to be drawn must be, that they are worse cultivated now than formerly, and I think I may venture to say they generally are so, from what has passed within my own Observation, during my Residence in India.

20th.

Q. Does he think the Establishment, and other Expences, of the Zemindars and Renters, in any Degree the Cause of their Distress?

A. I have taken Notice, that many of the Zemindars have not put able [illegible] their Establishment of [illegible], under the Name of Sibbendy. I know of no particular Cause for their Distress more than I have already mentioned.

I have already noticed, that the Renters are generally extravagant in the Celebration of their Weddings. As their Manner of living is very simple, and [illegible], I do not think it can conduce to their Distress. If it does in any Degree, it must arise from their Hospitality, the Natives hold this Virtue in high Respect, and are sometimes almost unbounded in their Acts of Benevolence. All this may be equally applied to the Zemindars.

21st.

Q. Is the Country more or less populous than it formerly was?

A. I have frequently heard it affirmed, that the Company's Jaguire Lands in the Carnatic, are less populous than they were some Years ago, but as I have never seen any Proof that it is so, I cannot assent to that Belief, particularly as it may reasonably be supposed, that the Nabob's Residence in the Vicinity of Madras, must have drawn many People from the interior Parts of the Country. As I have not been much at Madras of late Years, I am not sufficiently informed of the State of Population in the Carnatic in general. What concerns the Northern Circars has been already answered in the 5th Article.

22d.

Q. What are the Causes of the Difference of Population in the Neighbourhood of Masulipatam, as before mentioned?

A. As it was in Times preceding the Arrival of Europeans in which Masulipatam was more populous than it has been of later Years, I cannot tell the Causes of the Decrease of Population there, but most probably, it has been from the great Decrease of Trade, which I understand was formerly very considerable there.

23d.

Q. Have the Revenues under Masulipatam been well paid? If not, what have been the Causes?

A. I believe, when the Circars first came into the Possession of the English East-India Company, the Countries dependent upon Masulipatam were in a much more flourishing State than they are at present, and the Revenue arising from them more punctually paid. In a former Paragraph, I have noted the probable Causes why the Zemindars have decreased in Wealth, but until these few Years back, this Influence was not felt by the Company immediately, as the Revenue was still regularly received. But the Zemindars began to contract Debts, which have since become very considerable. Since the Period of the unhappy Disputes in the Council, in which Lord Pigot was deprived of his Authority, the Affairs of the Company every where on the Coromandel Coast have visibly declined. Upon my Arrival at Madras in 1778, I found the general State of Things entirely altered, and much for the worse, since the Time of my leaving India in 1773.

During the Time that the Concerns of Masulipatam were under my Charge as Chief, the Revenues have been ill paid, although no Endeavours were wanting on my Part to enforce Order and Obedience in the Zemindars, and I believe I may venture to affirm, that no former Chief had so many Impediments to encounter as I had, over and above the [illegible] State of the Company's Affairs. The following I consider as the immediate Causes of the Difficulties I experienced.

The calling down the Zemindars to the Presidency, which I have already taken Notice of in the [illegible] Paragraph, the Loss of Time also, from their Stay at Madras after [illegible] Arrival, [illegible] considerable, [illegible] Detriment.

The [illegible] of the Tribute of the principal Zemindars, occasioned [illegible] Detriment [illegible].

The [illegible] the Company's Interpreter, or Dubash, named Vencatroy Royaloo, at [illegible] Position [illegible], and the [illegible] his Authority in the Opinions of the Zemindars, [illegible] Cause of giving me much additional Trouble, and the [illegible] Impediments [illegible].

The suffering the Zemindars to have Vackeels, or Agents, residing at the Presidency, [illegible] the Affairs of Masulipatam.

[illegible] eventual one which the War with Hyder Ally [illegible], [illegible] the Guntoor Circar with a considerable Body of [illegible] the Minds of the Soucars were much embarrassed [illegible] critical Time, [illegible] with the Presidency.

24th.

Q. Are Manufactures in a State of Advance or Decline?

A. I think upon the whole they may be said to be upon the Decline, as the Cloths are in general higher priced, and not so well fabricated as they have been. I speak chiefly of Manufactures in the Circars; in what State they are in the Carnatic, I am in a great Degree ignorant.

25th.

Q. What are the Causes?

A. In Consequence of our Successes last War, the Manufactures have been in a great Degree in the Hands of the Company, which enabled their Servants at the different Factories, to provide Cloth upon their own Account, after supplying the Company to the Extent of their Demands. The French during the Peace have also had an Agent or Agents at Yanam, living there under our Government, who have provided Cloth for private Adventurers of their own Nation chiefly. Of late Years the Danes have fallen into this Track of Trade, and I believe have been supplied in a great Degree by British Agents. The Demands for this Trade being great, without any Check, or that nice Inspection into the Fabrick of the Cloths, which is constantly observed in the Investment provided for the Company, may be, and I think is, the Cause that the Cloths in general are higher rated, and not so well fabricated.

The almost insuperable Difficulties which the Company have put in the Way of remitting Money to England by Individuals, together with the great Falling-off of their own Investments, have afforded Strangers both the Opportunity and the Means of carrying on a very advantageous Trade, which in its Consequences must be detrimental to the Company. This Matter, I think, deserves the Attention of the Committee.

26th.

Q. What is his Opinion of the Establishment of the Committee of Circuit?

27th.

Q. Was it well calculated to answer the Purposes of its Institution?

A. The Court of Directors, in their Letter to Madras under the Date, April 12th, 1775, certainly directed the Attention of the Government at Madras to proper Objects for the Enquiry of a Committee of Circuit; but I think the Mode ordered for that Enquiry, which has been, and is still so much wanted, is open to some Objections.

The Establishment of such a Committee as was ordered by the Directors, would be attended with more Expence than the Nature of the Business to be done made necessary.

The Business they were to be employed upon was not, as I conceive, of the deliberate Kind, except in the single Case of letting out the Lands at the Expiration of former Leases, therefore, that the Appointment of so many Gentlemen was unnecessary.

The empowering them to re-let the Lands independent of the Chief and Council, under whose Jurisdiction the Countries might be, would diminish too much the Authority and Responsibility of such Chief and Council, and make it very difficult for them to act with Vigour in Cases where a particular Exertion might be necessary. I hold it as a Maxim, that in the Government of despotic Countries, the ruling Power cannot be divided without Detriment; Disputes also would arise between the Committee and the Chief and Council, to the Detriment of the Company. Upon the Whole, I think it very possible, that the Inconveniencies of such an Establishment might more than counter-ballance any Advantage that would arise from it.

Observing how great the Hopes entertained by our Directors were, from the Establishment of the Committee of Circuit, by the great Disapprobation they have shewn, from their Orders not having been executed, I give my Opinion on these two Queries with some Diffidence. If I did not conceive there was another Mode for gaining a very accurate Knowledge of these Countries, not attended with those Inconveniences, perhaps I should not have hazarded this Opinion.

28th.

Q. Was there a sufficient Number of the Servants of the Company capable of executing that Commission, independent of the Members of Council employed in it when it was abolished?

A. I have no Doubt but there were many Servants of the Company equally capable with the Members of the Board when the Committee of Circuit was abolished; unless indeed, from their Station, the latter could receive any additional Weight.

29th.

Q. What is his Opinion of the Measure of abolishing it?

A. I think when it was abolished some other Mode should have been substituted by the Governor and Council, that the Spirit of the Orders from Home might have been followed, but it is possible that the general State of the Company's Affairs at the Time might have obstructed the Prosecution of the Orders received; and of this I am not Master enough of the Subject to judge. It certainly is an Implication, that a Country is in a State of Tranquillity, where Inquiries of this Nature can be made.

30th.

Q. Would not an accurate Investigation of the Circars, upon the Plan of the Committee of Circuit, be still of great Advantage?

A. Admitting that the Committee of Circuit is a good Mode, I fear the State of Affairs there is such as to discourage the putting it in immediate Execution.

31st.

Q. What is the State of the Jaghire Lands?

A. To this Query I cannot answer from my own Knowledge; but I have heard it frequently, and indeed always asserted, that the Jaghire Lands are rather in a declining than

than a flourishing State; and the Reason given is, that the Nabob is so tenacious of holding these Lands, that he gives for them more than they are worth, to exclude any other Candidate; this probably obliges him to draw a greater Revenue from the Countries, than is consistent with sound Policy, or the Dictates of simple Justice.

32d.

Q. Is it of Advantage that they should be continued with the Nabob?

A. Considering the Conduct of the Nabob of late Years, and the Power he has assumed, I think it highly improper that the Jaguire Lands should be under his Management.

The principal Motive of the Nabob in renting the Jaguire, is, as I believe, that the sole Authority throughout the Carnatic shall be in him. I believe he would consider the letting any other Person have these Lands as disgraceful to him.

It is not consistent with the Company's Prosperity, that any Person possessing Ideas of Independence, should have unlimited Power in the Jaguire Lands; as in that Case the Benefits arising from a Territory which is so well situated to afford Resources of all Kinds to the Presidency may be much lessened, and Abuses committed in the Country not be effectually enquired into. I believe there are Instances mentioned in the Records at Madras to this Purpose, but I do not remember them sufficiently to point them out particularly.

33d.

Q. Are his own Lands in a better State?

A. I have always understood that the Nabob's Government is very oppressive, and that the Inhabitants are kept in great Poverty, and consequently that his Countries have greatly declined. As it is now some Years since I have been any where in the Interior Parts of the Carnatic, I can say nothing to this Query from my own Knowledge.

34th.

Q. What is the Cause of his Distress?

A. Upon Public Grounds this I think cannot be accounted for, as the Nabob has held the Carnatic in a State of uninterrupted Peace for many Years. That the Nabob should be in actual Distress under such Circumstances, is a Matter of great Moment, and highly deserving the Attention of the Committee; because, if it is a Fact, it demonstrates that the Company, so far from being Gainers from their Concerns in the Carnatic, must be Losers. The Expence of reducing Pondicherry and Mahé may have been considerable, but the Amount of this Expence is greatly over ballanced by the immense Debts he has contracted with Individuals.

35th.

Q. Is there not a great Annual Exportation of Specie from the Country?

A. Independent of the Specie sent to China on Account of the Company (chiefly from Bengal) I believe within the last Twelve Years very considerable Sums have been exported by Individuals from the Coromandel Coast, and some from Bengal also, but to what Amount Annually, I cannot take upon me to say.

36th.

Q. To what is the Exportation of Specie owing?

A. Some few Individuals may have sent Specie to China for the Advantage of the high Interest paid for Money there; but it is owing, in a much greater Degree, to the Difficulties which Individuals find in making Remittances to England directly, by which (amongst other Expedients) they have fallen upon the Mode of sending it to China, from whence the Amount is remitted to England, either by Bills on the Company or others.

37th.

Q. What does he think will be the Effect of that Exportation of Specie?

A. I believe it is generally understood, that the Exportation of the Specie is of Detriment to a State; the Exportation to China, therefore, must be in a more particular Manner so, as it is believed that none is ever sent out of that Country.

Further Questions put to Mr. Cotsford.

Were the Zemindars and Renters under the Mahomedan Government subject to any Payments more than the Rents agreed to be paid annually for the Districts which they held?

I believe the Deputies of the Government did receive, over and above the Tribute settled under the Government, a further Sum under the Name of Nazer or Present, which

they pretended was for Payment of their Troops; but their Ability to procure this was in Proportion to the Strength of their Army.

Did the Preſents bear any Proportion to the Tribute, or were they arbitrary?

I think they were arbitrary.

After the Zemindaries came under European Government, did any of the Remains of the Nazar or Preſents exiſt?

I believe it has exiſted, and think I have ſeen a Paper of Mr. Buſſy's, where a Part of the Tribute is brought to Account under the Head of Preſent.

When it came from the French, under our Government, did the ſame Practice exiſt?

I think it has exiſted in a greater or leſs Degree ever ſince.

Under what Head is it entered in our Accounts?

There is no ſuch Head. I never underſtood any ſuch Articles were brought to Account in the Company's Accounts.

What comes of the Money ſo exacted?

I think whatever Preſents were received were conſidered a Perquiſite of the Station, and not conſidered in any Reſpect as a Part of the Tribute.

Are the Preſents now given certain, and bearing a ſettled Proportion to the fixed Tribute paid by the Zemindar, are they optional at the Diſcretion of the Giver?

They are entirely optional.

Suppoſe the Zemindars had not been called down to Madras, would not you have thought yourſelf at Liberty, conſiſtent with your Duty, to have accepted ſuch Gratuities from the Zemindars?

I ſhould have thought it my firſt Duty to enforce the Payment of the Company's Tribute, without ſuffering my own Intereſt to interfere with it, but I don't mean to ſay I ſhould have declined the cuſtomary Advantages of my Situation.

Is any Preſent of Importance paid upon the Collections?

I don't know that there is.

Had you Occaſion to ſee any of the Zemindars after their Return from Madras?

I ſaw almoſt all belonging to Maſulipatam at Maſulipatam.

Had you any Converſation with them about the Preſents made to Sir Thomas Rumbold, or any of the Council of the Madras Government?

I had no Converſation with them concerning Preſents to Sir Thomas Rumbold, or any of the Council of the Preſidency of Madras, but they complained of the Expences to and from Madras, and while reſident there, as Reaſons for not being ſo punctual as formerly in paying their Tribute, and upon the ſame Occaſion, and with the ſame View, they mentioned the Diſorders created in the Management of their Affairs in their Abſence, particularly alluding to the Miſconduct of their Servants, and in the Courſe of Buſineſs I found ſome of it verified.

Did it come to your Knowledge by any other Means that Preſents were given at Madras?

I have no Authority to aſſert that Preſents were given at Madras. I don't know any were given.

Did the Zemindars when at Madras pay any Sums for Tribute, they would otherwiſe have paid at Maſulipatam?

I think they gave Soucar Securities for ſome, but I had much Difficulty in recovering it; nor were the Sums promiſed to be paid, equal to what at the ſame Time would have been received at Maſulipatam, had the Zemindars been there to look after their own Buſineſs.

What other Mode do you apprehend might have been taken inſtead of appointing the Committee of Circuit?

I recommend the ſame Mode which was taken when Mr. Barnard ſurveyed the Jaghire in the Carnatic.

Could an Individual execute the Orders given by the Court of Directors in their Letter of 12 April 1775, relating to the Inveſtigation of the Circars with that Authority as Five Perſons under the Authority of the Government of the Preſidency of Fort Saint George?

I think the Inquiries pointed out for the Inſtruction of the Committee of Circuit by the Court of Directors, could be as well executed by One Perſon of Ability, it being merely the taking the Records of the ſeveral Villages as I underſtand, which Records, by the Cuſtoms of the Country, are kept in every Pergunnah and Village by Black Servants belonging to the Circar or Government.

February 19.

The order of the day for going into a committee on the Mutiny Bill was moved.

Mr. *Burke* wiſhed to have the buſineſs delayed, until copies could be had, and laid upon the table, of ſome papers relative to General Arnold; but the Speaker ſaid that the honourable member had ſpoken too late; for the motion for the order of the day had been made, and no other could be propoſed until that had been diſpoſed of. In conſequence of the motion, the Houſe reſolved itſelf into a committee, and Mr. Ord took the chair. Mr. Burke.

The *Secretary at War* then informed the committee, that he had a clauſe to inſert, which undoubtedly was an innovation in the mutiny bill; but then it was of ſuch a nature, that he truſted the committee could have no objection to its paſſing: he ſaid, that ſhamefully flying before the enemy, or ſhamefully ſurrendering up a poſt or fortreſs, were crimes puniſhable under the mutiny bill, with death, in every part of the King's dominions, except in Great-Britain, and the iſlands of Jerſey, Guernſey, Sark, and Man; now as it could be no leſs criminal, in fact, to fly before the enemy, or ſhamefully ſurrender a poſt, in any of theſe places, than in another; ſo it would be proper in his opinion, to inflict the ſame puniſhment on delinquents of this deſcription, as if the ſcene of their cowardice or treachery had been in any other part of the world. Therefore he moved a clauſe to that effect, to be inſerted in the bill. Secretary at War.

It was ſuggeſted, that it was for very good reaſons, that former mutiny laws did not contain a clauſe, ſuch as had been propoſed by the right honorable member; becauſe, though martial law ſhould be ſilent, the civil law would not ſuffer to eſcape unpuniſhed the man who ſhould ſurrender a poſt committed to his care. In anſwer to this, the Secretary at War replied, that the civil law could not take cognizance of cowardice, or puniſh a coward with death; and therefore martial law muſt ſupply the defect of the civil law; conſequently the clauſe he had propoſed appeared to him as very neceſſary on ſuch an occaſion.

Mr. *Burke* oppoſed it, and in the courſe of his argument againſt it, alluded to the conduct and ſituation of General Arnold. The honourable gentleman thought it highly improper that this officer ſhould hold a principal command, as it was underſtood he was to do, and be under the power of the Crown to order a court-martial to try him for abandon- Mr. Burke.

ing of giving up a post, when it had been by such a piece of treachery that he had deserted to our service. Such an officer, he thought would be little encouraged, by what the Secretary at War proposed, to do his duty. He had taken a command from the rebels, he had received their pay, and he had betrayed his trust, so that he had in truth been a rebel to rebels. Such a man, Mr. Burke was of opinion, was not to be trusted, nor did he think that any laws could bind him in his alliance to his Sovereign. But above all, it was impolitic and shameful that such a man should have an important appointment and a trust. It would mangle the discipline of the army,—it would destroy the nice feelings and the sense of honour; for who would be solicitous of distinction and advancement, when they were to be procured by such means?

The honourable gentleman with great humour, mingled with a degree of sarcasm and satire, complimented the new Secretary (Mr. Ellis) upon his coming into office with such an admirable amendment of the mutiny act, especially as that amendment was principally intended to keep honest an officer, who had come to us through treachery. He congratulated the new Secretary upon it, and in so doing, took occasion to call upon him, to let the committee know upon what principles the American war was in future to be conducted, what forces were to be employed in the business, and to whose care the farther effusion of our best blood, was to be now entrusted.

Mr. Welbore Ellis.

The *Secretary of State for the American Department* (the Right Hon. Mr. Welbore Ellis) said, he should not rise to trouble the House on the occasion, but that he felt himself called upon in so particular a manner. With respect to the principle on which the American war was in future to be conducted, he felt himself rather aukward in coming forward upon, as he was so *young* a member. All he could say was, that he had accepted the office he had the honour to hold, on no conditions whatever. He had come into it with a view only to the public good, and he trusted he should be enabled to effect his purpose. With regard to the treachery of the officer alluded to, he had done no more than return to his allegiance, and he did not think that such an act would have been censured in a British House of Commons.

Mr. Sloper.

Mr. *Sloper* thought time should be allowed the committee for considering how far it might be proper, or not, to agree to the amendment proposed.

Sir *Philip Jennings Clerke* said a few words on the nature of regimental courts-martial. Sir Philip J. Clerke.

Mr. *T. Townshend* objected to the introduction of the clause. Mr. Tho. Townshend

General Conway did not mean to vindicate the conduct of the general officer who had been so much alluded to, or to have the least concern with his character as a man, but this he was sure of, that every temptation should be held out by us to induce those in the service of the enemy to come over to us. The more important the command of the officer was, we wished to bring over to us, the stronger should be the temptations thrown out for him. All persons, serviceable to the enemy, in any way whatsoever, were to be got from their service. But when they had been won over by us, how far it might be proper to trust them, or give them a command, was another thing to be considered. With respect to the motion offered for the consideration of the committee, he thought that time should have been allowed for it. General Conway.

Mr. *Fox* said, the clause that had been proposed, was a most proper one to come from the present government; it was conformable to their system; they had uniformly acted on a levelling principle, and aimed at setting every thing that was just, noble, and honourable, at defiance, and doing it away to all intents and purposes. Having, therefore, by one continued chain of disgraceful proceedings on their part, during the whole course of the war, endeavoured to undermine the very foundation of honour in the army, they acted wisely and consistently, when they took the great, the original, and the true military safeguard, honour, out of the bill, to fill its place with that pitiful substitute fear, the only safeguard that could be adopted when that of honour was out of the question. Mr. Fox noticed General Conway's remark, that a certain person's having quitted the American army, and joined the British forces, was liable to two constructions; the one a construction that was honourable, the other a disgraceful construction. He was ready to admit farther, that where there were two sides of a question, it was generally equally proper and candid to take the best, and argue upon that. In the present case he was debarred from acting conformably to this position, and why? Because the mode in which the person alluded to had quitted the American army, put the matter beyond all doubt. True it was; that any man might honourably follow his inclination in returning to his allegiance; but could a man of honour behave Mr. Fox.

treacherously? If acting for one party, and continuing at the same time in the pay of another, was not behaving treacherously, he knew not what was. At the same time that he said this, he was perfectly aware, that spies were necessary in time of war, and that their service ought to be requited. But how ought it to be requited? Certainly by pecuniary reward! By a sum of money! Did any man ever hear of rewarding a spy with a Brigadier-generalship? Was it common to invest a spy with high military honours? Consider for a moment the consequence. Was the British army to be commanded by spies, known and acknowledged spies? He declared, for his part, the moment he heard of the person in question being appointed to the Brigadier-generalship, he was most seriously alarmed; and when the Gazette appeared, in which he saw that character distributing praise and insinuating censure on British officers, he felt a new sensation, and shuddered for the situation of those officers, who were liable either to the one or the other. Hitherto he had regarded the army, and all who belonged to it, with jealousy and with fear, because he had never been in the habit of considering military men in any other, than a constitutional point of view; he now, for the first time, regarded the military profession with pity. He said, after what had happened last year, in the line of naval promotion to a civil employment, he wondered not that yesterday, in another place, the appointment of an officer to a peerage, who had been degraded and disgraced in his military capacity, was treated in the manner in which he had heard it treated. Would any man have believed, had they not known the levelling system of the present government, that his Majesty's could have gravely stood up in a House of Parliament, and in a serious manner contended, that the sentence of a court martial, pronouncing an officer unfit for any military employment whatever, was a matter of not the smallest disgrace! But it was with pride of heart, that he recollected yesterday had shewn, that there were peers, who, in spite of the general depravity of the times, dared to stand up, and declare themselves the advocates of honour. Those men had immortalized themselves, and their characters would stand high in the opinion of posterity; they would be reverenced, esteemed, and adored in future ages, as men whose breasts were inspired by the noblest sentiments that ever actuated human nature. Nor was it to be wondered at, when it was considered who those characters were? In a government, where the most

moſt barefaced encouragement of baſeneſs, and a conſtant oppoſition of every appearance of honour was the ruling principle of their ſyſtem, where was a man to look for thoſe, who ſtill held a due ſenſe of that noble, that truly military characteriſtic, but in perſons, whoſe lieutenancies of counties had been taken from them by Adminiſtration! If Adminiſtration deteſted the idea of honour, it was natural to ſuppoſe that it was to be met with in men, who oppoſed that Adminiſtration. He remarked, Monteſquieu had obſerved, that of all others the Britiſh conſtitution reſted moſt eſſentially on the point of honour. He appealed therefore to common ſenſe, and the conviction of every man who heard him, whether the conduct of that government, which manifeſtly and induſtriouſly tended to deſtroy all ſenſe of honour in the military profeſſion, did not threaten moſt ſerious and moſt fatal miſchief to the country. Thinking as he did on the ſubject, he was free to ſay, he could not but pronounce the clauſe now moved for, by the Secretary at War, perfectly conformable to the reſt of the preſent ſyſtem of government. The right honourable gentleman well knew that encouraging the military to ſquare their conduct, by ſuppoſing that every individual action of their lives muſt be diſgraceful, which did not ground itſelf on the high point of honour, was the beſt ſecurity to the country for ever having a brave and a gallant army, but finding that, his beſt ground, cut from under him by the preſent government, he had, with a prudence that ſhewed his wiſdom, accommodated his mutiny bill to the conduct of Adminiſtration. It was but one more part of the large whole. Miniſters had found out the true wit of the levelling principle, and diſcovered that lowering all men to their own baſeneſs, was the only means of keeping the whole of the people in humour with each other, and the right honourable gentleman acted with the ſoundeſt policy, in endeavouring to meet the ſame idea, when he found he could not better himſelf, if he attempted a contrary line of conduct.

After ſome farther converſation, the clauſe propoſed by the Secretary at War was moved, and agreed to without a diviſion.

General Burgoyne now roſe, to make a motion, in which he ſaid his honour and character, as a ſoldier and a man, were moſt intimately concerned; and as what he had to propoſe was new in its nature, he hoped the motives which impelled him to make the motion, would excuſe him to the Houſe. General Burgoyne.

He

He stated, that by a clause in the mutiny act, prosecutions were limited to three years, so that in his case he was precluded from a court-martial; he had been first refused admittance to his sovereign, as not having passed a necessary preliminary etiquette of a trial. He had been told in the House when he urged his situation, and told in the language of threats, that he should be tried. He had urged a trial by every possible means, yet he was refused that indulgence, and for no other reason he could suppose except that ministers knew there was no charge against him.

This, he said, was a peculiar cruelty, which concerned the whole army, as ministers assumed a power to postpone a man's trial till all the witnesses were out of the way. He therefore moved, that in the clause of limitation, he should be specially excluded by name.

Secretary at War.

The *Secretary at War* moved an amendment, which was, that the exclusion be general in cases similar to that of the honourable General, where men were held prisoners on parole or otherwise; and also where they were out of the kingdom for three years, or where they avoided trial.

Mr. Dunning.

Mr. *Dunning* thought the clause moved for by the honourable General, wherein he moved for an exception relative to himself, might have a dangerous tendency. It might subvert the first and best law of our legislature. Indeed he though the intention of the honourable General would not be answered in its adoption: for the term of limitation with respect to the mutiny bill was long since expired in respect to the capture of the honourable General; this happened in the year 1777, so that, in fact, he could no longer be considered as amenable to justice than within the first three years of the subsequent period. But as the honourable General had considered it on public ground, he thought the law, before it was suffered to admit of this alteration, should undergo a most careful revision. If it was then found defective, he should himself concur with the motion. But the motion which followed that of his honourable friend was exceedingly dangerous. The only wise thing in the mutiny bill was, as he thought, the limitation clause.

The Attorney General.

The *Attorney General* then rose and said, that he knew of no instance wherein the act of limitation was ever extended to a criminal process. In respect to penalties, fines, and mulcts, it was after adopted; so that, in truth, it would be contrary to the spirit of the first intention of this bill, to admit

mit of the clause and exception in favour of the honourable General.

Mr. T. Townshend begged the attention of the House. He asked, did gentlemen remember the language of men in office when his honourable friend returned from America? Did they remember that the honourable General, who was now moving for this exception in the bill, in order to obtain a court-martial on his conduct, was then told that he should be tried? They would take a special care a full and ample enquiry should be made of his conduct; that they had expressed a doubt whether his honourable friend had a right to appear in that assembly? This was the language of office. Now, when his honourable friend was endeavouring to seek an investigation into his conduct, in order to throw off that odium with which his character had been defamed, he is told that his motion shall be granted—but with such clogs as must endanger the welfare and conduct of other officers. Thus his honourable friend was precluded from the only means of wiping off that slander, with which the hirelings of government were paid to sully the brilliancy of his actions. Mr. Tho. Townshend

The *Solicitor General* said, that he considered the motion in itself as the most uninteresting that could possibly have engaged the attention of that House. Indeed he considered that the intention of the honourable General could not by the adoption of his clause be benefited: for as his learned friend [Mr. Dunning] had judiciously observed, the time of limitation with respect to himself had long since expired. If the honourable General had meant to have received any personal benefit from such an exception, it should have been made within the time of limitation; for now he must be considered as totally exempt from any consequences that would arise from the adoption of such a clause. Solicitor General.

The honourable General had complained of the persecution he had received from ministers. This might be true. He neither could nor would contradict it. However, the mode of redress he had prescribed, was now beyond the power of that act, of which he had moved for an exception in respect to himself (Lieutenant-general Burgoyne).

General *Conway*, considered the adoption of the clause might materially affect the interests of the service. In truth, he did not see it necessary to espouse, when he considered, that it was merely to clear a character which must be beyond the reach of calumny. Where be the honourable General, Gen. Conway.

and

and poſſeſſed of ſuch evidence of his ability and perſonal bravery, he ſhould conſider himſelf free from every ſlanderous aſperſion which might have been caſt invidiouſly on his conduct. Surely he had ſufficient reſources of honour and ſpirit not to require the adoption of an exception which might affect the intereſt and welfare of the ſervice in general. But while he ſaid this, he muſt obſerve, that he thought a learned gentlemen [the Solicitor General] had treated the honour of the profeſſion with too much levity: he therefore hoped that the learned gentlemen would uſe more reſpect and delicacy to the feelings of a man of honour. It was not an unintereſting concern for a man to be jealous of preſerving the purity of his honour. It was the eſſence of his profeſſion. He therefore thought the learned gentlemen was too looſe in his reflection of the honourable General's motion

The Solicitor General.

The *Solicitor General* roſe to reply, that he had no ſuch thoughts as preſenting to the Houſe an idea of the triviality of the honourable General's honour; nor did he mean it as any reflection againſt the honour of the profeſſion: he only meant it as a queſtion in itſelf, not with any reference to the honourable General, as a ſubject too trifling for the conſideration of the Houſe, at this period of the buſineſs. He, therefore, wiſhed to be underſtood, as meaning neither a perſonal reflection on Lieutenant-general Burgoyne, nor any reflection on the honour of the ſervice.

Gen. Burgoyne.

General *Burgoyne* ſaid, that ſince it was the general ſenſe of the Houſe, that the exception reſpecting himſelf might affect the general intereſts of the ſervice, he begged leave to withdraw his motion. But this he muſt obſerve, that ſince miniſtry had ſo repeatedly traduced his character, he aſked, would they in any manner produce a plan wherein an enquiry could be made? If they would not, on his being furniſhed with the means, with their leave, he would himſelf make the motion for them: but if they choſe to make the motion themſelves, he would pledge himſelf at any time to ſecond the motion.

Col. Barré.

Colonel *Barré* roſe to obſerve, that he thought the exception in favour of the honourable General would affect the general intereſts of the ſervice: but when he conſidered the reſpectability, the gallant and brilliant ſervices of the honourable General, he muſt feel for him as a man of honour, a ſoldier, and a gentleman. He ſaid, in reſpect to the limitation of the mutiny bill, in his opinion it could have in no inſtance a reference to the honourable General's conduct.

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He had never heard of a general commander being tried for the loss of an army or a battle. Indeed, if any were to be tried, they should be those who had planned the operations by which the army failed. To be sure, the honourable generals who had spoken on both sides the House, were more conversant in military history than himself; yet he knew, that throughout the world no such conduct was adopted: indeed, he thought such a conduct a subversion of national interest; for by such a conduct the most glorious services might be lost in the dismission of the commander from his military employments. He instanced two circumstances from the French history, wherein two general commanders had been unfortunate, who afterwards performed the most glorious and brilliant services. But in regard to the military character of the honourable General, he must feel for him as the man, the gentleman, and the soldier. It was his honour and respect for the service, of which he had been a member, and at the same time confessed not to have enjoyed a very high station, that made him consider the exception in regard to the honourable General as not political: but yet he could not help thinking he stood in a predicament which appeared inconsistent with the honour his brilliant actions had deserved. He did not say this from personal amity; for he had not the honour of his acquaintance: though from every thing he had heard that related to the honourable General, his friendship was such as every one must desire to enjoy. He confessed, that although he had on many occasions differed from the honourable General, in political as well as professional matters, yet, in the present instance, he must so far espouse his cause, as to observe, that he was in a situation by no means becoming his dignity, character, honour, or deserts.

Mr. Fox said, that his honourable friend [General Burgoyne] was not to have a trial, because it would clear him from the aspersions of the ministry. They had retained him a prisoner to prevent his being amenable to a court-martial. Notwithstanding a requisition of Congress was made for his exchange, it would appear from the papers on the table, that the objection of his exchange was made here: that every other officer contained in that convention was exchanged. His honourable friend was, therefore, not a prisoner to Congress, but a prisoner to the ministry. Why? Because he would not impeach any officers concerned with him as the occasion

Mr. Fox.

of the failure. His mind was too noble for the services required by the wretched promoters of the present system.

Mr. Burke. Mr. *Burke* spoke again of General Arnold. He said he was a brave and gallant officer; but that the breach of his trust at West-Point was not the bright part of his character. This he might venture to say, either as a member of Congress, if he had that honour, or a British senator. He had no objection that General Arnold should be amply rewarded in a pecuniary way; that he should have his name on that list which the House could never see; but he would never approve his rise in the military line. As a member of Parliament, he might perhaps wish, that Charles Thompson, the secretary to the Congress, should betray the secrets of the Congress, and he would reward him for it: but he would never consent that such a man should be a secretary of state in England, or have it in his power to betray any more secrets of state: the same principle would hold good in the case of General Arnold.

At length it appearing that the General's clause was not legally competent to the end he proposed, and that it might otherwise affect a number of others in the same predicament, he consented to withdraw it; calling at the same time upon administration to bring in a bill, if that was the most proper method, giving him the liberty of calling for a court-martial, and giving that satisfaction to his honour and his feelings which they demanded.

This passing *sub silentio*, and the Secretary at War withdrawing his clause, the committee went through the remainder of the bill, and soon after adjourned.

February 20.

Mr. Fox. Mr. *Fox* rose to call the attention of the House to a motion which he had intimated against the Admiralty-board; but he would not trouble the House, he said, with all the arguments that had been so well and accurately stated by many gentlemen in the committee, respecting the most shameful manner in which our naval affairs had been conducted of late years, for he saw no reason for it; every thing that ministers had advanced in favour of Lord Sandwich had been so ably answered, that he was confident every gentleman was satisfied in his own mind, and he trusted that there were scarce two opinions in the House. The very respectable number that divided on this motion in the committee, although not successful, would, in any other administration

but

but the present, have been looked upon as a majority, for it certainly contained the voice of the people, and no minister, but the present, would think of continuing a man in office that the voice of the people was so much against, and with so much justice. He had been informed, he said, out of the House, that many gentlemen would have voted with him in the committee, but [illegible] on of following up his motion, if successful, for the [illegible] and punishment of Lord Sandwich, had deterred them, now he hoped no gentlemen would mistake him, for they were all different and distinct propositions, they might vote for one, and reject the other [illegible] but he begged leave to caution them against being lulled into a belief of redress, for a report had been industriously spread, that Lord Sandwich was to retire, that report was therefore calculated [illegible] the particular purpose of the day [illegible] but what faith or belief was to be put in the minister's promise was plainly to be seen [illegible] conduct. At the [illegible] of this [illegible] he promised that the American war should be conducted on a narrower [illegible] was to be [illegible] posts, but no sooner [illegible] the [illegible] vote, than [illegible] that brave, gallant, and [illegible] officer, Sir Guy Carleton was [illegible] the chief leaders of [illegible] his removal [illegible] in his stead who was a [illegible] minister's promise [illegible] relied on, we [illegible] ought [illegible] justice which [illegible]. He [illegible] to imagine that [illegible] in this [illegible] shape personal [illegible] who was at the head of the Admiralty, nor that it tended to any criminal proceeding. He had nothing to say to the Earl of Sandwich, it was to the board of Admiralty, and [illegible] not to be induced from [illegible] the execution of [illegible] duty. He therefore hoped every gentleman [illegible] upon his heart, and he was then confident th[illegible] his opinion, and would vote for what he should then move, viz. "That it appears to this House, that there has been great mismanagement in his Majesty's naval affairs in the year 1781."

 Mr.

Mr. Pitt seconded the motion.

Earl Nugent.

Earl *Nugent* said, he should rise to oppose the motion, as he was confident the House was not competent to judge upon the question; it was a professional question, and turned upon our naval affairs in one particular year, which the honourable gentleman had thought proper to select out from all others, as the most applicable to his purpose. The motion, he said, comprehended two questions; first, had there been neglect in not procuring a navy equal to what we ought to have? And next, was that navy employed as it ought to be? With respect to the first question he trusted there was no immediate proof before the House, but that our navy was superior to what it ever had been in any former reign; but we had a much greater foe to contend with, the whole house of Bourbon. Holland and America were all at war with us, and it seemed to [illegible] a turn in politics. They had not proof of guilt before them; and therefore not being able to condemn, they must acquit. [A loud laugh.] Gentlemen might laugh; but this was the [illegible] of the law of England. With respect to the second question, whether the navy had been exerted to its utmost, he trusted it had, and he was certain no proof by the papers on the table appeared to the contrary, but [illegible] was free to confess, that there was a want of unanimity. [illegible] many of our most able officers were not employed; this arose from private pique, which he most sincerely and heartily hoped every person would totally [illegible] of, and not think of Lord Sandwich [illegible] all the services which had been performed for [illegible] of years in the navy, and then say, whether they could vote for the present question; let them recollect [illegible] the noble Lord had filled the store-houses of [illegible] when they were perfectly empty; that he [illegible] a combination of the workmen in the [illegible], and that he had in a thousand instances displayed the utmost vigilance and activity. He begged them also to recollect, that they were not competent to decide upon it, he would again assert, for they were not judges of facts in naval affairs, yet they were called on to decide and judge [illegible] actions, of which they were total strangers.

Gen Conway.

General *Conway* said, he rose to give his hearty assent to the motion, as he was convinced of its being founded on the strictest principles of truth; that our naval transactions of the last year were disgraceful, was beyond a doubt. We

were

were fallen from that pitch of greatness which a wise administration had brought us into, into the most profound contempt, and were become the scorn and ridicule of all foreign powers. To complain that we had a greater foe to contend with than in any other former war was saying nothing; for why had we precipitated ourselves into the war? Had ministers not been apprised that it would be so? Had not gentlemen told them what would happen? In short, could any persons, but those who wished to shut their eyes, not see, that in our war with America we should draw on us the house of Bourbon, who would by our quarrel extend her trade as she diminished ours? But administration were determined not to see, or if they did, they were determined not to profit by what they saw. They had been guilty of delusion to the people; they had first promised that America should not be taxed, and directly began to tax her; they next, to gull the country gentlemen, declared America should be taxed, but immediately dropped it: thus they deceived the people, and endeavoured to carry on a war which, in every point of view, must from its extent be the ruin of this country. To subdue three millions of people at a distance of three thousand miles, was what would take up the whole of our navy, without being at war with so many other foes. The noble Lord who spoke last had said, there was a want of unanimity, and that in short was the cry of all the minister's friends. What unanimity, in the name of Heaven, did they want? Had they not all the money they asked for? Had they not all the force of the kingdom? Had they not every thing that could be wished? Then surely they had unanimity as far as it could be granted. But could any man tell him, that, where ministers were pursuing ruinous and destructive measures, that the people should be unanimous with them? Surely not. With regard to our navy being distracted, who had caused that distraction? Why, the First Lord of the Admiralty. Certainly then he was a fit person to be dismissed. With respect to divesting himself of any personal pique, he could not say there was occasion for it, for he owed him none: but, on the other hand, he was taught to look up to him with respect, as a person upon whom his Majesty had heaped, in the most unlimitted manner, favours; yet was that a reason why he should not pronounce him guilty when he thought him so? It was not now a question, whether Lord Sandwich should lose his place, but whether the public interest should be sacrificed to continue him in office? With respect to the minister

nister breaking his promise, that was evident for his favourite war, which he never could find a name for, and the reason for which was obvious; for had he done so, he would have been tied down to that; but not having named it, he was at liberty, after having got the supplies, to continue in what manner he pleased, and that it was meant to be continued with vigour, he was confident, from the appointment of that brilliant commander, Sir Guy Carleton, who, he was sure, would not be an idle commander; he would not carry on a defensive war, a war of posts; no, his spirit was too well known, and he should glory to see him engaged in any other service than the present.

But to return to the question, there was a shameful neglect in the Admiralty Board, he said, himself, in his official capacity as Governor of Jersey, applied for a small naval force, not always to [illegible] that island, but occasionally to shew their faces there.--That would undoubtedly have prevented the attack which had nearly, owing to accident, been likely to prove fatal to the island. It was a well known fact, he said, that large fleets would, under the convoy of only a frigate, and sometimes only a cutter, anchor in sight of the island, and lay there twenty-four hours, which would be prevented, was ever so small a naval force kept there. He begged leave to mention one more circumstance before he sat down, which was, that by accident he had become possessed of the journal of De Guichen's fleet, which plainly made it appear, that the weather, when he sailed, was perfectly calm and serene, that he proceeded unmolested, that his force consisted of 19 sail of the line, with 180 transports, besides several ships armed *en flute*; that one of his convoy was so bad a sailer, that he was obliged, in the Ville de Paris, to tow her the [illegible]; and owing to many others of his fleet being sluggish ships, he was a considerable time making his voyage. Therefore the Admiralty, having let him slip by, might have gone after him, and with clean ships arrived before him. They ought to have made the relief of Gibraltar a secondary object, and by intercepting that fleet, have saved the West Indies. Again, with respect to Admiral Kempenfelt's fleet, was it not a shameful neglect to send so inadequate a number of ships? was not all this neglect; and under those heads were not the noble Lord's divisions of the question both answered? There had neither been foresights in the preparation of fleets, nor wisdom in the direction of them. Had his father, his brother, his son, or the dearest relation

relation he had, been guilty of ſuch abuſe to a ſtate as Lord Sandwich had, he would freely give him up, and not think himſelf juſtifiable in defending him.

Lord *Mulgrave* ſaid, he was ſurpriſed to find, after ſo late and honourable a diviſion in favour of the Admiralty had paſſed in a committee, that the ſame queſtion ſhould be urged again in the Houſe; he was likewiſe ſurpriſed to hear gentlemen ſay, that we were become the ſcorn and ridicule of foreign powers; in his opinion, the reverſe was the fact: he believed, that from our great exertions againſt ſo powerful an enemy, all nations looked on us with an eye of admiration and envy; they envied our ſtrength. The firſt Lord of the Admiralty had, by *meritorious acts, profound foreſight, and unremitting diligence*, procured a greater quantity of timber and naval ſtores than were ever in our yards at any one period before; that with reſpect to the not ſending Admiral Darby to cruize off Breſt, for De Graſſe, he had before in the committee declared, it was highly impolitic; he ſtill thought ſo, and always ſhould. The object Admiral Darby was to perform, was of greater conſequence, viz. the relief of Gibraltar; that he had performed, and the meeting of De Graſſe would have at beſt been only problematical; whereas Darby's ſailing to Gibraltar had two views to anſwer, to fight the Spaniſh fleet, and relieve the garriſon, as it was ſuppoſed the Spaniards meant to diſpute the mouth of the Straits. The affair of Admiral Darby's return into port, and the letter wrote to the Mayor of Briſtol, he ſhould ſay but little about, they did not deſerve any comment; ſuch orders were given as proved and juſtified the event; and ſo near does it appear was Admiral Darby's ſquadron, which he left to cruize for the protection of the Baltic fleet, with falling in with that convoy, that one of his ſhips did actually fall in and engage with a part of them. The next charge he meant to defend, was, ſending out Admiral Kempenfelt with only 12 ſhips that were ready; and had he waited longer for a reinforcement, he would have been too late, for he juſt fell in with them as they were proceeding, and he truſted had defeated their purpoſe. It had been urged, why did not the Admiralty let ſome ſhips cruize off Breſt? The reaſon was, that it was ſo near Breſt, the French could always ſend a ſuperior force to what we had, and therefore no good could enſue. He concluded his ſpeech with paying the Firſt Lord of the Admiralty ſome very high compliments.—During the whole of his adminiſtration, he had diſtinguiſhed

himſelf

himself for his prudent foresight, his unwearied attention, and his vigorous exertion. That in particular he had repaired 147 ships during the eight years that he had presided at the Admiralty Board, whereas not half that number had been repaired during the sixteen years that preceded that period.

Sir Horace Mann.

Sir *Horace Mann* would by no means allow, that our navy had been exerted to its utmost, if it had, it must have shewn itself in a different manner; he contended that we were every where disgraced, and he could not, with an honest face, go to his constituents, did he not vote for what was so plain to every person that would take the least trouble to look into the papers on the table. He had lately come from the continent, and that it was the universal language there, that our navy was badly conducted; and he quoted a remark that had been made by an imperial officer.

Mr. Wm. Pitt.

Mr. *William Pitt* rose, and after apologizing to the House for troubling them upon a business that had been the other evening so ably discussed; said, he could not help declaring, that while such glaring proofs appeared, by the papers then on the table, of the shameful mismanagement of the naval affairs, it was disgraceful to continue a man in office that had been the author of those disgraces. There had been sufficient time, by the intelligence they had received, to counteract De Grasse's design, and defeat the end he was sent for, which had proved so disastrous to this country; for the army he carried had been the means of capturing the army under the brave Cornwallis; but we had got quite familiar to losing armies by wholesale, and to disgraces in every quarter. He laid his hand upon his heart, and declared, that he thought the whole of the proposition fully, clearly, and expressly proved. He had no personal pique against the noble Lord; and he was assured, that if gentlemen were to speak their genuine sentiments, they would all confess with him the truth of the proposition now before the House. With respect to Admiral Kempenfelt's sailing with 12 ships only, it was a measure in which the Admiralty were highly culpable, as there appeared, by the returns from the different ports, that there were three ships at Spithead ready for sea, at the same time that Admiral Kempenfelt sailed, which would have made him more equal to risk a battle. The taking the transports was a mere matter of chance, and added nothing to the credit of the Admiralty. The disgraceful, but necessary flight of Admiral Darby from the combined fleets, would for ever be a stain on this country; and the conduct of the Ad-

miralty, in disbelieving the advice of their own Admiral, was one of the greatest insults they could have offered.

The *Lord Advocate* got up in much warmth, and seemed surprised to hear gentlemen argue against what he called facts: he was called on, he said, to vote in the lump on a whole mass of matter, nothing of which had been proved; he denied that any paper that lay on the table justified the motion; the honourable gentleman that made it, and the rest that followed him, seemed particularly happy to argue from events, after they had happened, and which, probably, it was out of the power of human wisdom to foresee: he was confident that all the naval force of this country had been applied as well as possible, and had Admiral Darby cruized off Brest, and missed Monf. de Grasse, the honourable gentleman who made the motion, would directly have cried out, what business had he there, why was he not at Gibraltar? was not that of more consequence? He was justified in his opinion about Admiral Kempenfelt from very high authority; for [illegible] conversation [illegible] on the propriety or impropriety of Admiral Kempenfelt being reinforced by Admiral Rodney, the [illegible] declared, that had Rodney been sent out, it would have been [illegible] impolitic, [illegible] his ships might have been [illegible], and the object of his voyage rendered useless. He [illegible], any of those [illegible] that would [illegible] motion, though, [illegible] Lord Sandwich [illegible], but if he was, on the present occasion, he [illegible] think him perfectly innocent [illegible] misconduct.

The Lord Advocate.

Lord *Howe* complained of the [illegible] increase of the navy estimates; they had regularly, he said, increased from year to year, yet our navy had not risen in proportion, but quite the contrary. He said, that there must have been considerable savings made out of the number of [illegible] men voted each year for [illegible] years past, not less, he said, than four millions, and he [illegible], that fifteen or twenty ships of the line might have been built with that sum. The noble Lord (Mulgrave) had, on a former occasion, [illegible] was dangerous to cruize off, or look into Brest; he was by no means of that opinion, for the wind that was fair to look into Brest, was fair for the enemy to come out, and under a judicious commander they might manœuvre a fleet off them, as near their guns as they thought fit. Admiral Darby, he maintained, might certainly have cruized to intercept De Grasse; or if that was not expedient, there was sufficient notice for him to

Lord Howe.

have failed much sooner than he did, and after he had relieved Gibraltar, he might have dispatched a part of his fleet to the West Indies or North America, which could have arrived time enough to prevent De Grasse from doing as he did. At the time Admiral Kempenfelt failed, there was undoubtedly, as the hon. gentleman (Mr. Pitt) had said, three ships ready at Spithead, and several more ready at different ports, that might have failed with him. He would not without the fullest conviction take upon him to say they were victualled for the East-Indies, but they certainly were victualled enough for the purpose of a short cruize; and although the affair of Admiral Kempenfelt's had proved fortunate, yet, by the Admiral's own letter, (an extract of which he read) it might have proved quite otherwise; for had not De Guichen's motive been to proceed on, he had it in his power, most probably, to cut off the rear of Admiral Kempenfelt's squadron. On the whole, he was thoroughly of opinion, that the motion ought to pass, and not any respect be paid to Lord Sandwich.

Mr. Dunnig.

Mr. *Dunning* got up, and paid great compliments to Mr. Pitt, as a most surprising man of his age, and then, in a very fine strain of irony, played upon Lord Mulgrave's words of "meritorious acts, profound wisdom, and unremitting diligence:" to be sure, he said, the naval campaigns, since Lord Sandwich presided at the Admiralty, had proved it; and no person, he supposed, would doubt or deny, that the flourishing state we were in must make us the glory and envy of all foreign states. He never had aspired, himself, to make his fortune in the naval line; he never meant to climb in that profession; yet, he must now say, that so far was he from thinking with Lord Nugent, that the House was certainly not altogether competent to judge in this affair, he was of opinion, that it was the most plain, simple fact to judge on; and, at the same time, one of the most capital questions that was ever agitated in Parliament. A learned Lord (Advocate) who had spoke in the debate, had said, "We were compelled to judge of a whole mass of matter in a lump." Certainly if it appeared that any of the propositions alledged against Lord Sandwich were believed, no man could hesitate to vote for the question; for it must then appear there had been mismanagement. The noble Lord in the blue ribbon, on the former debate, had complained that Lord Sandwich was not treated fair, and that the question was on too narrow a scale, and that the committee ought to enquire into the

whole

whole of his conduct; surely that argument must defeat itself; for even supposing, what he was confident no man would allow, that the first eight or nine years of Lord Sandwich's administration were free from error, certainly if the last year had been one continual scene of blunders, it was proper the man should be removed, as it proved he was worn out, and was become a driveller. He said the learned Lord (Advocate) with all his eloquence, and all that ingenuity which so particularly distinguished his character, was ashamed to own Lord Sandwich for a father, or to bear his name; and certainly he was right in so doing, for no man would wish to be the child of one that was so reprobated for his conduct as a Minister. He afterwards adverted to the four heads of charge which Mr. Fox grounded his motion originally on, and confessed himself strongly in favour of the motion, and thoroughly certain, that, could he dive into the hearts of men, not a person in that House but was of the same opinion; but those who would vote against the question, would vote as much for themselves, as they did for Lord Sandwich, with whom their interest was so nearly connected.

Admiral *Keppel* got up in some warmth, to answer, he said, an aspersion which seemed to be thrown out by the learned Lord, with respect to the opinion of Capt. Adam Duncan. Captain Duncan was a man of too much honour to speak a double tale, therefore he was confident the learned Lord must have misunderstood Captain Duncan, which was easily to be done, the learned Lord being ignorant of the profession.— Captain Duncan had, in conversation with him, declared the reverse of what the learned Lord had asserted; and he would mention it again, that Captain Duncan was a man of too much honour to carry a double face. There was not, he believed, a captain in the squadron of Sir George Rodney, who did not think that he ought to have been sent out to join Admiral Kempenfelt. But to the question; it had been declared by those in office, that the whole of the force of this country had been exerted properly; he denied the fact, for at the time of Admiral Kempenfelt's sailing, there were more than ten ships laying idle, which might have been with him; and it was a paltry excuse to say they were not ready, it was the duty of the Admiralty always to have ships ready (but more particularly when they have such long notice as appeared in the present case) to put to sea on an emergency. With respect to the protection which ought to have been given to the Eustatius convoy, it would certainly have been an easy Admiral Keppel

matter

matter to fall in with them, for Sir George Rodney writes expresly home, they are to be met with in lat. 49, 30; and what does Government do in consequence of this information? why, after the fleet is captured, they send a frigate to cruize in 48, 30, by which means, had they been where Sir George Rodney mentioned, the frigate, in all probability, would have missed them. He descanted on other parts with much professional judgment, and concluded by giving his hearty assent to the motion.

Mr. Sheridan. Mr. *Sheridan* said, he was surprised to hear gentlemen differ on the present question; the public notoriety of our failures at sea spoke at once for the motion; and to hear gentlemen urge, that if they voted for this motion, it ought not to be followed by the dismission of Lord Sandwich; was exactly similar to that which must for ever appear a disgrace to us, viz. voting that "the influence of the Crown had encreased, was still encreasing, and ought to be diminished;" and negativing the very first motion afterwards, grounded on that resolution; surely, he said, we were not going to fall into the same error now. It had been strongly urged, that the reason why Lord Sandwich should not be removed now was, on account of his having laid his plans for the ensuing campaign, which would be all frustrated, if he did not continue in office. Good God! what good could be expected from the future plans of a man that had planned so badly before? certainly nothing; and if that was to be the case, why was there a new secretary appointed a few days back? had not the late one formed his plans? surely, if it would hold good in one, it would in the other; but he wished there had been no plans formed by the late American Secretary, for he dreaded to see the day, if ever the army should return from America; it must be an awful day to England, no man could foresee the consequence of what might happen on the return of a large body of men, who had, for a series of years, been unnaturally employed to shed the blood of their fellow-subjects. He was heard throughout with great attention, and concluded with saying, that he dreaded making a peace till the marine of France was humbled; if peace was made while the House of Bourbon was equal in marine force to this country, he feared there would be an end not only to the commerce and prosperity, but also to the civil liberties of the kingdom.

Mr. Hill. Mr. *Hill*, of Salisbury, took up the question with considerable humour. He said, he attended to the debate very closely:

closely: he had marked the arguments on the one side and the other with that care and impartiality which a man ought to observe in making up his opinion, for he came down to the House with the best disposition to candour, that he might receive conviction from the proofs and reasoning of the day, and not be guided by prejudice or faction. On the one side then he had heard it said, and said with great earnestness, that the Earl of Sandwich was negligent, incapable, inactive; that he was the most inattentive and incompetent naval Minister that ever ruined or disgraced a country; that our navy was weakened and decayed; that we had neither ships nor men; and that our measures were framed without wisdom, and executed without spirit; that we had neither enterprize nor vigour in our naval department, and that consequently the very force which we possessed was not directed to the objects of the war. This was the story on one side.—On the other it was alledged, that the Earl of Sandwich was one of the greatest, most vigilant, active, and capable of Ministers that ever filled the naval department; that he was exceedingly industrious, and not very unfortunate; that his plans were framed with the utmost wisdom, and executed with the last degree of wisdom, that he was remarked for diligence and zeal; and that, under his management, the navy had advanced to a pitch of strength and grandeur unknown before. This was the story on both sides. Between descriptions so exceedingly opposite as these were, how otherways could he act, than to take the exact middle between them both, and believe that Lord Sandwich was neither a wise man nor a fool; neither a diligent nor a lazy man; neither enterprizing nor backward; neither great nor little; but, in short, that he was an indifferent sort of a so and so Minister, without any qualities that were either to be commended or censured; and who was calculated to go through life without doing either good or harm in it. Take the matter in this way, that he was an indifferent, middling kind of a Minister, he must vote against him; for he must believe that, in times like these, a Minister of this sort was not the fit man to be employed. We had occasion for a man such as the friends of Lord Sandwich described him to be, not such as the nation had found he was. We wanted a Minister of profound foresight, and unremitted diligence; but we must prove him possessed of those qualities by other means than the report of a junior Lord of the Admiralty. Success would be a testimony which the nation would be happy to admit; but as that had

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not been the case, he must, for one, heartily wish to see the department filled by another person. The language of the two sides of the House he had remarked throughout. The ministerial party ascribed the calamities of the country to the faction out of place. That party ascribed it to the faction who were in place. He sincerely believed that there was a great deal to be attributed to faction, and perhaps faction on both sides had done injury; but in regulating his own conduct, he must look to that which he thought the most upright and able of the two; and he had made the decision in favour of those who had moved the present question. Their reasonings and foresight had been verified by experience in every instance, and it was but justice to give credit to those men who had uniformly opposed the measures that had brought us to what we are. He wished to be a supporter of government. He had been so; and in the present instance he was a supporter of government; for he maintained just government, by removing bad governors. If those men were removed, who were really incapable of serving us with credit, or who could not remain in place without dividing the service, distracting and dejecting it, there would be some hope for England even yet; and he sincerely hoped, that the House of Commons would have the wisdom to think that the object of salvation was worth the attempting.

Sir William Dolben.

Sir *William Dolben* said, that he was brought, on the first moving of this question, to agree to the proposition, that there had been misconduct and mismanagement in the naval department during the year 1781. He was brought to do this from conviction. The papers upon the table evidently, and at least clearly to his mind, proved that fact; but when the honourable gentlemen talked of following this question up with a motion of dismission, and not even stopping there, but going on, and after he should be discharged from office, bringing him to trial, there he must beg leave to disjoin his vote, from those of the party who wished for carrying the business so far; he did not think that it would be right, decent, or even proper to proceed to the length of dismission; but more especially under the circumstances of the noble Lord in the present instance. For what was the argument advanced by the honourable gentleman who brought forward this motion, for not trying the noble Lord, the First Lord of the Admiralty, while he continued in place? Because, says he, the people in office, who must furnish the intelligence, would speak under influence, and would be deterred from

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giving their testimony so fully and freely, as was requisite to come at the truth. If then it was true, he must contend that it would be equally unjust on the other side to try him after he was dismissed from office; for then what would before his dismission suppress the truth, would be capable of aggravating it afterwards. This was his sentiment, and he must decline going farther in the matter than the motion of censure; and if it was meant and understood, that this was to be followed by other motions to that effect, which he had stated, he would not vote for the present question.

Mr, *Thomas Pitt* spoke with his usual elegance, in answer to Sir William Dolben; he said the baronet surely ought to consider what was the duty of the Commons' House of Parliament. Could they submit to see a man continue in office, whose administration they had declared to be productive of so much ruin to his country? It was most certainly impossible, after coming to the resolution now proposed, that they could refrain from the motion of dismission. Consistent with duty, they could not. But surely this was not an argument for objecting to the present question. The honourable baronet had already confessed, that he was fully convinced of the justice of the motion of censure, and therefore he ought surely to give his vote for it; when the motion of dismission came, then the honourable gentleman might declare his sentiments, but surely that ought not to affect his present vote. He spoke with great feeling on the distressful state of the empire, arising totally from the decay and mismanagement of the navy. He adverted to what had fallen from Mr. Hill. He wished to hear the sentiments of men who were of no party, and he trusted they would give their votes, along with his own, below the bar. He was sure that every man unconnected with ministry, and who had a voice to give, would vote for the present question, if they voted at all. Mr. Thomas Pitt.

Mr. *Taylor* spoke strongly in favour of the motion; and said, that such, in his opinion, had been the mismanagement of the navy, that all our calamities had originated in that source, and were solely to be ascribed to that evil. The House of Commons must perform their duty. It was not in their power, however it might be in their wishes, to conceal from the disgrace and punishment which he merited, the man, who had been the author of all our sufferings, our internal divisions, and our national disgrace. They must meet Mr. Taylor.

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the question soon or late, and the situation of the country would not brook delay.

The House now divided on the original question, when the numbers were: Ayes 217; noes 236. Majority in favour of Lord Sandwich 19.

Mr Thomas Townshend

While the members were in the lobby, Mr. *Thomas Townshend* informed them that a question was to come on with respect to the continuance of the American war, previous to their voting the supply. Gentlemen must have observed, he said, that notwithstanding the assertions of ministers in the beginning of the session, that the war in America could not be carried on; that yet preparations were now making for another campaign, and a very famous general was appointed the Commander in Chief [Sir Guy Carleton.] This was the manner in which a sickened Parliament had been abused and imposed on; and it was exceedingly necessary, that such gentlemen as were of opinion that more than a shuffling declaration of ministers was wanted, to give them the security that this mad war should not be persisted in, should give their attendance, when that motion should be proposed.

Deferred Ways and Means, and the Supply, to Friday.

February 22.

General Conway

General *Conway* rose to make the important motion respecting the American war, which had been intimated two days before. The right honourable gentleman began with stating, that the words which had fallen from him some time ago, had been the means of inducing gentlemen to request him to move the question, which they all considered to be essentially necessary in the present moment, when they saw, notwithstanding all the assurances which the nation had received, that measures were apparently taking for the further prosecution of the American war. At this day it would be surely idle and impertinent in him to try to interest the passions of the House, by a description of this unhappy and miserable struggle. Its progress had been marked in the best blood of the empire. It was to be traced by havock and desolation; by the ravaging of towns and the murder of families; by outrages in every corner of America, and by ruin at home. It came home to the feelings of every individual in the House, and he doubted not but they had so much of it, as to wish sincerely for that thing, which could alone put a stop to the farther calamities, called Peace. In the present moment, when there were certain indications of a design

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to continue that war; when a new General was appointed, and when, as he had been credibly informed, there were preparations making for the next active, offenſive campaign; in this moment he thought it neceſſary to aſk of the new Secretary, what was the deſign of government, not with regard to particular operations, but to the general ſyſtem? We were at preſent, he ſaid, entering as it were, into a new æra; we had got a new Secretary of State, who, though not a young man, was nevertheleſs a very young miniſter: if he was not young in body, he was ſtill poſſeſſed of youthful vigour of mind; and therefore he wiſhed to know what were the principles, what the ſentiments of this new miniſter reſpecting the American war? He trembled, however, from the complexion of the right honourable gentleman's former political conduct, leſt he ſhould be another phœnix, ſprung from the aſhes of his predeceſſor; and from him the American war ſhould be renewed in all its former vigour. Then, indeed, the ſtate bark might be ſaid to be in the moſt imminent danger; then he might cry out,

O! Navis referent in mare te novi
Fluctus—

Were we with a new conductor to have a new plan, or were we to go on in the ſame manner as we had begun and continued ſo long, in the obſtinate rejection of all advice which we could derive either from experience or counſel? The deſire of our gracious and well-inclined Sovereign muſt be for peace. He had expreſſed it in his ſpeech from the throne; and it would therefore, he thought, in the preſent moment, become that Houſe to approach the throne with an humble, earneſt, and dutiful ſolicitation that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to follow the benevolent wiſhes which he had expreſſed, to put an end to that calamitous war with our fellow brethren in America. He deſired to put a queſtion or two to his Majeſty's miniſters, which he hoped they would have no objection to anſwer. He was given to underſtand, and he had it from good authority, that there were now, or had been lately, perſons very near at hand, diſpoſed and authoriſed to treat of peace with America. It was a queſtion which he deſired them to anſwer openly, [illegible]. He was pretty well informed, both from the correſpondence that he had himſelf, and from the enquiries that he had made, that there was a diſpoſition at this time in America to treat of peace; and that it was not unknown [illegible] per-

sons, such as he had hinted, properly instructed and authorised, were now, or lately had been, not far distant. He desired to know another thing, whether they had lent an ear to those proposals, and had treated them as they deserved. The right honourable general made some very strong and pressing observations on the urgent necessity of bringing about this desirable end; and he wished exceedingly to know, what this new and young minister was to do in this situation into which he was introduced. We paid for 73,000 men, now said to be employed in America. This force was only upon paper, though we paid for them: in fact, by the last returns it appeared, that the force under Sir Henry Clinton was 9,300, and that captured in Virginia only 5,400, so that, in reality, every soldier, actually employed in America, cost us one hundred pounds a year. Having forcibly called and exhorted the House to consider the necessity of the moment, and to bend all their anxiety to the accomplishment of peace; for the man who, in the present distress, did not wish for peace, peace in preference to war, not only had not a heart, but he had not a soul in his bosom. He concluded with moving, "That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, earnestly imploring his Majesty, that, taking into his royal consideration the many and great calamities which have attended the present unfortunate war, and the heavy burthens thereby brought on his loyal and affectionate people, he will be pleased graciously to listen to the humble prayer and advice of his faithful Commons, that the war on the continent of North America may no longer be pursued for the impracticable purpose of reducing the inhabitants of that country to obedience by force; and expressing their hope, that the earnest desire and diligent exertion to restore the public tranquillity, of which we have received his Majesty's gracious assurances, may, by a happy reconciliation with the revolted colonies, be forwarded and made effectual, to which great end his Majesty's faithful Commons will be ready most cheerfully to give their utmost assistance."

Lord John Cavendish.

Lord *John Cavendish* seconded the motion, and, in a very warm appeal to the honest and upright feelings of gentlemen, begged and conjured them to take up this matter with seriousness now, which, sooner or later, they must take up. The present motion was perfectly regular and parliamentary; for though they might not presume to advise his Majesty what form of war to pursue, they might surely say what ought not to be pursued. The war with America not having originated

in laudable ambition, or in just policy, had been conducted without the dignity that became the British nation. Narrow, low, and selfish in its principle, the conduct had been mean, miserable, and defective. There was neither dignified resentment in the origin nor the progress. It was begun and carried on in pique, disgust, rancour, and narrowness. These low passions had been fed by disappointment; calamity, instead of making us wise, which was its common effort, had made us foolish; but we ought to consider, that sooner or later we must come to peace. We were already poorer by seventy millions than at the outset. If then peace must at last be sought for, the sooner surely the better; for the old prejudices and predilections of the Americans towards us, might not yet even be worn away from the bosom. Their trade, from that friendly partiality which long connection and intercourse are calculated to inspire, might revert to its old channel; but if the period was delayed, they would find new tracks, where they must form new affections, new habits, to the extinction of the last sparks of kindness that remained in the bosom.

The House had been told, that when no demand was made of a greater supply of men from Parliament than had been voted last year, it was clear that the war was to be carried on on a much more confined plan than hitherto; because in the estimates for the year, the force under Lord Cornwallis was included, which, being captured, could not act; but as the right honourable General had observed that the army had never been any thing like what it was declared to be in the estimates, it was obvious, that by making up the deficiencies, and rendering the army completely effectual to its nominal amount, we might have a greater force there this year than ever we had at any former period of the war; therefore the test given by ministers from the numbers voted this year might be fallacious, and probably it was so; he understood that great exertions were making to raise recruits in Germany and elsewhere; and therefore it was the indispensible duty of Parliament to call upon the servants of the Crown to say whether they did not still intend by these means to carry on the mad and absurd project of reducing America to obedience by force.

Mr. Secretary *Ellis* said, that though a very old member of Parliament, he certainly was a very young minister; and therefore he trusted, that, in what he should say, the House would be so indulgent as to make allowance to him, standing, Mr. Secretary Ellis.

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as he did then, in a ſituation ſo very new to him: though an old member of Parliament, he had been long diſuſed to ſpeaking; and therefore he ſtood in ſtill greater need of this particular indulgence, if from want of habit, he ſhould deliver himſelf in a leſs pleaſing, or more embarraſſed manner, than if he had been a young man, an older miniſter, or a more frequent ſpeaker.

As to the American war, it had always been his firm opinion, that it was juſt in its origin; nor could the events that had ſince occurred, make him change that opinion: but he never entertained an idea, nor did he believe that any man in that Houſe ever imagined that America was to be reduced to obedience by force: his idea always was, that in America we had many friends; and that by ſtrongly ſupporting them, we ſhould be able to deſtroy that party or faction that wiſhed for war, from motives of ambition, or a diſlike to monarchy; to deſtroy that faction, and aſſiſt our friends there in that deſired object, was, in his opinion, the true and only object of the war. Whether that object was now attainable, was matter to be conſidered. That our friends in America were ſtill numerous was a fact, for the truth of which, he would not indeed pledge himſelf to the Houſe; but he would nevertheleſs aſſure them that he believed it to be a certain fact: and he believed it to be ſo, becauſe he had the beſt reaſons to ſupport his belief. If his ſentiments were not now the ſame as they ever had been, reſpecting the practicability of the war, he did not feel himſelf ſo much under the influence of the unmanly ſhame alluded to by the noble Lord, as to be afraid to confeſs that a revolution had taken place in his mind; and he was free to confeſs that he was not now ſo ſanguine in his hopes of ſucceſs as he had been ſome time ago: nor did he think that the confeſſion diſgraced him; for he held it to be the duty of a ſtateſman to conform to the circumſtances of the times, and not blindly and obſtinately adhere to opinions, merely becauſe he had once entertained and ſupported them.

As to peace, no man could have a more earneſt deſire to ſee it reſtored, than he had; and whenever it could be made with ſafety and honour to this country, he would moſt cheerfully concur with his Majeſty's miniſters in eſtabliſhing it as ſpeedily as poſſible. He could endure war, only as the means of procuring a laſting and ſafe peace: it was on this principle alone that war could be juſtified; and being governed as he was by that principle, it was impoſſible that he could be an

an advocate for protracting the war one day beyond that time when a permanent and honourable peace may be established. The honourable general had said, that overtures had been made, or certain circumstances tending to a peace with America, had been communicated to his predecessor in office, but he really had never heard of any such thing before; and he was so very short a time in office, that he had not as yet seen any trace of such a notification, as the honourable General had alluded to.

The executive part of government was vested undoubtedly by the constitution, in the servants of the Crown; but the House was no doubt competent to interfere in the executive department, if it should think it expedient so to do; but he hoped that the legislature would never interfere on slight grounds. If the House wanted a test of the intentions of Ministry, respecting the future conduct of the war, a test had been already given, on which the House could rely with more certainty than on any declaration of any minister; and that test was the vote that passed for the army of the present year: an army was lost last year, and no application had been since made to Parliament for another to replace it; nay, as the captured army of Lord Cornwallis formed a part of the 73000 men, voted for the American service of the current year, it was clear that the operations of our troops must be proportionably confined, on account of the defalcation occasioned by the captivity of the army in Virginia.

Peace was certainly the wish of every man; but every man might not perhaps take the same steps to attain that greatly desired object. It was his business to submit to the judgment of the House, whether the best way to make an enemy sincerely wish for peace, was to withdraw the troops from the country, and rid them of those harassings which make men tired of war, and so anxious for the return of peace? In his opinion, it would be tantamount to this language — "we are tired out; do what you please, ask what "you will, propose your own terms, you have carte blanche, "we subscribe to every thing." On the other hand, to make them feel the inconveniencies, the hardships, the burdens of war, was, in his mind, the surest way to make them wish for peace; and therefore he must conclude vigour and exertion was the surest forerunner of that inestimable blessing.

But gentlemen did not seem so anxious for peace in general, as to put an end to the American war. Seeing th[illegible] in the light which he saw them, and having the grou[illegible]

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which he had for forming his judgment, he could not call the war in America, the American war; its true name was the French war; for, if he was not greatly miſtaken, and he believed he ſpoke from very good authority, the army under General Waſhington in general, and the whole of the American continental army, was fed, cloathed, and paid by France; ſo that it was France, not the Congreſs, that was fighting in America: it was not mere locality that gave name to a war; and therefore, from what he knew, he held himſelf to be authorized in calling the war in America a French war. Now, if France might be fought in other countries, as well as in France — if ſhe was fought laſt war in Germany, he could not ſee any ſolid objection againſt fighting her this war in America.

Having ſaid this much in order to explain his principles, he thought proper to make ſome obſervations on the manner in which the motion before the Houſe was worded. It condemned a war on the continent of America: this idea however was very vague and looſe; for if our General ſhould attack the French forces in America, he might be condemned as having diſobeyed the orders of that Houſe; and yet gentlemen profeſſed to ſay, that it was only with reſpect to the forces in America, that they would have our hands tied; the motion however made no ſuch reſerve, for a war on the continent of America was generally condemned by it. This amounted, in his mind, to a kind of tacit declaration, that the whole force of Britain ſhould be withdrawn from America: if gentlemen thought the times ripe for ſuch a declaration, let them make it; if they were not, why ſhould they propoſe a reſolution full of ambiguity? they no doubt expected, and juſtly too, that the orders of the Houſe ſhould be obeyed, but then they ſhould not word thoſe orders in ſuch a manner as would render it impoſſible for any miniſter to act under them with ſafety to himſelf; they ſhould conſider that upon the right and faithful diſcharge of his duty, depended the fortune, the life, and the honour of a Miniſter: and therefore the orders under which he muſt act, ſhould be clear, diſtinct, and explicit. Miniſters never could act to effect either in war or for peace, unleſs they poſſeſſed the confidence of that Houſe; the Miniſtry that could not gain that confidence, ought to retire; but if confidence was given to them, the conſequence of that confidence ought to be, that they ſhould be left to act to the beſt of their judgment, and to avail themſelves of contingencies as they ſhould ariſe; and not be crip-

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pled up by orders, which on many unforeseen occasions might perhaps be disobeyed with more advantage to the public than the most strict adherence to them could possibly produce. All he wished was, that the House would be explicit in its orders, and not place the servants of the Crown in a situation in which they could not act, either with safety to themselves, or benefit to their country. Mr. Ellis concluded, by saying, that he had thought it his duty to say thus much, by way of confession of his faith in his new situation, and to gratify the curiosity of the House: after this, he apologized for the length of time he had trespassed upon gentlemen; and begged they would excuse the defects and inaccuracies that they must have observed in the course of his speech. He came into the office which he now held, to employ the small portion of vigour, which age and infirmity had left him, for the good of his country; he had now made his confession of faith, and he trusted to the satisfaction of the House.

Mr. *Burke* rose next, and made an admirable commentary on the speech of the American Secretary. The House had no doubt been exceedingly attentive to the speech of the right honourable gentleman who had risen, soon after his appointment to the important office which he now held, for the desirable purpose of giving complete satisfaction to the House on the questions of the right honourable gentleman who had moved the proposition. Whether he had done so, or not, the House were now left to determine; but there was one expression of the new Minister at the latter end of his speech, which forcibly marked the quality and nature of the explanation which he had more than once given of his principles, and of his plan of conduct. He declared that he had given the House "his confession of faith." This was the name which he had given to his satisfactory explanation, and with infinite justice; for, says Mr. Burke, it resembles many other confessions of faith which I have seen, and which you must all have seen, though it may, by the effect of some internal light, be perfectly intelligible to the right honourable member himself, it will be totally unintelligible to all the rest of mankind. A confession of faith more obscure, and more confused, more intricate, and more absurd, perhaps was never framed and published for the delusion and calamity of mankind; like confessions of faith of the same unintelligible nature, it could only be supported by miracles. For what had this new Minister said? What satisfaction had he given to the House, and for what had the new arrangement in office been

been made; to which the nation had looked with expectation, and considered as the date of a new system, founded on conviction of past errors, in which this fatal and ruinous war was to be at length given up? Not one thing which had not been said a hundred times by the last American Secretary, and which had been said for the delusion of the House five years ago; the American war was to be continued; the same system was to prevail; the kingdom was again to be drained of men for the support of it; and more millions were to be lavished and lost in the pursuit; for to all this expressly did the confession of faith of this new Minister go. It might have been expected at least, that when a new Minister was appointed, at least a new language would have been held, if not a new system adopted; but even with this they were not gratified: Not one new idea, not one new sentence, not one new word; but the self-same, old, hacknied, stale, and common language as ever. Yes, there was one new idea started, and he begged gentlemen to attend to it. This hopeful contest, though it was to be continued, was no more to be considered as an American war. Its locality was nothing; its being carried on in the Colonies was nothing; it was now converted into a French war; this was the only thing in which there was either novelty or change; and from the new arrangement in office, this was all that had been produced.—A new arrangement had been made, that a peerage might be conferred on a man who dismembered his country, that the American war might be converted into a French war, and that an old man might be changed into a new Minister. He defied all the world to find another benefit from this alteration. The American war was to be considered as a French war; and we were to go on persecuting the Americans, not for the purpose of reducing the Americans to obedience by force, but for the purpose of reducing the French. What was the absurdity, or rather what was the wickedness of this idea? In the beginning of the present session, the effect which the loss of Earl Cornwallis's army produced, forced the Ministers to give assurances to the House that they must contract the scale of the war, and that it would be conducted, in future, on a very different plan from what it had been: here then was the execution of this ministerial assurance: We will no more prosecute the American war — we will drop that entirely — we have no farther intention of reducing the Americans to obedience by force; but — but — here is the fine ministerial distinction, and the new plan of delusion; but we

we must prosecute the French war which now rages in the fields of America. Did not gentlemen perceive at what they aimed by this new argument? Surely they must see, that under this pretext, every hostile and offensive operation that can be contrived for the distress and persecution of the people will be continued, when they have no longer the hope to subdue. But how did the new Minister discover that the war in America was to be considered as a war with France? Had he discovered that the French and Americans had entered into an alliance, and that France had bound herself to support the independence of the Colonies? What proof had he of this fact? Or what intelligence which justified him in saying, that by prosecuting the American war, we fought against France? Instead of making thereby a diversion against the enemy, we unfortunately made a most material and injurious diversion against ourselves in favour of France; and she would continue that diversion as long as we pleased; for it cost us twenty thousand for every thousand that it cost them. But under this new name of a French war the American contest was to be persevered in; and from this new Minister we were to receive exactly the old system. The right honourable gentleman had told the House exactly the story which he had told for five years. He had for a long time, in an inferior order of ministerial existence, crawled upon the leaves of the American system; but now, like the caterpillar, he had left the cressilis state, his wings had broke from their foldings, and now expanded, he took his flight; but though his appearance was different, the creature was the same. Indeed it might with truth be asserted, that the late Secretary for the American department, though called up by a patent to the other House, was still to be found in effigies in his old seat. There he sat with all the plans of the American war thick upon him. The right honourable gentleman was the noble Lord's universal legatee. On his political death he hath bequeathed to the right honourable gentleman all his plans, projects, and measures, nay, his ideas, language, and words, all and several the parts and parcels of the American war he had transmitted by his last will and testament to the right honourable gentleman, who was his heir, successor, executor, and universal legatee; not one scrap had he suffered to go into other hands, but all had devolved on this new Minister, and he still spoke, lived, and acted in that House, as heretofore, only he had gone into the shape of the right honourable gentleman. The right honourable gentleman, before he had been

many days, nay many hours among them in his new capacity, had thought so meanly, or so ignorantly of the sense and dignity of Parliament, as to believe that they would suffer this insult of going on with the American war under a new name. Though he was a new minister, he was an old member, and he ought to have known and felt more respectfully and justly of parliament: What! at this day, after a seven years experience of the absurdity and impracticability of the contest, to be told that we were to go on! Not one ragged nor tattered fragment of an excuse to cover the design; that, at least, if men were to be seduced, there might be the grace of delusion in the business; no cover, no disguise — none but the miserable and ridiculous stratagem of giving a new name to the old story. The cheat was too paltry to pass even upon Parliament, much less on the suffering and burthened people, whom it was ultimately to affect. That he was right in asserting, that the right honourable gentleman was the universal legatee of the noble Lord, was evident from this, he had succeeded to his hopes, to his intelligence, to his knowledge of our numerous friends in America, to his total ignorance of every thing that tended to peace. He had said, that he had great and good reason to believe, and to be persuaded that we had many and numerous friends in America. He did not know it, he had no personal knowledge of the fact; he had only good and substantial reasons to believe it. The fact was plain, the right honourable gentleman was already in possession of all the noble Lord's refugees; seventy-two thousand pounds worth of refugees had come to him as part of the inheritance. Oh! exclaimed Mr. Burke, that we could only come to the happy moment when Ministers would be pleased charitably to forbear the name of our friends in America. It was our friends in America that had done us all the mischief. Every calamity of the war had arisen from our friends; and if such were to be our friends, he wished to God that we might hear of them no more. When exhausted and famishing, had our friends assisted us? Had they brought us a single bullock, a single bushel of Indian corn? Had they assisted us in any one shape or way? No: they had drawn us in the north to Saratoga; and in the south to York-town. What did the honourable gentleman mean by his holding out the delusion of more friends? Did he recollect, or did he think of the 10th article of the last capitulation? Or did he mean to make other 10th articles for the purpose of giving up what few friends we might still have left? The right honourable gentleman

gentleman also had hopes of success. After all our calamities, after having found by experience, that when we had only America to oppose, we were unequal to the reduction; now that we had fresh accessions of enemies, nay, that we had the most powerful in the universe to oppose, he had reason to entertain hopes. Miserable hopes! What had the American war produced? What but peerages and calamities? What but insults and titles? Was there any thing to give hope? O yes, we must not only have hope, but confidence in Ministers. Confidence! could we have confidence in the men who still determined to prosecute this mad and impolitic war? It was impossible. Could we have confidence in this new Minister, who seemed determined to tread in the footsteps of his predecessor? He had heard nothing of propositions of peace. He had found no traces of any thing like negociation for peace in his office: Oh! no. There was no reason to expect any thing of that sort in the office of his predecessor; or if there was, he dared to say that it lay hidden and concealed, unless the right honourable gentleman had taken the trouble to make particular inquiries of the principal people in the office, whether or not there were any papers in the place relating to propositions of peace.—But it was not the temper of the noble Lord to cherish any thing of that sort. But surely the new Minister must know, that there had been propositions of peace made under an act of Parliament, by the Commissioners sent from this country; and, for the purpose of shewing that the noble Lord, who had lately gone up to the other House, after seeing those propositions made in the moment of his absurd hope, that is, in the very moment of actual distress, not only forgot, but expressly contradicted the offers that were made. The honourable gentleman read extracts of a letter from Lord George Germain, now Lord Sackville, to a gentleman in America, in which he recommended to him, in settling with such as might be inclined to return to their allegiance, to repress the republican spirit, and to adhere closely to the old constitutions. The honourable gentleman said, that the moment of our ruin in America was the season of his hope. He had indulged expectations of success so ill-founded and fallacious, that in the very instant when he formed and retailed them, the serious plan for our destruction was formed, and beginning to be put in execution. The honourable gentleman, to shew this singular fact, read several extracts of letters from the late American Secretary to Sir Henry Clinton, and others of his

confidential correspondents, dated in the months of January, February, and March, last year, in which he informed him, that all was perfectly safe in France, there was nothing to be expected from that quarter, and therefore he planned and suggested another expedition like that of General Burgoyne, to be performed by General Haldiman, from Canada, just at the time when De Grasse sailed from Brest with the armament which captured the army of Earl Cornwallis at York-Town. In the month of February 1781, he knew nothing of the armament which sailed on the 7th of March. In the month of February he ordered a new expedition, that another army might suffer the disgrace of a surrender. He received all his American intelligence from France, and his French intelligence from America. He recommended to Sir Henry Clinton, at a time when the exchange of prisoners were stopt, to send the American prisoners to the West-Indies, to recruit our regiments there, "because there was a great mortality "reigned among them in that intemperate climate." This was the way which he laboured to regain the scattered affections of America. This was the way that he strove to conciliate their warring dispositions, and bring them to loyalty and peace. This was the plan and conduct of this war, from which he had returned with the distinguishing reward of a Peerage. The honourable gentleman said, it was no security to Parliament that the estimates of the present year did not allow for a specific number of men in addition, to be sent to America for the purposes of the war. Without forming new regiments, let them only fill up the present, and the force would be greater than it had been at any former period of the contest. Besides, it would not, and it must not be asserted, that Ministers had not the power at any time to increase that number, by bringing before the House fresh demands. With respect to the possession of posts in America, for the purpose of carrying on a war with France, or of taking the advantage of contingencies, they could only be valuable, when, by their natural strength, they might be occupied by a few men, so that they might have the opportunity of detaching a great many from them on actual service; and he called upon the House to say, whether the posts of New York, Charlestown and Halifax, were posts of this kind, or posts which could produce any other than that simple and curious one, of waiting

* These letters are inserted in our Lords Debates, Vol. VII. page 123 et seq.

waiting to take advantage of contingencies. No contingencies, he said, could possibly arise favourable to this country while the present system was pursued.

Mr. Adam Mr. *Adam* considered himself then in a very different light from what he had appeared 48 hours before: in the last debate, he was exercising his judicial authority, vested in him as a member of Parliament, by the constitution, in scrutinizing the past conduct of a minister; but this night he was called upon to act in a very different capacity, in a capacity which he did not derive from the constitution, namely, that of advising, or rather pointing out the different measures, which the executive power was then to pursue; this he held to be unconstitutional; for the House of Commons must be converted into a Privy Council, and a council without grounds or documents to go by, to direct the Crown; this was unconstitutional, for by the constitution, the House had an indisputable right to examine into the past, but they could not dictate the measures to be adopted, without encroaching on the rights of the executive power. Gentlemen seemed apprehensive, lest the army in America should be recruited up to the full complement, or number stated upon paper; but he thought the character of Sir Guy Carleton, who was to command that army, took away all grounds for such apprehensions. That officer was extolled on all sides for his great military abilities: his talents were acknowledged to be of the first magnitude, both in offensive and defensive war; but still if there was any one part of the military profession in which he excelled more than in another, it was undoubtedly in defensive war, of which he had given so brilliant a proof at Quebec, where he had acquired immortal honour by the gallant and judicious defence he made, and the signal success he obtained over the enemy. It was therefore most probable that a defensive, and not an offensive, war was the object of the ministers, who had appointed Sir Guy Carleton.

Lord Sheffield. Lord *Sheffield* was against the motion, and urged that it would be impolitic to withdraw our troops from America, as the Americans then might annoy our West-India islands. He said he did not clearly understand the motion; he knew not how we could separate the war with America from the war with France; or how we could talk of maintaining a war of posts without intending to make it a war of offence. If we had not a force in America which should be able to act as occasion might require, we must lose every post in detail from

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river St. Lawrence to the Cape of Florida. We must either fight France in America, or we must fight her in the west, in the east, or at home, in the rich fields of Britain.

Mr. Wilberforce. Mr. *Wilberforce* was much in favour of the motion, and declared, that while the present ministry existed, there were no prospects of either peace or happiness to this kingdom.—He said, it tended to hold out wise advice and direction to ministers for their future conduct, respecting the American war; their career hitherto had rather resembled the career of furious madmen than the necessarily vigorous and prudent exertions of able statesmen. He declared, from a part of what the new Secretary had said, he began to suspect, what a subsequent part of his speech had fully confirmed in his mind, viz. that it was intended to pursue the ruinous war in the former, cruel, bloody, impracticable manner.

Mr. Tho. Townshend. Mr. *T. Townshend* spoke likewise very strongly in favour of the motion; it had been thrown out in the debate, he said, that it was not now an American war, but a French war; that America was become dependent on France, that France had conquered America; what then could be inferred, but that France, with 3400 men in America, had done more than England had with 73,000?

Mr. Turner. Mr. *C. Turner* said, that the people of England, especially the poorer sort, were so reduced by the American war, that the farmers in the country were glad to sell their corn as fast as they could thrash it, merely to support themselves. He declared that he differed from those who looked to Parliament for the salvation of the nation; he had trusted to them too long; and the only salvation now lay on the people, whom he would join on the first occasion.

Colonel Barré. Colonel *Barré* moved, before they proceeded any farther on a subject of such importance, that the petition from the city of Bristol, lying on their table, might be read, which being complied with, he said, the many burdens and grievous oppressions which it was stated that great trading town laboured under, by this destructive and pernicious American war, were not peculiar to it; they were common to the whole kingdom; he was confident the city of London had similar sentiments with regard to the war, and the reason that their table was not loaded from all parts with petitions of the like nature with that just read, was, that the nation did not look up to Parliament with that respect which they were formerly wont to do; they had fallen into contempt in the eyes of the public; and that, and that alone was the cause that

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complaints of the distresses, heavy burdens, and intolerable hardships which the nation endured, did not pour in from every quarter. An honourable gentleman had said, that this mode of addressing the Crown was unprecedented. Good God! Sir, said he, the situation of our country is unprecedented; and is this a time, when the nation is verging on absolute ruin, to search for precedents to warrant us in those measures which may avert that destruction. From what has fallen from the new Secretary of State, he could plainly perceive that the same wretched argument and folly which had hitherto promoted and carried on the accursed war, still influenced the conduct of ministers; he said, we had many friends in America, and it would be cruel to abandon them to the merciless hands of the Congress. It was an entire delusion; we had no friends in America; and ministers had been duped into the idea of the contrary by the misrepresentations and falsehoods told them by Refugees here. From their erroneous misinformation we might chiefly attribute our disasters in America. To contradict their lying reports to government, we needed only refer to Lord Cornwallis's public letters. In them he told us, he met none of those many loyalists he was made to believe he should in North Carolina, a province in which he stood most in need of them; in his march throughout almost the whole province, he said, he found them timed friends and inveterate enemies. Did this language denote loyalty? Were these the numerous friends and warm advocates for this country, that Ministers were so mighty tender of deserting? However, his Lordship being necessitated, through want of provisions and other circumstances, to march to Wilmington, he there found a number of Americans assembling, not for the purpose of arming, as would be falsely insinuated, but merely to see that gallant General [Lord Cornwallis] who had so repeatedly beaten General Green; and as soon as this sight was over, and they paid their addresses to his Lordship, they returned with as great expedition out of the town as they made in coming in: and he had it from very good authority, such as could not be doubted, that Lord Cornwallis could not, with every persuasion in his power, prevail on even an hundred men to arm themselves in his support. From this account of the disposition of the Americans, must not every man, endued with any degree of reason, see the impracticability of subduing America by force.

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In the next place, if it was meant to be made a war of posts, our forces were too numerous, and a smaller number would answer the end as effectually, and the rest might be employed with vast advantage to the nation elsewhere; therefore, when he saw no such plan in agitation, but on the contrary, that there were more regiments and forces to be sent to augment our armies, he must naturally conclude the war was to be carried on as extensively as ever, nor was he the less convinced of this circumstance, from what an honourable gentleman said, that the estimates on the table proved incontestably that the war was not to be carried on on so large a scale as heretofore. The estimates, in his opinion, could afford no certainty whatsoever of the designs of government, for, to pursue their favourite plan, they might send the army from Ireland, they might send the army from England, and therefore, without some direct confession of administration, that they do not intend continuing an offensive war in America, they were as perfectly at liberty to act now as they were at the first day. To shew the deceit and the inconsistency that Ministers had shewn in the whole course of this war, with the permission of the House, he would read a paper, wrote by the Secretary [Sir Grey Cooper] of the noble Lord in the blue ribbon, and at his express desire, in order to be shewed to the Congress. It mentioned, after stating several particulars of the power of this nation, and the great disadvantages that would attend the perseverance of America in this war, that so high was the spirit of the nation, that Ministers had not influence to procure them any concessions from Parliament, if they were inclined to it ever so much; and, at the very same time that this paper was wrote for the inspection of Congress, the noble Lord proposed to this House offers for a reconciliation with the Colonies. Then, was it possible to suppose, that America, who had seen so much duplicity in the conduct of the servants of the Crown, would ever have faith in any propositions which might originate from them, without they had a confirmation of the sincerity of their wishes by a vote of this House, for which purpose he thought the address moved by the honourable General well calculated, and it had therefore his hearty concurrence.

The Secretary at War. The Secretary at War, [Mr. Jenkinson] remarked, that if an end to the American war was what gentlemen wished for, the withdrawing our forces would by no means have that effect; for America, when she had no force in that country to cope with, would certainly attack us in her turn; so that we

we should still have an American war; besides, her ports would be open, and would every day encrease in wealth and power, a circumstance this nation should use their utmost endeavours to prevent. He said, gentlemen wished to be informed what government meant by war of posts. His idea was, that we were to keep no regular army in the field, but in keeping those posts we had, we might add others to them whenever they should be found advantageous to us, thus affording us the means of attacking the enemy if an opportunity served of doing it with success; he said the address now moved for was not explicit enough, the terms of it were too obscure, nor could he see any possible benefit could arise from it, if he did, it should have his warmest support.

Mr. *Fox*, in a most able speech, exposed the duplicity of ministers. He said he was happy to find, on a late occasion, two hundred nineteen honest, independent men. If the people would only consider the vast number of contractors and placemen, that unworthily and unjustly had seats in that House, they must consider, that a majority of nineteen, for a Minister, was, in fact, a minority, as it proved most clearly and unequivocally that the voice of the people were undoubtedly against him. He was exceeding severe on administration, and was glad to find that he had discovered who that evil spirit was that conducted all our mischiefs; it was a person higher than the noble Lord in the blue ribband; for the noble Lord was only his puppet, and acted as he was told. The right honourable gentleman had spoke out. He now understood what was meant. He would take the word of a principal. The other persons on the same bench with the right honourable gentleman, though ostensible ministers, were only secondary kind of beings compared to him. That infernal spirit that really ruled, and had so nearly ruined this country, which was much greater, though not so visible, as Ministers had spoken through the right honourable gentleman's mouth. He said, it was now evident, that the war was to be pursued in America in the same mad manner in which it had been conducted hitherto. He talked of the distinction of carrying on a war with America, and in America, and said, every body had hoped from what had fallen from a learned Lord, and the noble Lord in the blue ribband before the holidays, that the war in future was only to be continued with America, and not in America. But the right honourable gentleman's explanation of the sort of war of posts to be adopted, had fully convinced him. He declared, if the learned Mr. Fox.

ned Lord did not vote for the present motion, what he had said before the holidays would bear the construction of having arisen from personal animosity, otherwise how was his speaking against one minister, and supporting another for pursuing the same measures in the same manner, to be accounted for?

The Secre- at War. The *Secretary* at *War* rose and explained what he had said, disavowing his being animated by any spirit but his own.

Lord North. Lord *North* said, the conduct of gentlemen in opposition was of the most unaccountable nature. They were constantly calling on him for information in respect to this and that measure, and yet in the very same breath they said, they would not give the smallest credit to a word he uttered. This conduct, he said was a paradox; it was contradictory and puerile. Such inconsistent invective was the strongest proof that office, not the measures of the Minister was the primary cause of the attacks of opposition. He said, he viewed the Address in two different lights; the first was, that it was meant by it that we should withdraw our forces from America. This, he understood, was the construction put on it by some of the gentlemen who supported it; and if so, he thought it a measure highly improper, and big with mischief to the nation. What? said he, would you declare to the French, to Spain, to the Dutch, that you intended relinquishing NewYork, Charles-town, &c. for the sole purpose that they may render that measure impracticable! for the moment you declare your intention, that moment will they use their utmost endeavours to frustrate it. Besides, the Address points out no particular place we are to evacuate; are we to give up Canada, Halifax, St. Augustine, and the rest of our possessions in America? As to this, we are left totally in the dark. Ministers ought ever to take care when the legislature dictates to the executive power the propriety of measures, that their directions should be so explicit and clear, that their meaning could not be misunderstood; in this case it was the very reverse, administration was left to judge of an Address, which, from the general manner in which it was worded, might bear several constructions. If he took it in the second point of view, by way of advice to ministers, he must consider it as quite useless, for he was convinced there was not a servant of the Crown that did not as anxiously wish for peace as any member whatsoever. This they had demonstrated by the frequent commissions they had procured to be sent out for that purpose: and as to what an honourable

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ble gentleman said of the duplicity of ministers, in regard to the paper wrote by Sir Grey Cooper, instead of redounding to his discredit, it was the very strongest, and most convincing proof, that could be adduced, that his inclination always led him to peace with America. He must declare, notwithstanding all that gentlemen, who, on every occasion, opposed government, had said to the contrary, that the best method, and the likeliest to be attended with advantage to the state would be, whenever they found the principles of ministers clashed with those of Parliament, to address his Majesty for their removal, he was sure it would be more decent than the method now before the House. It had been observed that it was wrong at this crisis to send out a General, whose military ability, bravery, and zeal for this country, was acknowledged by every one who had the honour of knowing him; and yet these very same gentlemen, who condemned this measure, were the first to complain of the danger New York (a post of such importance to this nation) was in of being attacked by the united force of France and America: if the case was as stated by them, did there ever exist at any time a greater necessity of employing an able, gallant officer than at this present, particularly as Sir Henry Clinton had desired to be recalled, and Lord Cornwallis, who was second in command, in a situation, at the present moment, not capable of succeeding him; and of course, if Sir Guy Carleton was not to go to America, it must devolve on a foreign general, who was the third in command.

Lord *Mahon* said he could account for the real cause of the American war. His Lordship then read an extract from the declaration of the United Colonies of America, setting forth the causes and the necessity of their taking up arms; and his Lordship declared, that the Earl of Chatham had assured him that the sentiments expressed in that paper did him much honour; but, said his Lordship, they (the Congress) are ill advised; for this (holding the page in his hand) is a sin which never will be forgiven. This paper and the passage in particular to which he referred, was the declaration, that the system pursued by the government, in direct opposition to the plan and advice of Lord Chatham, was the cause of their discontents. Lord Mahon.

The Hon. *W. Pitt* spoke with his usual eloquence on the motion, and urged the necessity of putting a speedy end to the war. It had been, he said, remarked in the debate by the new Secretary, that to make peace with the Americans, you The hon. W. Pitt.

 must

muft make them feel the calamities of war. Surely we ought to pay fome refpect to the calamities of our conftituents at home, they, he would be bound to fay, felt all the calamities of war.

Mr. Smith. Mr. *Smith* (fon of the General) fpoke with much diffidence, but extremely to the purpofe, and in favour of the motion.

The Lord Advocate. The *Lord Advocate* rofe to anfwer a part of Mr. Fox's fpeech, which was fuppofed to accufe him of condemning in Lord Germain what he approved in Welbore Ellis, and was againft the motion.

Mr. Banks. Mr. *Banks* was much in favour of the motion, and fhewed that it was truly conftitutional for that Houfe to interfere, and the only proper means of bringing about the defired object, peace with America.

Mr. Thomas Pitt. Mr. *Thomas Pitt* was in favour of the motion, and traced the American war with much accuracy and precifion, as well as the different conduct of the Minifter at different periods of it.

Mr. Powys. Mr. *Powys* moved, that the Journals of the Houfe on the 6th of February, 1775 be read, which was done, fhewing the addrefs to his Majefty to profecute the American war; he then argued that it was not now neceffary for the Houfe to agree to the prefent motion, as they perceived that the war was no longer practicable.

Mr. Rigby. Mr. *Rigby* faid, he undoubtedly was of opinion fome time back, that the American war was a juft one; he ftill continued to think fo; but he was alfo of opinion, that the complexion of the times had altered, and that it was no longer practicable to purfue it; yet he fhould vote againft the prefent motion, (although he wifhed for peace) as it interfered with the executive power, and left Minifters in a fituation not knowing what to do.

General Conway. General *Conway* explained the nature of the motion, and faid it was neceffary for the Houfe to come to the refolution propofed, as a bafis to treat upon, as it would fhew the world that the Houfe of Commons were in earneft. The right honourable General reviewed all the arguments that had been urged againft the motion, and gave them clear and forcible anfwers.

It being then two o'clock in the morning, the Houfe divided; ayes 193; noes 194.—Majority, for continuing the American war, 1.

After the division, Mr. *Fox* desired to know when the Minister meant to open his budget, and commenting very severely on him for delaying it so long; upon which Mr. Fox.

The *Speaker* informed him, that Lord North had early in the day mentioned his intention of bringing forward the new loan on Monday next. The Speaker.

Lord *North* said, he proposed Monday next for the loan, but he should not be able to go into the particulars of the tax that day. Lord North

Colonel *Barré* said, he was surprized how a Minister could dare behave in so scandalous and indecent a manner; after having, by every oppression, scourged the people to the last drop of blood, he wished to scourge that out of them also. It was scandalous, indecent, and insulting, to intimate on a Friday, at a time when the House was thin, that he should propose his budget on Monday. He absolutely had got to such a pitch, that he thought the House met for nothing but to grant taxes. Col. Barré.

Lord *North* got up in much warmth, and declared that he supposed the large minority of that evening had inspired the right honourable gentleman with courage to abuse him; he had always held forth to him such language as was not decent, but now he had been insolent and brutal. Lord North

[Here the House was in a continual roar of, to order, to order; upon which the Speaker rose, and after quieting the clamour of the House with much difficulty, said, undoubtedly the noble Lord's words were improper, but they must be attributed to heat, and he was confident he would apologise to the House for them.]

Lord *North* asked pardon of the House for the expressions he had made use of, but declared that the words of the right honourable member had grated so in his ear, that he could not help rising in some warmth; to be sure it was wrong in him, who had been so long used to parliamentary abuse, to be irritated at any thing. He could bear as much as any man: and he was certain the House would give him credit when he said, that he took abuse as patiently as any man. Lord North

Mr. Dunning, Mr. W. Pitt, and several others declared, that they thought a particular and distinct apology was due to Colonel Barré, for the language held out to him by the noble Lord.

Lord *North* made first a general apology to the House for what he had said; and when this was declared by the Speaker Lord North

and

and other members to be insufficient, he made an apology, without any reserve or exception whatever.'

Col. Barré. Colonel *Barré* got up and said, he in general differed with thenoble Lord in politics, and despised him as a Minister; yet as a private gentleman he esteemed him. There was a material difference, he contended, in their situation; as a Minister, he had a right to use and treat him with as severe epithets as Parliamentary form would allow: He had always done it, and he would continue to do so, as long as he continued in office. He was the Minister that had plunged us into all our misfortunes, he had expended the public treasure shamefully, he had made fraudulent contracts, he had ruined the empire, and oppressed the public to such a degree, that he called upon the most polite part of the House to say, whether he could use too harsh words to express his detestation; yet, although he was allowed this freedom, the noble Lord was not, for what was he? to be sure First Lord of the Treasury, yet he should consider he was the servant of the people, the servant of that House, and one that ought to use genteel language when he was speaking either of or to a private member of that House. At the same time he declared, he should be ashamed to behave or to talk improperly in that House. To the noble Lord, as a private gentleman, he was not in the least disposed to use any language that even looked like rude or uncivil language; less perhaps than to any one man living; but there certainly was an essential distinction between public parliamentary language, and the conversation of private gentlemen. Whatever had been the occasion of the noble Lord's heat, he, as a member of that House, had warrantably and justifiably complained of the noble Lord's conduct as a minister, and ought the noble Lord, for his having done so, to have called him brutal——

Speaker. The *Speaker* interfered, and begged, that as the apology was made and accepted, the offensive words might not be repeated, nor the disorder revived.

February 25.

Mr. Coke. Mr. *Coke* informed the House, that he was instructed by the bench of justices at the last quarter sessions for the county of Norfolk, to propose a revisal of the game laws, which, in their opinion, ought to be reviewed, as they stood in need of very great amendments. Combinations had been formed in that county against the execution of these laws, and some

tions

lives had been loſt. In obedience, therefore, to the inſtructions of ſo reſpectable a body of his conſtituents, he moved, that a committee be appointed to take into their conſideration the preſent ſtate of the game laws, and report their opinion to the Houſe.

Sir *Edward Aſtley* ſeconded the motion: he ſpoke alſo of parties armed with fire-arms; and of the neceſſity of reviſing the game laws. Sir Edward Aſtley.

Mr. *Charles Turner* exclaimed againſt thoſe laws as cruel and oppreſſive on the poor: he ſaid it was a ſhame that the Houſe ſhould always be enacting laws for the ſafety of gentlemen; he wiſhed they would make a few for the good of the poor; if gentlemen were not ſafe in their houſes, it was becauſe the poor were oppreſſed. let the legiſlature protect them, and the gentry would have nothing to fear in their houſes. He had been down in Dorſetſhire, and he was ſhocked to ſee game there more numerous than the human ſpecies. For his own part, he was convinced, that if he had been a common man, he would have been a poacher, in ſpite of all the laws; and he was equally ſure, that the too great ſeverity of the laws was the cauſe that the number of poachers had increaſed ſo much. He earneſtly wiſhed to ſee the game laws reviſed, and ſtripped of more than half of their ſeverity: this wiſh was not an intereſted one, for every ſhilling of his eſtate was in lands only, and he was a ſportſman as well as other men. Mr. Turner.

General *Conway* roſe only to give notice, that on Wedneſday next he would make a motion, as nearly the ſame in ſubſtance as the orders of the Houſe would permit, as that which was rejected on Friday laſt. His reaſon for bringing again before the Houſe the ſubject of the American war, was, that, conſidering the very ſmall majority by which his laſt motion was rejected, and the number of members who were abſent on that occaſion, he was of opinion that the ſenſe of the Houſe had not been fully taken: therefore, that the ſubject might be farther diſcuſſed, and that all the members in town might have a fair opportunity of expreſſing, by a vote, what was their ſenſe of the farther proſecution of the American war, he then announced that on Wedneſday he would renew his motion. General Conway.

Sir *Grey Cooper* moved for the order of the day, for going into the committee of ways and means; and next that the Sir Grey Cooper.

Speaker

Speaker should leave the chair: which being done, and Mr. Ord having taken the chair of the committee,

Lord North. Lord *North* entered upon the tedious and arduous business of the loan. He said that many parts of the necessary supply of the year had not yet been voted; and therefore he could not state the whole of the supply with that degree of precision with which he could speak of it when all the estimates should be laid upon the table: however, he knew he could come so very near the exact account, that gentlemen would be at no loss to form a just opinion on the subject. Various sums had been already voted under the heads of navy, army, ordnance, exchequer bills; and there still remained very considerable sums to be voted for miscellaneous services.

NAVY.

	£.	s.	d.
The committee of supply had already voted 100,000 seamen, including 21,000 marines, and for their support, 4l. per man, per month, which made	5,200,000	0	0
For the ordinary of the navy —	409,766	12	9
For building, re-building, and repairing ships — —	953,519	0	0
Total for the navy,	6,563,000	12	9
Of the navy debt he intended to pay off this year — —	1,500,000	0	0
Which would make the whole voted, and to be voted for the navy, for the service of the present year —	8,063,285	12	9

It might be thought that 1,500,000 was too small a sum for the discharge of the navy debt this year, when compared to that which had been voted last year for the same purpose, which was 3,200,000l. but then it was to be remembered, that it was a particular circumstance, which did not occur often, that had enabled Parliament to pay off so large a sum; this particular circumstance was the renewal of the Bank charter, for which 2,000,000l. were advanced by the Bank. According to the terms of the agreement, 1,000,000l. was to be advanced last year; the other, on or before the 1st of March, 1782: the Bank, however, in order to accommodate government, had advanced before the expiration of the year 500,000l. of the million, which was not to become pay-

able

able till March next; so that the whole of the two millions had not yet been applied to the discharge of the navy debt; there remained still half a million, which he would add to the 1,500,000l. that he intended to dedicate to that use this year, by which means he would be enabled to pay off 2,000,000l. of navy debt. Adding, therefore, this half million to the gross sum of 8,063,000l. already stated, the whole supply for the navy for the present year would amount to 8,563,000l. just about 127,000l. less than had been voted for the same service last year.

ARMY.

	£.	s.	d.
There had been already voted for the ordinary of the army —	4,208,097	2	6
There remained to be voted for the extraordinaries of the army —	3,516,214	5	8
Which together amounted to —	7,724,311	8	2

ORDNANCE.

For the ordnance there had been voted	1,612,089	19	5
Exclusive of the saltpetre contract, which had been broken; if it should be renewed on more advantageous terms for the public, then the ordnance would have a claim of between forty and fifty thousand pounds.			

EXCHEQUER-BILLS.

Bills had been issued to the amount of	3,400,000	0	0
And also for the vote of credit —	1,000,000	0	0
Total	4,400,000	0	0

These were the sums which had been already voted by Parliament. There remained to state to the House the sums which still remained to be voted.

The various deficiences in taxes of former years, and of sundry grants, amounted to 882,643l. 6s. 7d. but then in this sum was included a deficiency which always existed, and which was always allowed in the land and malt taxes, of 400,000l.

With respect to the grants of Parliament, they would appear, to the Levant company 5000l. to the African company 13,000l. for roads and bridges in Scotland 5000l. to the city of London, towards rebuilding Newgate, 10,000l. to American sufferers 68,439l. 16s. This last article to be sure, he said, was more than was paid last year under that head, the sum then being only 57,912l. 10s. but the reason was, that a considerable number of the American sufferers had been ordered to return, which they had, he was free to own, obeyed cheerfully; and it was always customary to grant them one year's salary, and a quarter advance for the expences of their passage, which occasioned the sum of 10,000l. more this year than the year before, consequently next year there would be a saving of that 10,000l. and should they stay in America, the whole sum would be annually saved: but, on the contrary, if they were obliged to return, undoubtedly they must again receive the like pension. There were also for the British Museum 3000l. and for American civil governments 14,957l. 10s. 5d.

He begged pardon of the committee for having omitted the expence attending the convicts at Woolwich, which would this year amount, according to Mr. Duncan Campbell's account, to 14,719l. 4s. Towards the building at Somerset-house, what seemed to be the intent of Parliament, to grant annually 25,000l. and with respect to the sal petre contract with Mr. Tounson, it was entirely put an end to: but supposing that Mr. Tounson did not supply the saltpetre, some other contract must be made; he should therefore estimate that at 50,000l. which would make the whole of the miscellanies to be voted 209,788l. 15s. 5¼d. which being added to the 8000l. already voted, made the whole sum under the head of miscellanies exactly 217,788l. 15s. 5¼d. therefore the supplies for the present year would stand as follow:

	£.	s.	d.
Navy	8,063,285	12	9
Army	7,724,311	8	2
Ordnance	1,612,089	19	5
Exchequer bills	4,400,000	0	0
Deficiences	882,643	6	7
Miscellanies	217,788	15	5¼
Total of supplies,	22,900,119	2	4¼

WAY

WAYS and MEANS.

The only ways and means that Parliament had already granted was that of the land and malt tax, which amounted to 2,750,000l. and the next great object which the House was to turn their eye to, was the sinking fund, the disposable part of which was always made up to the 10th of October, and appeared as follows:

		£.	s.	d.
In 1779	——	2,394,753	7	8¼
1780	——	2,977,661	12	7
1781	——	3,039,024	11	9¼

Upon which a medium being struck on the three years account, the average would appear 2,803,813l. 4s. 0¼d. which ought to be compared with the produce of the sinking fund, without grants on the one hand, or deficiencies on the other, which in the three years alluded to would upon the whole appear to be

		£.	s.	d.
In 1779	——	2,792,587	12	1
1780	——	3,079,4[illegible]7	18	2¼
1781	——	2,874,481	18	5

The medium of which appeared to be 2,874,081l. 8s. 3d. but the medium he should take would be 2,915,512l. 9s. 6d.

He next informed the committee, that there appeared a balance in the Exchequer at Michaelmas last, of 203,795l. 11s. 10d. unappropriated, arising from grants and surplusses of last year: but there would appear a deficiency of 51,69[illegible]l. in the Christmas quarter, which was to be accounted for by the India Company not being able to pay up the balance due for their customs, on account of the late arrival of their ships; but which sum the Company would be sure to pay in this quarter: and as the interest of three and a half per cent. on one stock would cease on the 5th of July next, and continue for the future at three per cent. there would be a saving of a half per cent. which would be annually 22,500l. it therefore for the half year would be 11,250l. which being added to the medium of the disposable part of the sinking fund for the three years mentioned, would make the sum of 3,181,858l. 15s. 10d. and if added to the medium of the produce of the sinking fund, without grants or deficiencies, it would make 3,293,558l. 1s. 4¼d. but he should only take the sinking fund, and unappropriated surplusses, at 3,100,000l.

The Exchequer bills of last year he said were 3,400,000l. but he should this year take them at 3,500,000l. which

 would

would not be any injury, as they went off well, and it was nothing but fair to take the advantage.

The ſum ariſing from the ſale of French prizes was to be ſure a mere trifle, it was only 10,000l. and the money ariſing from the ſales in the Ceded Iſlands he had laſt year eſtimated at 3500l. but they had turned out better than he expected, and he had now put them down 5000l. the ſale of gum ſeneca amounted to only 1000l. the ſurplus of grant, to 16,608l. 6s. 0¼d. and money ariſing from ſavings in the laſt year he would take at 100,000l. therefore all thoſe ſums taken together would form the whole of the ways and means, and would appear as follow:

	£.	s.	d.
Land and malt - - -	2,750,000	0	0
Sinking fund - - - -	3,100,000	0	0
Surplus of grants - - -	16,608	6	0¼
Exchequer bills - - -	3,500,000	0	0
Savings of money - - -	100,000	0	0
French prize-money - -	10,000	0	0
Ceded Iſlands - - -	5,000	0	0
Gum ſeneca - - -	1,000	0	0
Loan which he meant to propoſe -	13,500,000	0	0
Total	22,982,608	6	0¼
And the ſupply being - -	22,900,119	2	4
The ſurplus of ways and means would be - - -	82,489	3	8

Before he went farther, he ſaid, he would recapitulate the whole of the account current, unmixed with any obſervation, for the ſatisfaction of gentlemen.

SUPPLIES, 1782.

NAVY.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
100,000 ſeamen (with 21,305 marines) - -	5,200,000	0	0			
Ordinary of the navy -	409,766	12	9			
Building, &c. of ſhips -	953,519	0	0			
Navy debt - - -	1,500,000	0	0			
Carried over				8,063,285	12	9

ARMY

ARMY.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Brought over - -				8,063,285	12	9
49,455 landmen (with 4175 invalids - -	1,242,835	2	3			
General and staff officers	43,840	6	0			
Guards, garrisons, &c. -	1,315,523	5	10			
5 battalions for Gibraltar and Minorca - - -	56,074	19	4½			
13,472 troops, Hesse Cassell	367,203	9	10			
2,094 ditto, Hanau - -	61,108	11	0¼			
Regiment, Waldeck -	17,498	3	2¼			
4,300 Brunswickers - -	93,497	15	8			
Regiment, Brandenbourg Anspach - - -	43,665	12	3			
933 troops, Anhalt Zerbst	23,818	11	11¼			
Provisions for foreign troops in America - -	55,469	0	0			
Augmentation to troops of Hesse Cassell - -	15,499	17	5			
Ditto, Brandenbourg Anspach	3,282	12	5			
Ditto, Anhalt Zerbst -	4,942	19	0			
Artillery to foreign troops -	27,683	14	0			
Embodying militia in South Britain, and 4 regiments of Fencibles in North Britain	677,497	15	10			
Cloathing ditto - -	100,594	17	1			
Regiment of light dragoons and 2 regiments of foot	21,329	18	8			
1 regiment of light dragoons, 7 battalions, and a detachment of foot, for the East-Indies	36,280	10	8			
Land extraordinaries and augmentation (Chelsea hospital included, and reduced officers) - - -	3,516,214	5	8			
				7,724,311	8	2

ORDNANCE.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Ordinaries - - -	712,366	3	10			
Extraordinaries - -	899,723	15	7			
				1,612,089	19	5
Carried over - -				17,399,687	0	4

MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Brought over - -				17,399,687	0	4
Turkey company - -	5,000	0	0			
Britifh Mufeum - -	3,000	0	0			
American civil governments	14,957	10	5			
African forts and fettlements	13,000	0	0			
Roads and bridges in Scotland	5,000	0	0			
Rebuilding Newgate, on account	10,000	0	0			
Ditto, Somerfet-houfe -	25,000	0	0			
American fufferers - -	68,439	16	0			
Saltpetre, &c. contracts -	50,000	0	0			
Juftitia hulks - - -	14,719	4	0			
Commons addreffes - -	8,672	5	0			
				217,788	15	5

EXCHEQUER-BILLS.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Vote of credit laft feffion difcharged - -	1,000,000	0	0			
Difcharged before Chriftmas recefs - - -	1,500,000	0	0			
Difcharged after Chriftmas recefs - - -	1,420,000	0	0			
Remain uniffued to pay lottery prizes - - -	480,000	0	0			
				4,400,000	0	0

DEFICIENCIES.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Deficiency, fund 1758 -	35,149	8	0½			
Ditto, 1778 - -	183,380	3	8			
Ditto, 1779 - -	102,806	9	4			
Ditto, 1780 - -	153,193	8	11			
Ditto, coinage - -	8,113	16	7			
Ditto, land and malt -	400,000	0	0			
				882,643	6	7
Total				22,900,119	2	4

WAYS

WAYS and MEANS, 1782.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Land and malt - - - - - -				2,750,000	0	0
SINKING-FUND SURPLUSSES, viz.						
Medium produce of three last years - - -	2,803,813	4	0			
Balance in the Exchequer, Michaelmas 1781 -	203,795	11	10			
Duties from the India Company, payable this month, postponed on account of the late arrival of last year's fleet - - -	163,000	0	0			
Half-year's dividend of ½ per cent, on 3½ per cent. annuities 1758, from 5th July, 1782 - - -	11,250	0	0			
	3,181,858	15	10			
Taken for the round sum of				3,100,000	0	0
Surplus grants, 1781 -	254,475	7	5			
Deduct interest on Exchequer bills, &c. - - -	144,331	18	9			
Paid Bank of England prompt payment to proprietors of loan, 1781 - - -	93,537	2	8			
	237,869	1	5			
Nett surplus of grants				16,608	6	0
New Exchequer-bills - - - - -				3,500,000	0	0
Annuities and lottery -	13,905,000	0	0			
Deduct lottery prizes -	405,000	0	0			
				13,500,000	0	0
Sundry savings - - - - - -				100,000	0	0
French prize-money - - - - - -				10,000	0	0
Sale, Ceded Islands - - - - - -				5,000	0	0
Duty on gum seneca - - - -				1,000	0	0
Total -				22,982,608	6	0

Supply

	£.	s.	d.
Supply - - - -	22,900,119	2	4
Ways and means - -	22,982,608	6	0
Excefs of provifions - -	82,489	3	8

Gentlemen no doubt would afk him, he faid, how he came to propofe a loan of 13,500,000l. when there did not appear that fum already voted and not provided for by ways and means; he therefore begged leave to acquaint them, that

Parliament had already voted -	16,768,002	4	3¼
And the only fum provided for by ways and means was - -	2,750,000	0	0
Deficient	14,036,002	4	3¼

By this account, confequently, he was ftrictly within the rules of Parliament to propofe a loan of 13,500,000l. He knew only three ways by which loans had ever been made; to accept of the offers made in private by individuals, ftating the fums which each was ready to advance; an open fubfcription with a depofite of part of the fubfcription money before hand at the Bank; or a clofe fubfcription with a few individuals. Againft the firft mode he had very ftrong objections; he had been the object of fo much abufe, obloquy, calumny, and mifreprefentation (laft year) for the diftribution of the loan, that he could not think without trembling of expofing himfelf to a repetition of fuch unmerited treatment, by making the loan this year in the fame manner. Gentlemen had thought proper to fay, that by the diftribution of laft year he had made himfelf friends; but the fact was, that for one friend he had made, he had raifed up twenty enemies: for thofe who had made offers, wrote for fuch large fums, that it was impoffible to give them even a tenth part of what they afked; and therefore even thofe who had got fome fcrip, were fo diffatisfied at having got fo much lefs than they had afked, that they never thought of thanking him for what they had got, but felt refentment for what they had not got. If laft year he made enemies, he muft have made many more indeed this year; for the number of perfons who had applied to him this year was double that of the laft. Towards the laft loan, 1145 perfons had applied for fcrip; for a fhare in the prefent, 2469 had made applications; and they made offers to the amount of 73,290,000l.

73,290,000l. However, he was very clear, that in the list there were names of persons who had never been creditors in the whole course of their lives, though he did not doubt but they had many creditors: he was nevertheless very well satisfied, that three-fourths of those who applied were solvent men, and able to make good their bargain, not for all they asked, but for all they might get; but if he had accepted their offers, how was he to have made the distribution? If he was to make it of himself, it might be hazardous, as he could not be supposed to be acquainted, of his own knowledge, with the circumstances of all. If he should take the opinion of a friend, then it would be said that the friend had the distribution of the loan, and acted from partiality; and, indeed, if he should not apply to a friend on the occasion, he knew it would be said he had; and therefore he had resolved not to take upon himself by any means, or in any shape, the distribution of the loan, that he might thereby avoid the obloquy, misrepresentation, and calumny, that had been heaped upon him last year, when he was said to have given the loan among his friends in Parliament. With respect to members of Parliament, he observed *en passant*, that a member of Parliament, merely as such, ought not to have a preference; on the other hand, he ought not, as a member of Parliament, to be excluded from serving himself and his country, by lending his money to the public. When money was to be borrowed, it was to be taken from every quarter where it could be found.

The second mode of making loans by open subscriptions at the Bank, with a deposite of money, was, in his Lordship's opinion, better calculated for the times of peace than for war; for if in peace-time there was a less *bonus*, so there was less risque: but in war there was great risque, and it was rather odd to call upon men to make deposites before hand to purchase danger. He admitted, however, that it might be used as a proper instrument to curb and check extravagant demands of those who, in a close subscription, (the third way of raising a loan) should endeavour to avail themselves of the distresses of the public, and insist upon exorbitant interests and douceurs. The third mode, or close subscription, was the mode he had adopted, as it would free him from the calumny he might draw upon himself by the first, and was at the same time free from the inconveniencies of the second. Two proposals had been made to him by two different sets of gentlemen, the one party not knowing

of the offers of the other. At the making these proposals were present the governor and deputy-governor of the Bank, and several other gentlemen of eminence in the mercantile world; and they all agreed, that the proposal with which he had closed, was considerably more advantageous to the public than that which he rejected, and more favourable than the bargain of last year, which he owned to be extravagant.

The terms which he had accepted, and which he had brought to Parliament, were, in his own mind, very preferable. The proposals for the agreement, were;

100l. 3 per cent. valued at 54l. —	54	0	0
50l. 4 per cent. valued at 67l. —	33	10	0
A long annuity of 17s. 6d. at 15½ purchase, valued at - -	13	11	3
3 lottery tickets for every 1000l. at 13l. 2s. 6d. per ticket, or 18s. 9d. per cent.	0	18	9
Total	102	0	0

The interest to the lender will be of course

100l. 3 per cent.	3	0	0
50l. 4 per cent.	2	0	0
Annuity -	0	17	6
£.	5	17	6 per cent.

exclusive of the douceur in the first instance of 2l. per cent. to the money lender. When he stated the 3 per cent. at 54l. he rated them at 3-8ths under the market price of this day, and he had under-rated the 4 per cent. in the same proportion; because it was fair to suppose, that a new mass of capital being carried to market, would sink the price of stocks; but still he had taken the fall very low, because he did not believe from experience that the fall would be considerable. At the time of the last loan, the price of stocks was kept up by an idea that a return of peace was probable. However, he had but barely stated, that at that time there was a tendency towards a peace; for he thought that nothing could be more injurious to the public credit, than that any false rumours should be spread to raise the price of stocks: it was the interest of the public that it should be understood that every thing was carried on fairly and above board between the Treasury and the money lenders; nor would he amuse with false hopes of peace, if he thought he could gain 10 per cent. for the public on the bargain; for such a gain could never compensate for the injury that imposition would do to public credit.

The

The House had now heard the terms of the bargain he had made; he thought them good; he thought them infinitely better than those of last year's loan; and he hoped the committee would concur with him in agreeing to them.

As to the lottery, he had heard so much of the excessive gambling occasioned by it, that he had turned it in his head how it could be prevented; and he had resolved to give up the whole lottery, rather than countenance such gambling; but recollecting that those who are filled with a spirit of gambling will always find means to indulge in it, and the lottery being of considerable advantage to the public, he thought it would not be improper to let the lottery stand, that thus the private vices of individuals might be made to turn to public utility; but at the same time he would most readily concur in any measure that should be pointed out to check the excesses in gambling occasioned by it; for this purpose he had thought of doubling the sum paid for taking out licences; but he imagined afterwards, that though the number of offices would decrease in consequence of such a measure, still gambling would very likely be carried to as great an extent in a few offices as in many. It had occurred also to him to have all policies, and shares of tickets stampt, and to lay on a tax for the stamp; but then he was deterred from that resolution, by recollecting, that in gambling there always is a point of honour which makes one party place confidence in another, and which would defeat the end of such a regulation.

His Lordship stated, that the interest on the whole of the supply would amount to 703,125l. a year. Gentlemen would consider that this sum was the burthen to be laid on the people, and not the nominal addition to our debt. The national debt was no more than the sum of annuities to be paid. To raise this sum new taxes must be imposed; these taxes must be productive; and as those which he intended to propose were many in number, many of them novel in their nature, and all stood in need of much study to render them clear to the understanding of gentlemen, he hoped they would not take it amiss that he should not proceed with the taxes, till this day se'nnight; and he was the more desirous to crave that delay, as he really had not strength of body, or clearness of understanding, sufficient to adhere to the old practice of giving both the loan and the taxes on the same day. His Lordship, after having been full two hours on his legs, concluded his long laborious work with moving,

"That, towards raising the supply granted to his Majesty, the sum of thirteen millions five hundred thousand pounds be raised by annuities, and the further sum of four hundred and five thousand pounds by a lottery, in manner following; that is to say,

"That every contributor to the said thirteen millions five hundred thousand pounds shall, for every one hundred pounds contributed and paid, be entitled to the principal sum of one hundred pounds in annuities, after the rate of three pounds per centum, to commence from the 5th day of January, 1782; and shall be added to made one joint stock with the three pounds per centum annuities, consolidated by the acts of the twenty-fifth, twenty-eighth, twenty-ninth, thirty-second, and thirty-third years of the reign of his late Majesty George the Second, and by several subsequent acts, and shall be payable and transferrable at the Bank of England at the same time and in the same manner, and subject to the like redemption by Parliament, as the said three pounds per centum consolidated annuities are payable and transferrable there.

"That every such contributor shall also be entitled to the farther principal sum of fifty pounds in annuities, after the rate of four pounds per centum, to commence from the 5th day of April, 1782, and shall be added to and made one joint stock with certain annuities, after the rate of four pounds per centum, which were consolidated by the acts of the twentieth and twenty-first years of the reign of his present Majesty, and shall be payable and transferrable at the Bank of England, at the same time, and in the same manner, and subject to the like redemption by Parliament, as the said four pounds per centum consolidated annuities are payable and transferrable there.

"That every such contributor shall likewise be entitled to an annuity of seventeen shillings and sixpence per centum, to commence from the 5th day of January, 1782, and to continue for the term of seventy-eight years, and then to cease, over and above the principal sums of one hundred pounds after the rate of three pounds per centum per annum, and fifty pounds after the rate of four pounds per centum per annum, in respect of every one hundred pounds to be contributed and paid towards raising the said sum of thirteen millions five hundred thousand pounds; which said annuity of seventeen shillings and sixpence per centum, so to continue for seventy-eight years, shall be added to and made one joint stock with certain annuities payable at the Bank of England,

England, which were granted for the ſeveral terms of ninety-nine, ninety-eight, and eighty years, and were, by the acts of the fourth and twentieth years of the reign of his preſent Majeſty, conſolidated and made one joint ſtock, and ſhall be paid and payable, and transferrable at the ſame time, and in the ſame manner, as the ſaid annuities, ſo conſolidated by the acts of the fourth and twentieth years of the reign of his preſent Majeſty, are payable and transferrable at the ſaid Bank of England.

" That the ſeveral annuities, after the rate of three pounds per centum, four pounds per centum, and ſeventeen ſhillings and ſixpence per centum, ſo to be payable as aforeſaid, ſhall be charged and chargeable upon, and payable out of, a fund to be eſtabliſhed in this ſeſſion of Parliament for payment thereof, and for which the ſinking fund ſhall be a collateral ſecurity.

" That every contributor towards raiſing the ſaid ſum of thirteen millions five hundred thouſand pounds, ſhall, for every one thouſand pounds contributed, be entitled to three tickets in a lottery to conſiſt of forty thouſand five hundred tickets, amounting to four hundred and five thouſand pounds, upon payment of the farther ſum of ten pounds for each ticket; the ſaid four hundred and five thouſand pounds to be diſtributed into prizes for the benefit of the proprietors of the fortunate tickets in the ſaid lottery, which ſhall be paid in money at the Bank of England to ſuch proprietors upon demand, as ſoon after the firſt day of March, 1783, as certificates can be prepared, without any deduction whatſoever.

" That every contributor ſhall, on or before the firſt day of March next, make a depoſite of fifteen pounds per centum on ſuch ſum as he or ſhe ſhall chooſe to ſubſcribe, towards raiſing the ſaid ſum of thirteen millions five hundred thouſand pounds, with the chief caſhier or caſhiers of the Governor and Company of the Bank of England; and alſo, a depoſite of fifteen pounds per centum with the ſaid caſhier or caſhiers, in part of the monies to be contributed towards raing the ſaid ſum of four hundred and five thouſand pounds by a lottery, as a ſecurity for making the future payments reſpectively on or before the days or times hereinafter limited; that is to ſay,

On 13,500,000l. to be raiſed by annnities,

10 per cent. on or before the 12th day of April next.

10 per cent. on or before the 7th day of May next.

10 per

10 per cent. on or before the 13th day of June next.
10 per cent. on or before the 19th day of July next.
15 per cent. on or before the 22d day of August next.
10 per cent. on or before the 20th day of September next.
10 per cent. on or before the 24th day of October next.
10 per cent. on or before the 26th day of November next.

On the Lottery for 405,000l.

20 per cent. on or before the 28th day of May next.
25 per cent. on or before the 9th day of July next.
20 per cent. on or before the 10th day of September next.
20 per cent. on or before the 11th day of October next.

"That all the monies so to be received by the chief cashier or cashiers of the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, shall be paid into the receipt of the Exchequer, to be applied from time to time to such services as shall then have been voted by this House in this session of Parliament:

"That every contributor who shall pay in the whole of his or her contribution money towards the sum of thirteen millions five hundred thousand pounds, to be contributed for annuities as aforesaid, at any time before the 23d day of October next, or on account of his or her share in the said lottery on or before the 9th day of September next, shall be allowed an interest by way of discount, after the rate of three pounds per cent. per annum on the sum so compleating his or her contribution respectively, to be computed from the day of compleating the same to the 26th day of November next, in regard to the sum to be paid for the said annuities, and to the 11th day of October next, in respect of the sum to be paid on account of the said lottery; and that all such persons as shall make their full payments on the said lottery shall have their tickets delivered to them as soon as they can conveniently be made out.

Mr. Byng. Mr. *Byng* thought it necessary to say a few words in reply to what the noble Lord had said of the calumny and obloquy he had experienced last year on account of the distribution of the loan: he did not know whether the noble Lord alluded to him, who had brought before the House the consideration of the last year's loan; but whether the noble Lord alluded to him or not, he thought the present complaint came with a very aukward grace from his Lordship: if all that had been

said

aid on that subject had been calumny, why did not the noble Lord go into the then proposed enquiry? He then with-held the means of investigating the business, he kept back enquiry, and now complained of the hard treatment he had received. But were there not most shameful facts proved to the House with regard to that loan? It was known, that after the terms were settled, and when it was known to be a good thing, men who were set down for 20,000l. had a cypher taken from this sum, and reduced to 2000l.

The terms of the loan just proposed, he admitted, were better than those of last year; and he did not mean to oppose them; but still he must say that the bargain was not fairly made when confined to four persons; he had almost said two; and if he had said to one only, he believed he should not have been far from the truth. To bargain with so few, was injurious to individuals; for those who kept money with bankers, finding that their bankers had no scrip, would draw their money, and place it where they could purchase stock. Last year so many persons without property had subscribed, that seven millions of scrip had been carried to market in one month, to the very great depreciation of the funds. When the noble Lord rated the 3 per cent. at 54, he believed he was pretty right; but he could not agree with him that 67 was a fair valuation of the 4 per cent.; for to his knowledge, bargains had actually been made for the opening of the 4 per cent. at 68. He thought that his Lordship had unfairly for the public, omitted to state the discount, which would add 1l. 12s. 6d. to the douceur on the loan.

Lord *North* said, the discount on the money advanced at different times was always considered as a part of the douceur to those persons who assisted Government with their money; the loan he had accepted was by far the best of the two propo ed; and he had chosen to confine it to a few persons, thinking it much more advantageous for the public, as the profit (if any) when divided among a few, would be accepted, though small; when, had there been many persons concerned, they must have had a larger profit to make it worth their while; besides, being in the hands of a few, and those men of property, they could afford it cheaper, as they could nurse it as they pleased, and bring it to market when they liked, which would not be the case, had a needy set of adventurers got it. Much had been said with respect to letting Members of Parliament have a share of it: he never could discover, that a person, being a Member of Parliament Ld North.

liament, ought to have any of it on that head; nor could he see, that being a Member of Parliament ought to be any bar to him.

Mr. Fox. Mr. *Fox*, with all that ingenuity for which he is so remarkable, informed the Committee, that the noble Lord had undoubtedly this year, through the means of that chastisement which he had received last session from his honourable friend, Mr. Byng, made a better bargain for the public than he did before, yet the bargain was by no means so good as the noble Lord had endeavoured to make it appear, nor was it so good as he might have had. The noble Lord had plainly told the Committee, that he had two offers, and he had chosen the best, without letting the one party know the offer of the other. Was that a way to deal for the public? Certainly not! He should, instead of keeping it a secret from the two parties that were in treaty, have informed each party what the other proposed, and asked them if they chose to go any lower. If they would not, he should have tried others; and he was confident a better bargain by far was to be made than what was made. At the same time he had reason to believe, that the party who were refused were not treated fairly. They made their offer in short annuities, not knowing that they were disagreeable. He, by nice arithmetical calculations, made it appear, that the bonus was equal to 5l. 18s. per cent. and said, the noble Lord was perfectly right in comparing this loan of his with any other in the present reign; but what sort of a figure would it make when compared with the loans made by the Duke of Newcastle in the late war; who, although obliged to borrow 43,000,000l. never let his loans bear more than one half premium, frequently not more than one, and once there was a discount upon it. The noble Lord had mentioned the reason of the last loan bearing a better premium than was expected, to be a tendency to a peace. He should (as it was rather foreign to the business of the day) hope the noble Lord would explain to the House what offers of peace had been made, and for what reasons they were rejected. No notice of any such offers had ever been made, therefore certainly the House ought to know what terms had been offered, and the reasons why they were not accepted; as peace was a blessing that this nation most ardently sighed for.' He reprobated the having lotteries so frequent; if they must be had, let them, says he, be once in two or three years, but that not certainly; then persons will not make a trade of it, as they do at present. The method taken by the noble

noble Lord of confining loans to the hands of a few perſons, was, he ſaid, the completeſt manœuvre that could be played off; for under that dark cloak lay all his douceurs to contractors, placemen, members of Parliament, &c. and plainly ſhewed how the majorities on the motions reſpecting the navy and the American war were procured.

The noble Lord's mentioning, that the additional capital was only a mere nominal, and not a real ſum, was undoubtedly ſaying, that not a farthing of it was ever to be paid; and the manner in which the noble Lord's adminiſtration had gone on, made it appear perfectly ſo; and, as he had brought us on to the eve of a bankruptcy, it would undoubtedly ſignify but very little, whether we broke for 100,000,000, or 200,000 000l.

Lord *North* roſe again, and ſaid, that a proof of his loan's not having been atrociouſly bad this year, was, that the honourable gentleman had not given it very harſh epithets of reproach. It was a proof that at leaſt, if it was not a good bargain for the public, it was not a bad one. If he was not better than the Duke of Newcaſtle, it ſhewed at leaſt, that he was improving, and on the mending ſide himſelf. The honourable gentleman had mentioned the diſcount, as an advantage which he had not taken into the conſideration, in calculating the amount of the bonus. To this it would be neceſſary for him to ſay a few words. It was by no means uſual to take in the diſcount as a part of the douceur, for it was a matter held out only as a temptation to the ſubſcribers for prompt payment; but not a thing which they would all naturally enjoy in conſequence of the loan. If they ſhould pay their money inſtantly, they would be intitled to the douceur; but if they ſhould only make good their inſtallments, they would undoubtedly be able to derive an adequate advantage from their money employed in other uſes. The noble Lord entered into arithmetical calculations to make this matter clear to the Houſe; and contended, that the bonus would not be, as had been ſtated by the honourable gentleman, 4l. 10s. or 5l. 10s. but really 2l. as he had ſtated, or perhaps a trifle more if the funds ſhould riſe. The honourable gentleman, Mr. Byng, had ſaid, that the 4 per cent. would open at 68; or at leaſt that there were bargains already made at that ſum; if ſo, and he ſaw no reaſon to doubt but it would be ſo, then there would be an increaſe in the bonus of ten ſhillings; for the ſubſcribers having only 50l. of 4 per cent. they could gain no more than ten ſhillings by this probable, Ld. North.

but by no means certain state of the fund at its opening in the month of April. With regard to the heaviest charge that had been brought against him, of having made this close loan for the purpose of influence, and that there was so perfect an understanding between him and the gentlemen with whom he had made the bargain, that he was able to conceal members of that House, and buy their votes by giving them a share of the loan, he must answer, and declare solemnly and seriously, that he had not, directly or indirectly, recommended one person to either of those gentlemen; and that he did not know who were the persons by whom they were supported in the heavy subscription. They had made an offer of leaving a part for the great Companies, and of suffering him to fill up 2,000,000l. of it as he might choose. To this he peremptorily objected; he eased himself of the load totally, and the bargain was concluded on the ground of their taking, providing, distributing, and answering for the whole. In this he had it in his power to say, what, notwithstanding all the assertions of gentlemen, he had to say in the former year, that he had not given sums to particular gentlemen because they were his friends, and denied it to others because they were his enemies. He had not studied the advancement of influence in the distribution of that loan; but had as nearly as possible pursued one direct rule in apportioning the sum given to the sum subscribed. He had not marked the houses of such bankers and merchants as might be conceived inimical to him; it would be base and dishonourable in him to have such prejudices, for undoubtedly the public loans to government were not to be considered among the gifts which ministers had to confer. It was true that members of that House had subscribed to the last loan; and their pretensions to do so were certainly just and admissible; for why should members of that House be debarred from assisting government? In order, however, to prevent all imputations of partiality, the rule followed with respect to all the subscriptions of members, was to give them generally 10,000l. Did this appear like manœuvring? He was sensible that no man could say so; or, if they did, he was sure they could not produce one instance of partial and improper preference Let them prove him guilty by mentioning one instance, or otherwise not charge him with crimes, of which they could not prove him to be guilty. With respect to the method of concluding the bargain in the present instance, instead of giving it to one set of gentlemen, merely because they were friendly, and withholding

it from others, because they were not equally so disposed to government, he gave the House his assurance, that he had preferred the one bargain to the other, because it was much more beneficial to the public. He must add, that he had not mentioned to the second set of gentlemen any thing of withholding from the long annuities; he had said, indeed, that the short annuities would not be eligible, because they were low.

Mr. *Byng* said a few words in reply, and declared, that if the House had enabled him to go into the proof of the charges which he brought against the noble Lord in the blue riband, and if they would yet give him the opportunity, he would pledge himself to prove his charges. But the noble Lord had said, that he had not mentioned to the gentlemen who made the second offer, not to meddle with the long annuities. In order to prove that he had done so in part, if not directly, Mr. Byng read from a paper sent out by the noble Lord to those gentlemen a N. B. which informed them that the annuity of the three per cent. was to commence on the 5th of January, and those of the four per cent. on the 5th of April. It said nothing of the long annuities. He asserted, therefore, that these gentlemen had not been treated with fairness. They had not an equal chance with the others, and this the House would be more firmly convinced of, when he informed them, that when they went and made their offer of assistance to government, the noble Lord informed them, that if their offer was only equal to that of the other gentlemen, he would give them the preference: if it was lower, indeed, he would prefer them. Mr. Byng.

Lord *North* said it was very true, he had done so, and he thought it a duty as much incumbent upon him to give the preference in case of the offers being equal to those who had come forward first, as it would be to give those who came second, if their offer should be lower than the first. Ld. North.

Mr. *Smith*, the banker, gave the House an account of the circumstances of the offer that was made by the second set of gentlemen, the bankers in London having considered the injuries they might sustain from the partial distribution of a loan so extensive as the present, and going all into the hands of a few men of one particular description; and also desiring that the bargain should not, by being thus confined, be extravagant, had met together and determined to make an offer to government. This was a resolution of the bankers in general, and they appointed a committee to negociate the matter with Lord North. They waited on him, and another day Mr. Smith.

was appointed, which was Saturday last. When they came to the place, after receiving some necessary information for regulating their offer, they saw the noble Lord, and he informed them, that if their offer should be lower than that of the other party, it would be accepted in preference, but if it should only be equal, that then the other party would be preferred. This was an indication of partiality which determined several of the gentlemen to propose withdrawing entirely, without making any offer whatever; for when they saw that there was such a disposition in the noble Lord, they could not have any expectation either of fairness or justice in their bargain. Mr. Smith confessed that he was one who was of this opinion. The committee consisted of nine gentlemen, and four of them thought, that after such testimony of what they were to expect, they ought to retire without making any offer whatever. Other gentlemen of that committee, however, men of great respect and experience, were of opinion that they ought to make an offer, not with an intention of procuring the loan, but reducing the terms to an œconomical rate, that the nation might not suffer through an enormous bargain. They did make an offer, but it was not so low as they would have given. He did not go into the room where the noble Lord was, because he disapproved of the business; but he was given to understand, that they offered in the room to take the whole, or any part of it, at 2l. a premium, and, if it should be higher, to restore the surplus: This also was rejected. He was clearly of opinion, that the bankers, by their conduct on this occasion, had been the means of procuring for the public a good bargain; but they had surely been themselves treated unfairly. The gentlemen to whom the loan was all given, had claims of a nature peculiar to themselves: One of them was distinguished and known by having made a fraudulent contract with the minister, by which the public had been injured to a considerable amount; and it was somewhat curious to see the noble Lord make another bargain with a person who had so deceived him. But the case was so; and to this gentleman, among others, the loan was given. Another gentleman was the knight of a shire, who, by such enormous influence as this must give him, could not fail of rooting out the natural family interest in that county. This was a thing surely wrong, and which that House ought not to countenance.

Ld. North. Lord *North* declared, that he had not heard any of the gentlemen say that they were willing to take the loan at 2l. premium.

Mr.

Mr. Alderman *Harley* said, that he was the author of the first proposal that was made to government, and accepted. Many complaints had been made of the open subscription of last year; and undoubtedly it turned out that the douceur was great. He had, therefore, proposed to some other gentlemen, to make an offer to government for a private subscription on terms moderate and reasonable to both parties. The offer had been made in January last, and it was simply thus; that they would take seven millions of it at a premium from two to three per cent, leaving it in the minister's power to fill up the remainder, or they would take the whole on the same terms. Now it had been said that the noble Lord in the blue riband refused to admit the second party of gentlemen to a share in the loan, in case the two offers should be equal. He thought the noble Lord was in the right to say so; for surely if the offers were equal, the first who present themselves for the accomodation of government, had the best title; and he, for one, would not have agreed that they should have been admitted after they had formed the plan, and come with the meritorious claim of being the first to assist government in a critical moment, at a moderate rate. In a former loan, two years ago, Mr. Atkinson, he, and some other gentlemen, proposed to take three millions of the loan upon themselves; but the minister said, that the offer which they made was not such a one as he could carry to Parliament. Upon which he answered, that if the offer was not such as he, the minister, could propose, it was not such as he, a member of Parliament, ought to agree to; and saying this, he left his three millions, and the room. On the present occasion they were anxious to assist government on moderate terms, and they had done so. Their offer was accepted because it was the best.

Mr. Ald. Harley.

Mr. *T. Townshend* spoke of the very fine propositions which the noble Lord in the blue riband had made, respecting the firmness and impartiality with which he had acted. Would those people who were about him make the same declaration! Would the Secretaries of the Treasury say that they would not recommend the proper persons to fill up the lists of those gentlemen who were to have the loan! But indeed, when such men were to have it, it was hardly necessary to have any secret injunctions whatever. He looked upon the present as the most artful scheme of promoting the influence of ministry, which had been hitherto practised. It prevented detection, and enabled them to put on their creatures on the list without any fear of that exposure which they suffered last year. He

Mr. Thos. Townshend

mentioned

mentioned the cafe of the Duke of Newcaftle's loans, and fhewed how much fuperior they were to the prefent.

Mr. Adam Drummond

Mr. *Adam Drummond* rofe, and averred, that there was one of the loans of the Duke of Newcaftle which bore a douceur of three per cent. He was feafonably told of it, and he thought it a very good thing, and determined to have a flice. He applied inftantly, for whenever a man wifhed to procure any of the good things that were going, he muft not protract his application; and another gentleman and he got a good comfortable fhare of it. It was the firft loan in which he ever had any concern After this time, it rofe even 1 ½ per cent. more. He had the cleareft recollection of it, for he never forgot things of that kind.

Mr. Robinfon.

Mr. *Robinfon* faid, in anfwer to Mr. T. Townfhend, that upon his honour he had not, and he would not recommend any one perfon to the gentlemen who had the loan.

Sir Grey Cooper.

Sir *Grey Cooper* declared upon his honour, as a gentleman, which he preferred to his fituation, that he had not, and would not recommend any perfon. They could not act in difobedience of he noble Lord's orders.

Mr. Huffey

Mr. *Huffey* afked fome queftions in order to fatisfy himfelf, whether the firft party of gentlemen had, from the beginning, held forth the fame terms, or whether they had not, on the laft day, in confequence of the appearance of a new fet of fubfcribers, lowered their terms 2s. 6d. in the annuity, and brought it from 20s. to 17s. 6d.? Being informed that they had made the fame offer all along, he agreed that the prefent bargain was better than all Lord North's former bargains.

Mr. Burke.

Mr. *Burke* examined the noble Lord's pretenfions to credit and praife in his bargain. It had been declared, that the benefit of competition was to produce an advantageous bargain. This, however, the noble Lord had totally overlooked, had omitted to take the advantage which was declared to be peculiar to this fpecies of loan; he had kept them afunder, and had taken the loweft without endeavouring to get lower. He remarked of Mr. Alderman Harley, and his delicacy in not taking a fhare in a loan of which he difapproved, that laft year he had fupported the moft enormous loan that was ever brought forward to any Parliament. He blamed the conduct of the minifter through the whole of this bufinefs. The laft year he had made an infamous bargain in a bungling manner. He now wifhed to make a bargain equally advantageous to influence with more fafety; and he declared, that Parliament

ought

ought, if they were wise or honest, to curb a practice, which, above all others, was destructive of their independence.

The question was now put, and agreed to without a division.

February 26.

Sir Grey Cooper.

Sir *Grey Cooper* moved, that the report from the committee of ways and means be brought up.

Sir Philip J. Clerke.

Sir *Philip Jennings Clerke* desired first to have some explanation on the subject of pensions granted to the American refugees. He understood that about 20,000l. had been granted this year more than the last; and that the whole amounted to 80,000l. for the year. He wished to be informed, if in the above sum was included the civil establishment of officers formerly under the Crown in America; he had heard, and he wished to know if what he had heard was true, that some of those officers received their full salaries, and a considerable pension into the bargain, instead of being as they ought to be like officers out of employment, put on half-pay. He advised the noble Lord to make their situations easy, by tacking them to contracts.

Lord North.

Lord *North* set the honourable member right with respect to the sums; the whole amount instead of 80,000l. as the honourable baronet had stated it, was only 68,000l. and the excess of this year was not of 20,000l. but of about 10,500l. This excess he had accounted for yesterday in the committee; and upon the whole, by joining the expence of the present year and the next, it would turn out eventually, that the expenditure for this year would not, in fact, be greater than that of the last. Among the refugees there were certainly many officers of the Crown, who had enjoyed places in America; and for the most part, they did not get as much yearly from the Treasury as they used to get by their places: there were others whose pensions were larger than their former salaries; but then it was because the places such persons filled had very trifling salaries annexed to them, and such as could not support men, the emoluments of the office arising from fees.

Sir Philip J. Clerke.

Sir *Philip Jennings Clerke* did not appear to be very well satisfied with the answer; he thought the refugees ought to go back to America, and become serviceable to government, and not remain like drones in this country: if there were any Englishmen among the refugees, the noble Lord had various ways of providing for them, without burdening the country with an enormous pension list: he said that, on some future day, he would move to have the refugee list laid before the House:

Houſe: at all events he would oppoſe the report, until ſufficient explanation ſhould be given on that head.

The Speak. The *Speaker* informed the honourable member, that there was no ground for oppoſing the bringing up of the report, from any thing relating to the refugee penſion liſt; for it had not yet been voted: the noble Lord had indeed mentioned it yeſterday in his general eſtimate of the expences of the current year; but he did not propoſe it to the committee, to be voted then; the day would come, when the honourable member would have an opportunity of oppoſing this liſt, if he wiſhed ſo to do, when an application ſhould be made to the committee of ſupply, ſpecifically for the payment of the American penſions. It was a rule of the Houſe, that the ways and means ſhould not exceed the ſupply: the ways and means voted laſt night amounted to 13,500,000l. but then they were covered by the ſupply already granted: when the ſums which remained to be voted ſhould be called for, then as the penſion liſt was among them, the honourable member might oppoſe it; and if it ſhould be rejected, there would of courſe be a proportionably leſs ſum voted in Exchequer bills.

Mr. Martin Mr. *Martin* declared, he had intended to make a few remarks on the loan the preceding day, but gentlemen ſeemed ſo impatient to attend to other avocations, more agreeable, tho' leſs uſeful, perhaps, than attending their duty in that Houſe, that he would not detain them to hear what he had to ſay. With regard to the noble Lord's having been partial in diſtributing the loan, he thought it right, as belonging to a banking-houſe in the city, to ſay, he had never been partial to him one way or the other, and that for the beſt reaſon in the world, viz. becauſe he had never applied for any part of a loan, not wiſhing to add a penny to his fortune, by taking advantage of the public neceſſity, and being determined not to contribute any the leaſt aſſiſtance towards carrying on the abominable, ruinous, and wicked American war. With regard to the loan, it certainly was a better bargain for the country than that of laſt year, but he did not much approve of thoſe who were ſelected as the money-lenders; one of them, Mr. Atkinſon, appeared to him an improper perſon for the noble Lord to have any farther connection with, becauſe he had proved himſelf already, to ſay no worſe of his conduct, too cunning for the Treaſury. As to Mr. Drummond, he had no manner of objection to him; it was in the fair line of his buſineſs to undertake a part of the loan, but

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he could not at all think that giving a large portion of it to the right honourable gentleman, who was a Privy Counsellor, and a county member, was right. He certainly might be employed in a more dignified manner than in distributing scrip. Mr. Martin said, he was glad to hear the noble Lord intended to check the mischievous abuse of lotteries. Gambling in high life, he was ready to agree, no laws could stop entirely, but he did not entertain the same opinion with regard to the middling and lower ranks of life. Their inclination to gamble, might, he thought, be easily limited by law, and restrained altogether.

General Smith.

General *Smith* asked a question relative to the 50,000l. which the noble Lord had said the day before he meant to reserve for the payment of the saltpetre contract.

Mr. Kenrick.

Mr. *Kenrick* informed the House, that he had caused a state of the contract to be laid before the Attorney and Solicitor General for their opinion, and to know how it could be rescinded, if it was an improper contract. Before he got the answer of the Crown lawyers, Mr. Townson waited on the Board of his own accord, and offered to give up the contract, nay, he insisted on it: but the Board fearing the want of saltpetre, resisted him: he then offered to submit the affair to the arbitration of any set of gentlemen, or to abide by whatever terms the Board should think proper to dictate: Mr. Townson, in a word, acted in a very handsome, gentlemanlike manner; and the Board agreed to pay him at the rate of 10 per cent. over and above the prime cost; which prime cost was not yet known to the Board.

Mr. Hussey.

Mr. *Hussey* wished that the contract should be completely rescinded; nor did he think that the apprehension of the want of saltpetre was by any means well founded: for he understood that the annual consumption of saltpetre for the Ordnance was about 1400 tons. Now there were in the Tower of London, 1000 tons belonging to the India Company, and at their warehouse 200 tons more: the Prime and Belmont Indiamen had lately brought home several hundred tons; so that there was very little room for supposing that the Board could be distressed for saltpetre.

The Speaker.

The *Speaker* was obliged again to interfere, as before, saying that the saltpetre contract was not then before the House. The report was read twice; and after some little conversation, was agreed to without a division, and a bill or bills were ordered in thereupon.

February 27.

The Sheriffs of London presented at the bar a petition of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London, in Common-council assembled, setting forth, that the petitioners, in the present state of public affairs, moved by every sentiment that can impress the human mind with regard for the common welfare of this kingdom and its dependencies, are impelled to implore this honourable House to interpose, in such manner as to their wisdom shall seem most effectual, for preventing the continuance of the unfortunate war with America. The petition was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr Alderman Newnham.

Mr. Alderman *Newnham* just rose to inform the House that the city had been unanimous in this petition, as they were most heartily tired of the American war.

Motion for putting an end to the present war with America.

General Conway.

General *Conway* rose at half past four o'clock, to renew his attempt to bring the House to agree with him, that, in the present posture of our affairs, it would be inexpedient and improper any longer to prosecute the American war. He desired that the petition from the cities of London and Bristol might be read, he declared that firm as he was in his opinion on Friday last, of the necessity of putting an end to the American war, he had this day been if possible more confirmed; for the first trading city in the world, had petitioned against the war, and they undoubtedly were the best judges of its effects. He had several inducements to renew his motion: he would do it from a principle of duty to his country, to his constituents, and to himself; and so deep was the impression which the calamities and disgraces of this unnatural and cruel war had made upon him, that while he had a mind to think, a heart to feel, or a tongue to speak, he never would relax in his endeavours to point out the necessity of putting an end to it. Another inducement was, that the last question, which he had the honour of submitting to the House, had been lost, or as some would call it carried, by so very small a majority; and he had since conversed with so many members, who were absent when that question was discussed, and who had assured him that if they had been present when it was proposed they would have voted for it; that he could not bring himself to think, that the sense of the House could fairly be said to have been taken on the subject; members had frequently made light of their attendance, but he begged them to consider and reflect that perhaps all the mischiefs and calamities of that

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war were now to be attributed to the absence of a single member. But these were not his only inducements; he had still another, from which he expected no inconsiderable advantage; two members of great weight, and deservedly of great weight in that House [Mr. Rigby and the Lord Advocate] had, in the late debate on the American war, fairly confessed that they were tired of the war; they had declared themselves converts to the opinion of its impracticability; and they had delivered themselves on that subject in a very manly manner: all he regretted was, that they had not followed up their manly declaration with a manly vote for the Address. They were now avowed converts; the light had shone upon them, they were thrown down from their high horse of starvation and unconditional submission, but, unlike Paul, after his conversion, they had not become the champions of that people and cause of which they had been such violent persecutors. Their conduct appeared to him perfectly inexplicable: and if he might borrow an image from the sacred text, he might say that they and others had received the gift of tongues; cloven tongues had fallen upon them; not tongues of truth and sincerity, but double tongues; they had one tongue for Parliament, and another for private companies; with the one they censured and condemned the American war, and with the other, they voted against every proposition that had a tendency to put an end to it: the world would judge of the consistency of such conduct, and their own honour would tell them how unworthy it was of them.—He was sorry to say that these two members were not the only two, who were gifted with these cloven tongues: he had dined in company with an honest plain soldier a few days ago, who observed, that he never had been more astonished than at hearing many members of Parliament most heartily condemn in coffee-houses, the very same measures for which he had seen them the most strenuous advocates in Parliament: whether it was matter of astonishment or not, it was an undoubted fact, that the representation of the old officer was founded in truth; and that there were but too many persons within those walls, who could bear witness to it. Upon all those, who spoke thus with double tongues, he called, to reflect upon the calamities which by their conduct they would be instrumental in heaping upon their country; and he hoped that all sense of honour and patriotism was not completely extinguished in their breasts, but that they must be roused to a total dereliction of those principles, upon

which they had hitherto enabled miniſters to undo their country.

To the motion, which he had the honour to ſubmit to the Houſe on Friday laſt, he underſtood there were two objections; and as they might perhaps be made with equal propriety againſt the motion, which he intended to make at the end of his ſpeech, he would endeavour, as well as he could, to remove them. One objection was, that it was unconſtitutional in that Houſe to interfere with its advice in thoſe things, which ſpecially and indiſputably belonged to the executive power. This was a poſition, which none could have been hardy enough to have made, if they had been at all verſed in the hiſtory of Parliament. Miniſters could not find time enough to look into the Journals of the Houſe; they confined their ſtudy entirely to one book; and in the contents of it, they were certainly well verſed; the book he alluded to was the red book; it was in that they found the greateſt comfort, amuſement, and aſſiſtance; it was there they found the calendar of their ſaints, whoſe patronage they experienced on all occaſions: but if they could have ſpared a ſmall portion of their time for the reading of the Journals, they would have found that the objection which had been made to his motion, as if it militated againſt the principles of the conſtitution, was founded in falſehood; for it appeared from the Journals, that from the days of Edward the Third down to the preſent reign, Parliament had at all times given advice to the Crown, in matters relating to war and peace. In the reign of Richard the Second, it had been frequently done; and alſo in that of Henry the Fourth. There was one remarkable inſtance of this in the reign of Henry the Seventh; that Prince conſulted his Parliament reſpecting the propriety of ſupporting the Duke of Brittany againſt France; and alſo of declaring war againſt the latter; and he told his Parliament that it was for no other purpoſe than to hear their advice on theſe heads, that he called them together. In the reign of James the Firſt, the Parliament interfered repeatedly with their advice reſpecting the Palatinate, the match with Spain, and a declaration of war againſt that power. In the days of Charles the Firſt there were ſimilar interferences; in the reign of his ſon, Charles the Second, the Parliament made repeated remonſtrances, but particularly in 1674 and 1675, on the ſubject of the alliance with France, which they urged to be renounced; and recommended a ſtrict union with the United Provinces: it was true, that to theſe remonſtrances,

monstrances, they had received answers which were by no means pleasing or satisfactory; they were told that they were exceeding the line of their duty, and encroaching upon the prerogative of the Crown: but so little did the Commons of that day relish those answers, that they addressed the King to know who it was that had advised his Majesty to make such answers to their loyal and constitutional remonstrances? In the reign of King William, repeated instances were to be found in the Journals, of advice given by Parliament relative to the Irish war, and the war on the continent: the like occurred frequently in the reign of Queen Anne; and one address, in particular, advised the Queen not to make peace with France, until Spain should be secured to Austria; nay, it went so far as to advise her Majesty not to consent to peace until Dunkirk should be demolished.

Against such a torrent of precedents, he asked, who could contend? A man must fly in the face of common sense and conviction, who could, after hearing them, continue to say that the motion which he had submitted to the House on Friday, was in its nature unparliamentary and unconstitutional. He would take it then for granted, for he would not insult the House with a doubt on the subject, that he had removed the objection that had been made to his motion on this ground; he had proved it to be constitutional. He would next endeavour to satisfy the minds of those gentlemen who had urged this other objection to it—that it was obscurely and indistinctly worded. The motion went to advise his Majesty to order his ministers to renounce the war on the continent of America, for the impracticable object of reducing the colonies by force. The object of the motion was, in his mind, very clearly expressed; it was to give up the idea of conquest, and consequently, of an offensive war; but here the ingenuity of some gentlemen had been exerted to render the meaning of the words "offensive" war unintelligible. For his part, without deriving, or at least wishing to derive, any knowledge from his profession, but judging merely as a private man, he knew very distinctly the meaning of these words; an offensive war, was a war in which attempts were made by an army. to possess themselves of what they had not before; a defensive war was that in which they confined all their exertions to defend that, of which they were already in possession. Upon this principle, could any one mistake the real meaning of his motion? He had not said a syllable of withdrawing our troops from the places which they actually held; he had not advised any such measure;

measure; and he would not advise it; perhaps he would rather condemn it. But then while he admitted that it would be proper to keep the posts we now have in America, it might be said to him, "You are are a friend to posts; surely then you could have no objection to our shifting our posts, if we could find others more advantageous than those which we already hold."—But his answer to this would be, "No, you must not change your posts; for then you act offensively, by taking places which you did not before hold; and this kind of war is condemned by the motion." He might next be asked, What kind of war could be carried on from these posts? His answer would be—no kind of war whatever, except for self-defence; such a war as General Elliot wages at Gibraltar; and such a war as General Murray, it was said, had lately waged at Fort St. Philip, where, by a spirited and well-timed sally, the works of the enemy nearest the place had been destroyed: this kind of war, and this only, would be permitted under the motion: any other kind of war in America he must, in the present situation of our affairs condemn: the changing of posts would subject us to enormous expences; we should be obliged to take the field; to provide baggage waggons, sick waggons, pontons, intrenching tools, and a thousand other things, which would subject us to the same expence, as the field operations which we had hitherto carried on without advantage, but to the loss of our armies, our treasures, and the best blood of the nation. The species of war which he would think allowable, might be understood by a man of the plainest sense, without going to Monf. Guibert's Military Principles, or the Reveries of Marshal Saxe.—He wished that there were not reveries among our ministers; the pleasing dreams slipt from the ivory gate, seized their fancies, and playing before their imaginations, kept them as insensible to the real interests of their country as if they were of another country.

Such were his answers to the objections stated to his motion; such his sentiments with respect to the manner in which the troops in America should be ordered to act. He adverted to what had fallen from Mr. Secretary Ellis, on the former debate, that this cursed war was not now to be considered as an American, but as a French war. If it was a French war, undoubtedly we were doing a most impolitic thing, for we were fighting France at arm's length, as she could, with 5000 troops that did not cost her more than 40l. a man a-year, maintain the war against us with 73,000 men,

men, at 100l. a man. There appeared to him a fourth kind of war, at which nature shuddered, he meant an Indian war; for he was well assured that a new place had been appointed, which he could scarce think, in times like the present, was meant as a sinecure, that was, Inspector of Indian affairs. In the name of God what could be the motive of ministers, that they wished to drive every spark of love, every tie of the Americans, whom he would still call brethren, (for so they certainly were) from us? Did we suppose that by the infernal plan of desolation, of burning, ravaging, slaughtering, and ravishing of these oppressed people, we could ever make them love us? Certainly not, they undoubtedly felt the calamities of war, and would wish for peace; but could any man think that a nation, once famed for its honour and humanity, could so far loose sight of itself, as to employ savages to butcher innocent, inoffensive men! No, it was a conduct of that kind that had made us, not as a noble Lord (Mulgrave) had mentioned in a former debate, the glory and envy of every other nation, but had made us the ridicule and contempt of every power upon earth: this he did not speak merely on his own opinion, but on those of gentlemen who had lately travelled, and heard the sentiments of others. An honourable gentlemen (Sir H. Mann) in last Friday's debate had declared, that lately on the continent he had been in company, where it was asked what country he was; and on being told an Englishman, they all sneered and turned up their noses; but afterwards, in another company, it was whispered he was an American, and he was caressed by every one. Such was the opinion formed of us, owing to our despicable measures. The Americans, he had been credibly informed, wished for a peace, and would willingly treat for one, could they put any dependence in the faith of ministers: but was it possible for any people to be weak enough to trust to men that were continually shifting their ground, as our present ministers were, calling the war one day a war of posts, another a defensive war, and at last a French American war? He would not contend about mere words; for a rose, to be sure, called by any other name, would smell as sweet as if called by its proper name; and on that head he would let them have the fragrant smell of the word American. But he could not sit down without saying a few words by way of pointing out the necessity of coming to a speedy determination, lest by delaying, we should lose the opportunity of making a peace.

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Every gentleman knew what burthens had been heaped upon the public, and how very near we were to see our resources exhausted in the pursuit of an object which constantly fled from us, and which we never could attain; by this wild pursuit we weakened ourselves, and became unable to resist the dreadful danger that was hanging over us. At this very moment, while he was speaking, he was afraid that a dreadful blow was preparing against some vital part of the empire; for he was given to understand that a fleet of 40 sail of the line, partly French and partly Spanish, had lately put to sea, for the purpose of some great expedition, from which we had every thing to dread. The state of those powers who composed the armed neutrality, furnished us also with subject of the greatest apprehension: our resources in men and money were nearly exhausted; the best blood in the country had been spilt, and still our infatuated ministry pursued the war, without even a shadow of hope that success would attend the pursuit.—How many more human sacrifices did those ministers look for? How many more human victims were to be offered up to those demi-gods? Nothing could satiate them; nothing could preserve the empire from that ruin into which they were plunging it, but a vote of that House: He had drawn up a motion, the very same in substance with that which had been already rejected; but differing in terms, in compliance with the rules of Parliament; the first motion was for an address to the Crown; the motion which he intended to make this day, was in the shape of a resolution. He reminded gentlemen that now was the time to attend to their duty: The fate of the last question was determined by a single vote; and though it might be thought that one vote was not of any great consequence, yet it appeared, by the last division, that a single vote was of the greatest importance, and no one who wished well to his country would be absent on the present occasion; for to be absent would be in substance little short of treachery to the interest of the kingdom. He concluded, by moving the following resolution:

"That it is the opinion of this House, that the farther prosecution of offensive war on the continent of North America, for the purpose of reducing the revolted colonies to obedience by force, will be the means of weakening the efforts of this Country against her European enemies, tends, under the present circumstances, dangerously to increase the mutual enmity, so fatal to the interests both of Great Britain

and America, and, by preventing an happy reconciliation with that country, to frustrate the earnest desire graciously expressed by his Majesty to restore the blessings of public tranquillity."

Lord Viscount *Althorpe* seconded the motion from a thorough conviction, he said, that it was just, and conformable to the wishes of the people at large, who, where-ever he went, were exclaiming against the American war. He had listened with great attention during the debate of Friday last, and was astonished to hear it said, "You must make war to gain peace—you must make the Americans feel the calamities of war, to wish for peace." Would any man say they had not felt the calamities of war; or would any man say, that we ourselves had not felt the calamities of war? If they did, he must differ widely in opinion from them; for, was the burning of towns, and spreading desolation where-ever we went, not making the Americans feel the calamities of war in the utmost degree? Certainly it was; and the vast burthen and increase of our taxes, was severely felt at home; besides, our army in America was not only an useless army, but was a means of our navy being neglected, for the men that were raised and sent to be slaughtered there, would have been of infinite service, if employed as marines, or by becoming sailors.

Lord Althorp.

Sir *Charles Bunbury* said, that he had formerly declared against the independence of America; though he had never concurred in the carrying on the war, because he had thought it impracticable. He understood that a right honourable gentleman had spoken out in a very manly tone with regard to the American war; a happy breeze had wafted those favourable omens to the gallery, which, by the hand of some careful reporter, were delivered to the world. As their difference of opinion had not merely separated him hitherto from that right honourable gentleman within, but also without doors, he trusted that the present happy change of his sentiments would put an end to their separation. He declared he knew the country had suffered much by the American war; his noble kinsman, however, had given the best evidence with regard to his disrelish of war, by his agreement to the terms of sending out commissioners for the purpose of procuring peace. Sir Charles said, his sensibility was strong, which prevented him from speaking in public, and made him but seldom trespass on their attention; he sincerely wished, that he could but transfer some part of that sensibility to his

Sir Charles Bunbury.

Majesty's ministers, and teach them to feel those sufferings, which their conduct had brought on the country. He was, he acknowledged, much better calculated for a man of pleasure than politics; but his property in the West Indies compelled him to attend to those islands, however disagreable and uncongenial to his disposition the study might be. Bending under weights like those at present inflicted on the nation, and palliating them by the voice of a majority, he declared, was like soothing a delicate man, and making him bear up against the brawny arm of a coal-heaver. "The ravages of war were injurious to the feelings of humanity, which sighed at them." These were not, he said, the expressions of a recluse philosopher, they were the words of the celebrated Paul Jones, and did honour to his humanity. He had lately heard men wish to prevent gambling; he was very happy that his noble friend had taken some pains to hinder the lower order of people from practising that pernicious vice; he knew the higher order of people could and would break through all preventions, but he could not help wishing that an entire suppression of lotteries might take place, because he was convinced they were exceedingly injurious to morality. It was not, however, in framing or suppressing lotteries, he liked to see his Lordship engaged, many good lessons might be obtained in other places; he had seen a noble Duke and a noble Marquis, his Lordship's predecessors, on the course at Newmarket, where he could likewise wish to see his Lordship. [Here he was called to order.] He immediately declared he was speaking to order, and should come to the question presently. Had the noble Lord been used to that amusement, to which he had just alluded, he might there have learned some good lessons, in the same manner as children are taught geography from toys, made out of maps cut into pieces. The noble Duke had learned at Newmarket, never to be over-matched; and the noble Marquis, when he found himself entered in a bad match there, always thought it best to pay forfeit. He wished to address himself to the gentlemen of Lincoln, he did not mean the members for the county, or those for any particular part of it; he only intended to address himself to such, as had formerly, from conscience, supported this accursed American war; that war had originally commenced in the extremities, but it had now pervaded to the heart. They now felt that their long wool had become non-productive, the export of which was all the effect which it could or would produce.

Mr. *T. Pitt* said, that he [illegible] enumerate the many urgent and forcible arguments [illegible] were urged the former night in support of this motion; because they had never been contradicted; he delivered it as his opinion, that if the ingenuity of gentlemen on the other side of the House had not been exerted to puzzle and perplex the meaning of the motion made on Friday last, it would have been carried unanimously, or at least by so very considerable a majority, that it would have approached very near to unanimity. He thought it necessary to say, that he was not a factious man; it was well known that he belonged to no party; and that he never would give a vote for either side of the House, unless when he thought the good of his country called for it: in the last debate on the subject of the address, it had been urged on the other side of the House, that the object of the address was to recall the troops from America; but it had no such object; if it had, he certainly would have voted against it; for he was not yet ripe to say that our troops ought to be recalled: nor would he vote for that address, or for the present motion, if he thought that in voting for them, he exceeded the line which the constitution had pointed out for Parliament to pursue. He would not encroach upon the executive power, because, without documents before him, and without that knowledge which could be acquired therefrom, he could not tell what orders ought to be given; he would not pledge Parliament to any measure which should take from ministers the responsibility annexed to their offices: they knew best what to do; they knew the real sense of the Parliament and the nation; and they knew their resources: it was therefore their business to devise plans either for war or peace, and carry them into execution at their own peril. At present the war in America prevented us from acting against France: it crippled all our exertions; and therefore he thought it his duty to vote for a resolution, which held out a prospect of a peace, that would enable us the more effectually to carry on the war against our ancient and natural enemies; and he made no doubt but the sense of the nation would be expressed and re-echoed by the decision of the present question, in the carrying of which he hoped to see something bordering very much on unanimity. Mr. Thomas Pitt.

Capt. *John Luttrell* rose to deliver his opinion against the motion; but being considerably embarrassed sat down. Captain J. Luttrell.

Mr. *Alderman Newnham* expressed his most hearty assent to the motion, because he hoped it would put an end to a de- Mr. Ald. Newnham.

[illegible] the reprobation of which there was not one [illegible] nation. For his own part, he was sorry that he happened to have been deprived of the pleasure of expressing by vote on Friday last, his abhorrence of that war, and his earnest wish to see it terminated; if he thought so desirable an object had been lost through his absence, he should deservedly lose the good opinion of his constituents; nay, he would undoubtedly have lost his good opinion of himself; as to the question then before the House, he thought it proper to assure gentlemen that nothing would be more acceptable to the city, than to hear that the House had agreed to it: This might appear sufficiently from the petition that had been read; all that remained for him to say was, that it had passed without a single dissentient voice, and if he had not known it sufficiently before, he should have been convinced of it last Saturday, for every man that he met looked upon him with a gloomy face, and seemed to charge him with the continuance of the war. He would undertake to pledge himself in the name of his constituents, that if ministers would make peace with America, and turn the arms of this country against the old and natural enemies of Great Britain, there was no support which they might not expect to receive from the city of London; and see given with the utmost chearfulness.

Sir Horace Mann. Sir *Horace Mann* said, that from principle he had supported the American war, under the idea, first, that it was just; and next, that it was practicable: experience, however had convinced him, that the object we had set out with was unattainable and impracticable: his eyes were now open, and he saw that it would be madness to pursue it any longer: it was therefore the best thing that could be done, in our present situation, to put an end to a war, as speedily as possible, which, if not soon terminated, would put an end to our political existence. With these sentiments, therefore, he must proclaim his conversion, and seal it, by voting for the motion then before the House.

When Sir *Horace Mann* had done, the gentlemen in opposition called loudly and frequently for the question; and no one rising to speak to it, the Speaker ordered the strangers in the gallery to withdraw, and was beginning to read the motion, when at last he was interrupted by

Lord North. Lord *North*, who rose to oppose it: His Lordship expressed some little surprize at hearing gentlemen call for the question so very soon, and begged that they would moderate their

their ardour until he [redacted] the subject. If the object of the motion was peace, and that an ardent desire to put an end to the war could produce that wished-for blessing, he made no doubt but unanimity would convey one general sense of the House on that subject:—For his part, he would readily confess that peace was the object nearest his heart; the question with him was only how can peace be procured? There were two things to be considered with respect to the war, which he and every man felt to be calamitous and burthensome; or rather the war was to be considered in two points of view, the war *in* America, and the war *with* America. It was only one of these two objects, that gentlemen seemed so desirous to attain: for, from all that he had heard, he found that no one member had yet ventured to assert, that the troops ought to be withdrawn from America. The end of the war was indeed, what all parties looked to; but how was this to be brought about? He knew only of two means; by peace, or by withdrawing our troops: the latter was a measure, which so far from having been recommended by any one gentleman, seemed to be completely condemned by all: and how was the former practicable? could we make peace when we pleased? or was the mode proposed by the motion the most likely to effect a peace? His objection to the motion did not arise from a want of sincere wishes for peace; but from an idea that the motion was more likely to retard than accelerate so desirable an event. No one had suggested any grounds on which peace could be made; on the contrary, the only mode that seemed to have been pointed out to make hostilities cease, was a total dereliction of the war. But here a difficulty started: how could the House be convinced, that peace was the wish of ministers; was it by seeing that they withdrew the troops? No; for this was a measure that all condemned. Then there was but one other way of convincing the House, that ministers did not intend to carry on the war, as it had hitherto been conducted; and that was, that no army had been, or would be sent out to replace that which had been lost; and that no more troops would be sent out to America, except such recruits as might be necessary to keep up our garrisons: if that could be deemed a pledge and satisfaction to the House, he was ready to give it; but if they suspected the sincerity, ability, or integrity of the servants of the Crown, it was not by such a motion as the present that the House ought to express their backwardness to trust them any longer

with

with the management of public affairs: they ought to address the Crown to remove those ministers, in whom they could not place confidence, and to appoint others in whom they could confide. A minister ought not to be a minister after he was suspected; he should be like Cæsar's wife, not only free from guilt, but even from suspicion. —— If the House should withdraw their confidence from him, it would be his duty, without waiting for an address for his removal, to wait upon his sovereign, and, delivering up to him the seal of his office, say to him, 'Sir, I have long served you with diligence, 'with zeal, and with fidelity; but success has not crowned 'my endeavours; your Parliament have withdrawn from me 'their confidence; and all my declarations to them are suspec-'ted; therefore, Sir, let me resign to you those employments, 'which I ought not to keep longer than I can be serviceable to 'your Majesty and your subjects; and beg you will bestow 'them upon some other, who with greater success, though not 'with greater zeal or fidelity, may give more satisfaction to 'your Majesty and your Parliament.'

If the House should not trust to his declarations, he desired them, in the name of God, to find out some better security; and when they should have found it, he wished they would prefer it to any declaration of any minister; if they were determined to take upon themselves to prescribe in what manner the war should be pursued, let them declare it; but let them at the same time, deliver their orders, which no doubt they would and ought to expect to have obeyed, in such clear terms, that ministers might be able to know, for certain, when they were obeying them, or when they were swerving from them. The late motion for an address was certainly not of that nature, for it would have been impossible for any minister to have known how to obey it.

As to peace itself, there were difficulties in the way greater perhaps than gentlemen were aware of. Who would say that America could make peace? If it was true that France paid, fed, and cloathed her troops, could she be said to be free to make peace when she pleased? Under the British constitution she enjoyed blessings and advantages, many of them greater than even Englishmen enjoyed at home: for this reason he had presumed, that for the vain and empty name of independence, she would not have sacrificed the benefits she enjoyed: he had always said, that the separation of America from Great Britain would be a heavy loss to the latter; but that it would be a grievous misfortune to the former:

former: his saying would be verified, if, as he had observed before, her independence should be a mere name or empty sound; if, as there was reason to believe, she had only changed masters; and that she had only changed masters, was to be presumed; because it could not be supposed that France was a knight errant for liberty, and that too at an immense expence. But still, if peace was to be made, and America free to enter into a treaty, was a public declaration that we would not act in any one given case against her, the means of procuring the best terms? Certainly not; on the contrary, it would produce the opposite effect. But if France was to be reduced before America could treat, then he would contend, in opposition to the motion, that nothing could tend more to weaken our efforts against our inveterate European enemies, than to keep our army in America, with their swords tied up by this declaration. Gentlemen all agreed that the troops should not be withdrawn; if then they kept them in America inactive, did they not by inference say to the French, attack us where you please, you may be always sure that our forces in America shall not act against you or your allies? This would be weakening our efforts; this would be subjecting the nation to an enormous expence without any possible return.

He did not wish to make declarations in that House, because he did not think he was speaking to that House alone; he was speaking to America, to Holland, to France, to Spain, and to all the world: it would not therefore be proper for him to explain himself, any more than for the House to speak plain on so delicate a subject: it would not be proper for him to say what orders might be given, what alliances were in agitation, or on what conditions peace might be eventually obtained; for then France might say to America you are sure at all events of peace; I have held out for your success, do you now hold out a little while for mine. The House would in a variety of circumstances, have opportunities to interfere in any negociation for peace; for in some points, no minister would dare to treat of peace without the authority of parliament; in some others, the will of ministers would be ineffectual towards peace, without the assistance of parliament. The bill for shutting the ports of America would stand in the way even of a truce, for though ministers might proclaim a truce by land, between the land forces; yet while that bill existed, which confiscated all American property in ships, so

no truce could be made at ſea: parliament of courſe muſt be called upon on ſuch an occaſion.

He admitted the motion to be perfectly conſtitutional; it was its expediency he combated: if miniſters were ſincere in their propoſitions, that no troops ſhould be ſent to America, a very little time would demonſtrate it: but if they ſhould prove inſincere, then the preſent motion, if withdrawn at preſent, or even negatived, might be renewed, and with propriety; he therefore wiſhed that it might be delayed, in order to give miniſters a trial.

He wiſhed to ſpeak fairly, and to be underſtood; and yet he found that it was his misfortune always to be miſunderſtood or miſrepreſented; for he had read in ſome publications, if the honourable member who made the motion would believe that he read any thing, other than the red book; he had read in the records of modern hiſtory (the news papers) of Lord North's *war of poſts*, when in fact a war of poſts was what had never occurred to him; and though he had uſed the words, yet it was by way of condemning the idea: however, people were good-naturedly pleaſed to aſcribe to him a deſire to ſupport ſuch a war; a war which was incompatible with the intereſt of the country.

The honourable member had mentioned cloven tongues, and ſaid, that thoſe members who ſupported him in parliament, condemned in coffee-houſes the very meaſures for which they voted in that Houſe: He did not believe that the honourable member was rightly informed reſpecting the coffee-houſe converſations; at leaſt, for his own part, he wiſhed not for ſuch friends; nor did he believe there were among his friends, with whoſe ſupport his adminiſtration had been honoured, ſuch doubled-tongued ſenators: it had ever been his wiſh to ſtand upon the merits of his cauſe; he wiſhed to do ſo this night; and therefore he called upon them to oblige him only by voting according to the dictates of their own judgment, and totally to loſe ſight of every perſonal conſideration to him: the removal of miniſters was no puniſhment; the King had a right to admit and diſmiſs from his councils whomever he pleaſed: and he might, without aſſigning any cauſe, or without fixing any guilt upon the perſon, recall that confidence which he had been graciouſly pleaſed to beſtow upon any one of his ſervants: he thanked God that mere diſgrace in a miniſterial ſenſe was no crime; and as the conſtitution had given to the King a power to diſmiſs his ſervants at pleaſure, ſo it took care that

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the diſmiſſion did not render them criminal, becauſe no one, in the eye of the law, can be pronounced criminal without trial.

Attorney General

The *Attorney General* (Mr. Wallace) gave it as his opinion, that in the preſent circumſtances nothing but a peace with America could reſtore this country to its former ſtate of ſplendor and reſpect; but he did not think that the motion on the table was calculated to produce that happy and deſirable object; for there were many obſtacles to be removed, before it was poſſible for that Houſe to expect to bring the Americans to treat with them. The reſtrictions in the prohibitory acts muſt firſt be removed. The ports of this country muſt be opened for the trade of the Americans. The prohibition againſt the Americans, with reſpect to trading to foreign ports, muſt alſo be taken off; and, in ſhort, there were many preliminaries to be ſettled, which in the raging ſeaſon of war, when the paſſions of the two people were irritated by hoſtilities, could not, in his opinion, be adjuſted well, if they could be adjuſted at all. It was only by a truce that they could expect to accompliſh the object which they all ſeemed to have in view, and which was indeed become ſo neceſſary. By a truce with America the old intimacy between the two people would be renewed; the ſhips of America would fill our ports — our ſhips would fill theirs; commerce would return to its old channels; affections would be renewed, and a diſpoſition created favourable to a peace, founded on commerical treaties, in which we might be enabled to enjoy ſomething more ſubſtantial than the name of ſupremacy without the power, and America might enjoy all the bleſſing of independence, conſiſtent with her old connection with Britain. The learned gentleman urged by various arguments the neceſſity of a truce, and ſaid that he had prepared a motion for leave to bring in a bill to enable his Majeſty's miniſters to treat on this ground; for without the authority of Parliament, while thoſe acts remained in force, which he had mentioned, they could not treat with the Americans on this ground. In order, therefore, that the Houſe might have an opportunity to come to this important motion, on which a moment ſhould not be loſt, he would move "that the preſent debate be adjourned for a fortnight."

Mr. W. Pitt

Mr. *William Pitt* ſpoke with his uſual ability in anſwer to the noble Lord and the learned gentleman. He ſaid, that from what they had ſaid, if there had been before a number of gentlemen inclined to vote againſt the motion propoſed by the right honourable General, he did not believe that there would

would now be one left unconvinced of the propriety and necessity of that motion. For what had they done? After a great deal of argument needlessly introduced as a preliminary to what was to follow, they had moved for adjourning the present question, in order to bring on one for a truce, thereby hoping to convert a few from their determined purpose, into a delusive vote, which, like all their former promises, would end in deception and disappointment. The minister had said, that "unless Parliament doubted the sincerity of ministers, in the professions which they had given of their inclinations to listen to any terms of accommodation that should come to them, and to which this country could agree, they ought not to tie them down by the resolutions proposed." In answer to this, he must say, that the House could not, with either respect to duty or prudence, place confidence in his Majesty's ministers. Was there a promise they had not falsified? Was there a plan in which they had agreed? Did any two ministers that sat on the treasury bench, agree in any one specific doctrine that they ever broached? No, there was an incessant variation: a shuffling and trifling pervaded their whole conduct, in which parliament could have no trust. The honourable gentleman reviewed their conduct for the present session, and pointed out how inexplicable they had been, and shewed, that the House had neither confidence in their professions, nor in the measures which they had taken.—The motion of the right honourable General was alone that on which the House could depend, as on the full, explicit declaration of that House they would have no changing nor shuffling to apprehend. He enforced it by strong and elegant arguments.

Mr. Dunning.

Mr. *Dunning* made an admirable commentary on the speech of Lord North, in which he searched, exposed, and ridiculed the arguments of the noble Lord, as the most absurd and unintelligible he had ever heard; it was very singular that the noble Lord, after making propositions of his particular desire to be explicit, should have entertained the House with such an incomprehensible harangue; of which he could only say that he did not understand a syllable. The noble Lord had said that he was superior to duplicity, perhaps so, and he had taken a curious means of preserving himself from the imputation of duplicity. Duplicity was charged to the man who first said one thing, and afterwards endeavoured to give another meaning to it; but surely he could not be charged with speaking double, who had not said either one thing or another. With respect to the truce proposed by the learned gentleman, it had been done in such

a way, he had riſen with ſuch unuſual eagerneſs and anxiety to propoſe this new plan, that he could not help viewing it as a miſerable ſtratagem, to bring over, at the leaſt, three or four undetermined votes, who might be willing to ſupport miniſtry if they would, in any ſhape, ſeem to get rid of the American war. He argued, with great earneſtneſs for the neceſſity of coming to the motion made by the right honourable General. It was temperate — it was concluſive, and by this the Houſe would ſecure themſelves and their country againſt the conſequences of that ſhuffling ſyſtem which no promiſes could bind, nor experience reform.

The *Lord Advocate* replied to the remark which had fallen from General Conway in his opening ſpeech with reſpect to his converſion, and to his holding a different language in the Houſe and out of it; he aſſured the right honourable General, that he never did, out of that Houſe, ſpeak of politics, if he could avoid it, at leaſt he was ſure, that he never ſpoke with a double tongue. He then went into a warm defence of the meaſure propoſed by the learned gentleman, the propoſition of moving for a truce. It was the beſt, the moſt moderate, and the only method which the Houſe, in the preſent circumſtances, could take, to agree to the temperate plan ſuggeſted by that learned gentleman for bringing back America to her former habits of intimacy with this country. He replied at length to the arguments that had been urged on the other ſide. Ld. Advocate.

Mr. *Fox* ſpoke next, chiefly in anſwer to what had come from the noble Lord in the blue ribband, and in a few minutes ſet the matter in iſſue in a moſt clear and forcible point of view. He urged, with the moſt powerful arguments, the propriety of the motion made by the honourable General; the paltry ſtratagems to which miniſters were reduced, in the laſt moments perhaps of their exiſtence, to gain a ſhort week, or a day of breath. Mr. Fox.

Lord *North* roſe to explain. Ld North.

The *Solicitor General*, in a long ſpeech, contended, that the motion of the Attorney General was the moſt likely means of bringing about what was the general deſire of the Houſe. Solicitor General.

The honourable Mr. *Herbert* ſpoke againſt general Conway's motion. Mr. Herbert.

Mr. *Hill* compared the miniſtry to Don Quixote, the American war to Dulcinea del Toboſo the new Secretary to Sancha Pancha, or rather, he ſaid, he would call him the old Roſinante, on which Don Quixote would ride in order to fight the windmill. He ſaid, that next to peace with heaven, Mr. Hill.

peace

peace with America was to be wished, and that the yearnings of every true Englishman's bowels over our revolted colonies, were but faintly set forth by the yearnings of David's bowels over his revolted son Absolom, and hoped the House would imitate the example of Queen Esther, who presented an address to king Ahasuerus for the life of her people, whilst the wicked minister Haman, who had counselled their destruction, was hanged on a gibbet 50 cubits high. The House laughing; he said, if they laughed at the quotation he had brought from scripture, he hoped it was unnecessary to make any apology for mentioning so obsolete a book as the Bible, as he was pretty confident that book took up but a very little of the time and attention of that honourable House, and could not help wishing it took up much more; but if they supposed he meant to reflect on the noble Lord in the blue ribband, from what he had said, he assured them he had a favourable opinion of him, wished him well, and hoped never to give a vote against him again, because he flattered himself, the noble Lord would, from henceforth, adopt such measures as he could vote for with a safe conscience; but if he put the noble Lord in one scale, and peace with America in the other, the latter would certainly preponderate; and the noble Lord (though not a make weight) would kick the beam. He said, he always wished to support government, for he owned he was educated in tory-rory principles; but he could not support the present system. He concluded, with adding, that when he ceased to vote as he thought right, he trusted his constituents would think it right to vote him out of that House.

Sir William Dolben.

Sir *William Dolben* said, on Friday last he had voted for the motion, and as he intended this evening to vote against it, although the two were in substance and almost literally the same, he should give his reasons to the House for so doing. The Attorney General had, in the course of his speech, mentioned an intention of bringing in a bill for a truce with America, which, in his opinion, was by far the best mode offered, he should therefore be for rejecting the present question, and for adopting that proposed.

Mr. T. Townshend.

Mr. *T. Townshend* arraigned, with the utmost severity, the inconsistency of the honourable Baronet, who, in the course of a few days, gave two different votes on the same question, although there had not been the least change in affairs to warrant such conduct; He desired him, when he laid down on his pillow, to put his hand to his heart to examine his conscience, and ask himself if he was a consistent man.

Mr.

Mr. *Powys* spoke with feeling and lamentation at the conduct of Sir William Dolben; as a friend he must regret, but as a member of Parliament he must abhor his behaviour; he had a great esteem for his character; but how he could look his constituents, how he could look that House, or how he cou'd look his country in the face, he was at a loss to know. Mr. Powys.

Sir *Fletcher Norton* spoke also with astonishment at Sir William Dolben's conduct; he demonstrated to the House that the question on Friday evening, and that of this night, were exactly the same in nature, and no change of affairs could warrant any alteration of sentiment with respect to the motion; for a truce as proposed by the learned gentleman, by no means precluded the Baronet from giving his assent to this motion, as in fact this question was a preliminary to a truce, or, to what was much more substantial than a truce, to a conclusive peace. Sir Fletcher Norton.

Sir *William Dolben* rose, and repeated his former reason for his change of conduct. Sir William Dolben.

Mr. *Sheridan*, in a most admirable piece of satire, ridiculed the strange conduct of a man who was the representative of one of our universities, and who from his erudition and character, was supposed to have an influence on country gentlemen. Mr. Sheridan.

He reprobated the paltry subterfuge of ministers, in their expressing a wish for a truce, and was confident that every thinking man in the House would see through it, and not be led into the snare artfully laid for them.

Sir *Gilbert Eliot* declared, that he now plainly saw that the nation, the House of Commons, and the ministers, had been for a long time in the wrong; and he could no longer, with justice to his constituents, support their measures. Why gentlemen should make a distinction between the motion as proposed by the honourable General, and that mentioned by the Attorney General, he could not see, for certainly they both went to one and the same point; he should, therefore, give his hearty assent to the present motion. Sir Gilbert Elliot.

Mr. *Rosewarne* said, he thought the motion proposed by the learned gentleman was so fair and so candid, that he must wish the present motion was postponed for at least a fortnight, when it might be again resumed, if the other was not approved of; he, therefore, must be against the present question. Mr. Rosewarne.

General *Conway* rose, and very ably answered every objection that had been started to his motion; he considered the paltry subterfuge, as proposed by the Attorney General, to be the General Conway.

the desperate attempt of a tottering ministry, and the happy forerunner of their speedy annihilation.

Mr. Rolle. Mr. *Rolle* spoke in favour of General Conway's motion and thought the two questions were so connected with each other, that every honest man ought to vote for both.

At half past one o'clock the House divided on the Attorney General's motion for adjournment, when the numbers were, Noes 234: ayes 215. — Majority against the minister, 19.

The original question was then put, and carried without a division.

The minister being thus left in a minority, General Conway followed up his first motion with another:

That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, most humbly to represent to his Majesty, that the farther prosecution of offensive war on the continent of North America, for the purpose of reducing the revolted colonies to obedience by force, will be the means of weakening the efforts of this country against her European enemies, tends, under the present circumstances, dangerously to increase the mutual enmity so fatal to the interests both of Great Britain and America; and, by preventing an happy reconciliation with that country, to frustrate the earnest desire graciously expressed by his Majesty to restore the blessings of public tranquillity. This motion was argreed to without a division.

Resolved, That the said address be presented to his Majesty by the whole House.

Ordered, That such members of this House, as are of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, do humbly know his Majesty's pleasure when he will be attended by this House.

An authentic LIST of both MAJORITY and MINORITY, on the above important Motion.

Against the Adjournment.		*For the Adjournment.*
	Bedfordshire.	
Earl of Upper Offory —	County	
Hon. St. And. St. John —	Ditto	
Sir William Wake — —	Bedford — —	S. Whitbread
	Berks.	
John Elwes — — —	County	
W. H. Hartley — —	Ditto	

Against the Adjournment.		*For the Adjournment.*
Francis Anneſley — —	Reading	
Richard A. Neville — —	Ditto	
	Abingdon — —	J. Mayor
Hon. J. Montagu — —	Windſor — —	Pen. Portlock Powney
John Aubrey — —	Wallingford	
Chaloner Arcedeckne —	Ditto	
	Bucks.	
Earl Verney — — —	County	
Thomas Grenville — —	Ditto	
James Grenville — —	Buckingham	
William Grenville — —	Ditto	
Viſcount Mahon — —	Wycomb — —	Robert Waller
	Ayleſbury — —	Anthony Bacon
	Ditto — — —	Thomas Ord
	Marlow — —	Sir Borlaſe Warren
Richard Smith — —	Wendover	
J. M. Smith — —	Ditto	
William Drake — —	Amerſham	
William Drake, jun. —	Ditto	
	Cambridgeſhire.	
Philip Yorke — —	County	
Hon. John Townſhend —	Univerſity — —	James Mansfield
Benjamin Keene — —	Cambridge	
J. W. Adeane — —	Ditto	
	Cheſhire.	
J. Crewe —— ——	County	
Sir R. S. Cotton ——	Ditto	
R. Wilb. Bootle ——	Cheſter —— ——	Thomas Groſvenor
	Cornwall.	
Sir William Lemon, Bart.	County	
Ed. Elliot —— ——	Ditto	
	Launceſton ——	T. Boulby
	Ditto —— ——	Hon. C. G. Perceval
Samuel Salt —— ——	Leſkeard	
Hon. Wm. Tollemache	Ditto	
	Leſtwithiel ——	Lord Malden
	Truro —— —	Bamber Gaſcoyne
	Ditto —— ——	Henry Roſwarne
George Hunt —— ——	Bodmyn ——	William Maſterman
	Helſton —— ——	Lord Hyde
	Ditto —— ——	Richard Barwell
	Saltaſh —— ——	Sir Grey Cooper
	Ditto —— ——	Right Hon. C. Jenkinſon
	Eaſtloo —— ——	J. Buller

Sir

Against the Adjournment		*For the Adjournment*
	Ditto —— ——	W. Graves
	Westloo ———	Sir William James
Sir John Ramsden ———	Grampound	
Thomas Lucas —— ——	Ditto	
	Camelford ———	J. Pardoe
	Ditto —— ——	James M'Pherson
	Penryn —— ——	Sir Francis Basset
	Ditto —— ——	J. Rogers
	Tregony ———	J. Stephenson
	Ditto —— ——	J. Dawes
	St. Ives —— ——	William Praed
	Ditto —— ——	Abel Smith
	Fowey —— ——	Philip Rashleigh
	Ditto —— ——	Lord Shuldham
Edward J. Elliot ———	St. Germain's	
Dudley Long —— ——	Ditto	
	Michael —— ——	Francis Hale
	Callington ———	George Stratton
	Ditto —— ——	J. Morshead

Cumberland.

Henry Fletcher —— —	County	
Earl of Surrey —— —	Carlisle	
William Lowther ———	Ditto	
John Lowther —— ——	Cockermouth	
J. B. Garforth —— ——	Ditto	

Derbyshire.

Lord George Cavendish	County —— ——	Hon. Nat. Curzon
Edward Coke —— —	Derby	

Devonshire.

John Parker —— ——	County	
John Rolle —— ——	Ditto	
Robert Palke —— ——	Ashburton ———	Charles Boone
Lord Viscount Howe —	Dartmouth	
Art. Holdsworth ———	Ditto	
Humph. Minchin ———	Okehampton	
Sir George Yonge, Bart.	Honiton	
J. Wilkinson —— ——	Ditto	
Sir F. L. Rogers ———	Plymouth ———	George Darby
	Beeralston ———	Lord Fielding
	Ditto —— ——	Lawrence Coxe
	Plympton ———	Sir R. Payne
	Ditto —— ——	Hon. J. Stuart
	Totness —— ——	Lau. Browne
	Barnstaple ———	J. Cleveland

Hon.

Against the Adjournment		For the Adjournment
	Barnstaple ——	Francis Basset
Hon. Richard Fitzpatrick	Tavistock ——	Rt. Hon. Richard Rigby
J. Baring —— ——	Exeter	
	Dorsetshire.	
Hump. Sturt —— ——	County	
	Dorchester ——	William Ewer
	Lyme —— ——	Hon. Henry Fane
	Ditto —— ——	D. R. Mitchell
	Weymouth, &c.	Rt. Hon. Welbore Ellis
	Ditto —— ——	Gabriel Steward
	Ditto —— ——	Wm. Rd. Rumbold
Thomas Scott —— ——	Bridport	
Richard Beckford ——	Ditto	
Hans Wm. Mortimer —	Shaftesbury ——	Sir Francis Sykes
	Wareham ——	J. Boyd.
Henry Binkes —— ——	Corfe Castle ——	J. Bond
W. Morton Pitt ——	Poole — —	Joseph Gulston
	Durham.	
	County —— ——	Sir Thomas Clavering
J. Lambton —— ——	Durham	
John Tempest —— ——	Ditto	
	Ebor.	
Sir G. Savile —— ——	County	
Henry Duncombe ——	Ditto	
	Aldborough ——	Charles Mellish
Sir James Pennyman —	Beverley	
Evelyn Anderson ——	Ditto	
	Heydon —— ——	William Chaytor
	Ditto —— ——	Christoper Atkinson
Lord Viscount Duncannon	Knaresborough	
James Hare —— —	Ditto	
William Weddell ——	Malton	
Edmund Burke —— —	Ditto	
Henry Peirse — —	Northallerton ——	Edw. Lascelles
William Nedham — —	Pontefract — —	
Marquis of Graham —	Richmond — —	
Hon. G. Fitzwilliam —	Ditto — —	
William Lawrence — —	Rippon — —	Hon. Frederick Robinson
Earl Tyrconnel —— —	Scarborough — —	Hon. C. Phipps
Sir T. Gascoigne —— —	Thirsk	
Beil. Thompson —— —	Ditto	
Lord John Cavendish ——	York	
Charles Turner —— ——	Ditto	
William Wilberforce ——	Hull	

Against the Adjournment		For the Adjournment
	Essex.	
J. Luther	County	T. B. Bramston
Sir Robert Smyth	Colchester	
Christopher Potter	Ditto	
	Harwich	Hon. G. A. North
	Gloucestershire.	
Sir William Guise	County	
Sir William Codrington	Tewkesbury	
James Martin	Ditto	
	Cirencester	James Whitshead
	Ditto	Samuel Blackwell
Charles Barrow	Gloucester	
J. Webb	Ditto	
	Herefordshire.	
Sir G. Cornewall	County	Right Hon. T. Harley
J. Scudamore	Hereford	Sir Richard Symonds
Richard Payne Knight	Leominster	Lord Viscount Bateman
	Weobly	J. St. Leger Douglas
	Hertfordshire.	
William Plumer	County	
William Baker	Hertford	
Baron Dimsdale	Ditto	
J. Radcliffe	St. Albans	
W. C. Sloper.	Ditto	
	Huntingdonshire.	
Earl of Ludlow	County	Lord Visc. Hinchingbrook
	Huntingdon	Lord Mulgrave
	Ditto	Sir H. Palliser
	Kent.	
Hon. Charles Marsham	County	
Filmer Honywood	Ditto	
Robert Gregory	Rochester	G. F. Hatton
	Queenborough	Sir Walter Rawlinson
Sir Horace Mann	Maidstone	
Clement Taylor	Ditto	
George Gipps	Canterbury	
Charles Robinson	Ditto	
	Lancashire.	
Thomas Stanley	County	Sir T. Egerton
Wilson Braddyll	Lancaster	Abraham Rawlinson
J. Burgoyne	Preston	Sir H. Houghton

Hon.

Againft the Adjournment		*For the Adjournment*
	Liverpool	Bamber Gafcoyne, jun.
	Ditto	Henry Rawlinfon
Hon. H. Walpole	Wigan	
T. Lifter	Clitheroe	
J. Parker	Ditto	
	Newton	T. Davenport

Leicefterfhire.

William Pochin	County	J. P. Hungerford
Hon. Booth Grey	Leicefter	J. Darker

Lincolnfhire.

Charles Anderfon Pelham	County	
Sir J. Thorold	Ditto	
	Stamford	Sir George Howard
	Ditto	H. Cecil
George Sutton	Grantham	J. Cockayne Cuft
	Bofton	Humphrey Sibthorpe
J. Harrifon	Grimfby	Francis Eyre
Sir T. Clarges	Lincoln	Robert Vyner

Middlefex.

J. Wilkes	County	
Frederick Bull	London	
J. Sawbridge	Ditto	
Nathaniel Newnham	Ditto	
Sir Watkin Lewes	Ditto	
Hon. Charles J. Fox	Weftminfter	

Monmouthfhire.

J. Hanbury	County	
J. Morgan	Ditto	
	Monmouth	Sir J. Stepney

Norfolk.

Sir Edward Aftley	County	
T. W. Coke	Ditto	
Crifp. Molineux	Lynn	
Hon. Richard Walpole	Yarmouth	Rt. Hon. Ch. Townfhend
Richard Hopkins	Thetford	
	Caftlerifing	Robert Mackreth
	Ditto	J. Chet. Talbot
Sir Harbord Harbord	Norwich	

Northamptonfhire.

Lucy Knightly	County	
Thomas Powys	Ditto	

Againſt the Adjournment		*For the Adjournment*
Richard Benyon — —	Peterborough	
James Phipps — —	Ditto	
	Brackley — —	J. W. Egerton
	Ditto ——— —	Timothy Caſwell
Lord Viſcount Althorpe	Northampton ——	George Rodney
Frederick Montagu ——	Higham Ferrers	

Northumberland.

Sir William Middleton	County	
	Morpeth — —	Peter Delme
	Ditto — — —	Anthony Storer
Sir Matthew Ridley	Newcaſtle	
	Berwick — —	Sir J Delaval
	Ditto — —	Hon. J. Vaughan

Nottinghamſhire.

Charles Meadows — —	County	
	Retford — —	Wharton Amcotts
Lord George Sutton —	Newark	
Robert Smith ———	Nottingham ———	Daniel Parker Coke

Oxon.

	County — —	Lord Charles Spencer
Lord Robert Spencer —	Oxford	
Hon. Per. Bertie	Ditto	
	Univerſity — —	Sir William Dolben
	Ditto ——— —	Francis Page
	Woodſtock — —	Lord Parker
	Banbury — —	Lord North

Rutlandſhire.

	County — —	G. B. Brudenell

Salop.

Noel Hill ——— —	County	
Richard Hill ——— —	Ditto	
Sir Charlton Leighton	Shrewſbury — —	William Pulteney
	Ludlow ——— —	Lord Clive
	Ditto ——— —	Frederick Cornewall
Thomas Whitmore —	Bridgenorth	
Hugh Pigot — —	Ditto	
	Biſhops Caſtle —	Henry Strachey
	Ditto ——— —	William Clive

Somerſetſhire.

Sir J. Trevelyan ———	County	
	Ilcheſter ———	Samuel Smith

J. Penning-

Againſt the Adjournment		*For the Adjournment*
J. Pennington — —	Milborn Port — —	J. Townſon
Clement Tudway ———	Wells	
Robert Child — ———	Ditto	
	Bridgewater — —	Hon. Anne Poulett
Hon. J. Jeff. Pratt — —	Bath ——— —	Abel Moyſey
F. Fownes Luttrell — —	Minehead	
	Briſtol ——— —	Matthew Brickdale
	Ditto ——— —	George Daubeny

Southampton County.

Robert Thiſtlethwayte —	County	
Jer. Clarke Jervoiſe —	Ditto	
	Wincheſter ——	H. Penton
	Ditto ——— —	Lovel Stanhope
	Portſmouth — —	Sir William Gordon
	Newport — —	Sir Richard Worſley
	Ditto — ———	Hon. J. St. John
Edward Morant — —	Yarmouth — —	Sir Thomas Rumbold
	Newtown ———	Edward M. Worſley
	Limington — —	Edward Gibbon
	Chriſtchurch — —	J. Frederick
Sir J. Griffin Griffin —	Andover	
Benjamin Lethuillier —	Ditto	
Lord Viſcount Midleton	Whitchurch	
Right Hon. T. Townſhend	Ditto	
	Petersfield — —	William Jolliffe
	Ditto —— —	T. S. Jolliffe
	Stockbridge — —	Hon. J. Luttrell
John Fuller —— —	Southampton ——	Hans Sloane

Staffordſhire.

Sir J. Wrotteſley — —	County — ——	Lord Viſcount Lewiſham
Hon. E. Monckton ——	Stafford	
R. B. Sheridan — —	Ditto	
	Tamworth — —	J. Courteney
	Ditto ——— —	J. Calvert
	Newcaſtle ———	Arch. M'Donald
George Anſon	Litchfield	
Thomas Gilbert	Ditto	

Suffolk.

Sir T. C. Bunbury — —	County	
Sir J. Rous — — —	Ditto	
T. Staunton — —	Ipſwich	
Sir G. W. Vanneck —	Dunwich	Barne Barne
	Orford — —	Lord Viſ. Beauchamp
	Ditto ——— —	Hon. R. S. Conway

Sir C.

Against the Adjournment		*For the Adjournment*
	Aldeburgh — —	Martin Fonnereau
	Sudbury — —	Sir J. Marriot
	Eye — — —	R. Philipson
	Ditto —— —	A. Jones Skelton
Sir C. Davers	Bury	
Rt. Hon. H. S. Conway	Ditto	
	Surrey.	
Admiral Keppel — —	County	
Sir Joseph Mawbey ——	Ditto	
	Gatton — —	Lord Newhaven
	Ditto —— —	R. Mayne
Edward Norton — —	Hallemere	
W. Spencer Stanhope	Ditto	
Sir Robert Clayton ——	Bletchingly — —	J. Kenrick
	Rygate — —	Hon. J. York
Rt. Hon. Sir F. Norton	Guildford ——	George Onslow
Sir Richard Hotham ——	Southwark	
Nathaniel Polhill	Ditto	
	Sussex.	
Lord George Lenox —	County	
Hon. T. Pelham ——	Ditto	
	Horsham —— —	James Wallace
	Ditto —— —	Sir G. Osborne
Sir H. Gough — —	Bramber	
Hon. H. F. Stanhope —	Ditto	
J. Peachy — —	Shoreham ——	Sir C. Bishop
	Midhurst — —	Henry Drummond
	Ditto —— —	Sir Sampson Gideon
	East Grinstead —	Sir J. Irwin
	Ditto —— —	H. A. Herbert
Sir T. Ge Skipwith ——	Steyning	
P. W. Baker — —	Arundel — —	Thomas Fitzherbert
Thomas Kemp — —	Lewes	
Thomas Steele — ——	Chichester	
	Warwickshire.	
Sir Robert Lawley ——	County	
Sir G. Shuckburgh — —	Ditto	
Robert Ladbroke ——	Warwick — —	Hon. C. Greville
	Coventry — —	Edward Roe Yeo
	Ditto —— —	Lord Sheffield
	Westmorland.	
James Lowther ——	County	
Phil. Honywood ——	Appleby	
Hon. W. Pitt —— —	Ditto	

Wilts.

Against the Adjournment		*For the Adjournment*
	Wilts.	
C. Penruddock	County	
William Hussey	Salisbury	
Hon. W. H. Bouverie	Ditto	
	Devizes	Sir J. T. Long
	Ditto	Henry Jones
	Marlborough	Earl of Courtown
Henry Dawkins	Chippenham	
John Dunning	Calne	
Right Hon. J. Barré	Ditto	
	Malmsbury	Lord Viscount Fairford
	Ditto	J. Calvert, jun.
	Hindon	Nat. W. Wraxall
T. Pitt	Old Sarum	
W. P. A'Court	Heytesbury	Francis Burton
Samuel Estwick	Westbury	
J. Whalley Gardiner	Ditto	
	Wooton Basset	Hon. H. St. John
	Ditto	William Strahan
	Luggershall	G. Aug. Selwyn
Lord Herbert	Wilton	
	Downton	Hon. H. S. Conway
	Ditto	Robert Shaftoe
	Bedwin	Paul Cob. Methuen
	Worcestershire.	
Hon. Edward Foley	County	
Wm. Lygon	Ditto	
Sir J. Rushout	Evesham	
C. W. Broughton Rouse	Ditto	
Hon. A. Foley	Droitwich	
Edward Winnington	Ditto	
T. Bates Rous	Worcester	Hon. Wm. Ward
	Bewdly	Lord Westcote
	Cinque Ports.	
	Hastings	Lord Vis. Palmerston
	Ditto	J. Ord
	Sandwich	Phillip Stephens
	Ditto	Sir R. Sutton
John Trevanion	Dover	Sir J. Henniker
	Romney	Sir Edward Deering
	Hythe	Sir Charles Farnaby
	Rye	W. Dickenson
	Ditto	Hon. T. Onslow
J. Nesbit	Winchelsea	
	Seaford	J. Durand

Against the Adjournment.		For the Adjournment.
	Wales.	
Lord Viscount Bulkeley	Anglesea	
Sir George Warren	Beaumarris	
Charles Morgan	Breconshire	
	Brecon	Sir C. Gould
	Cardigan	J. Campbell
J. Vaughan	Caermarthenshire	
J. Parry	Carnarvonshire	
	Carnarvon	Glynn Wynne
Sir W. W. Wynne, Bart.	Denbighshire	
Richard Middleton	Ditto	
Sir Roger Mostyn	Flintshire	
Watkin Williams	Flint	
Ch. Edwin	Glamorganshire	
E. I. Vaughan	Merionethshire	
W. Mostyn Owen	Montgomeryshire	
	Montgomery	Whitshed Keene
	Haverfordwest	Lord Kensington
	Radnorshire	T. Johnes
	Radnor	Edward Lewis
	Scotland.	
	Kintore, &c.	Staates Long Morris
	Airshire	Sir Adam Fergusson
	Argyleshire	Lord F. Campbell
Earl of Fife	Bamffshire	
	Berwickshire	Hugh Scott
	Lauder, &c.	Francis Charteris
	Dumfriesshire	Sir R. Laurie
	Dumfries, &c.	Sir R. Herries
	Edinburghshire	Henry Dundas
J. Hunter Blair	Edinburgh	
	Elginshire	Lord William Gordon
	Fifeshire	Robert Skene
	Anstruther, &c.	Sir J. Anstruther
	Aberbrothick, &c.	Adam Drummond
	Haddingtonshire	Hugh Dalrymple
	Kincardineshire	Lord A. Gordon
	Kircudbrightshire	P. Johnstone
	Kinrosshire	Geo. Graham
	Lanerkshire	Andrew Stuart
	Linlithgowshire	Sir W. A. Cunninghame
	Culross, &c.	James Campell
	Perthshire	Hon. J. Murray
J. Shaw Stewart	Renfrewshire	
Sir G. Elliott	Roxburghshire	
	Selkirk, &c.	Sir J. Cockburn

Against the Adjournment.			*For the Adjournment.*	
Sir T. Dundas	234	Stirlingshire		
		Sutherlandshire	Hon. J. Wemyss	
		Wigtownshire	Hon. K. Stewart	215

TELLERS.

Lord Maitland	Newport, Cornwall	
G. Byng	Middlesex	
	Harwich	J. Robinson
	Stranrawre, &c.	W. Adam

The following Noblemen and Gentlemen paired off:

Ambrose Goddard	Wilts	with Richard Vernon, Oakhampton.
Sir Ph. J. Clerke	Totness,	with Earl Nugent, St. Maw's
Lord G.A.H. Cavendish	Derby,	with W. Hanger, Michael.
J. Bullock	Steyning,	with J. Strutt, Malden.
Charles Dundas	Orkneys,	with Sir J. Durham.
Rt.Hon.W.G.Hamilton	Wilton,	with Earl of Lisburne, Cardiganshire.
Thomas Halley	Herts,	with George Ross, Cromartyshire.

February 28.

The Attorney-General. The *Attorney-General* rose almost as soon as the Speaker had taken the chair, and moved for leave to bring in a bill to enable his Majesty to conclude a peace or truce with the revolted colonies of America. He said he would not then enter into any detail of the nature of the bill; but would reserve himself for another opportunity, when he should have to speak to a fuller House.

This brought on a conversation which lasted about a quarter of an hour.

Mr. Thomas Townshend. Mr. *T. Townshend* wished the right honourable member would even then, thin as the House was, enter into a detail, or give some explanation of the particular objects of his bill.

Sir George Yonge. Sir *George Yonge*, on the contrary, wished that no explanation should be given in so thin a House: on the very principle of the bill, there must be great ground for explanation, without speaking of the detail; for if he was not mistaken, reference must be had to acts of Parliament for a century back; and therefore it would be needless to explain at this time, what must be explained over again in a full House.

Mr. Baker. Mr. Baker said, that as the bill must go to repeal or alter the prohibitory act, and also the navigation act; and as such a repeal or alteration must affect the trade of this country, he submitted to the House, whether in point of order, the bill could be brought in, before the proposition should first have passed through a previous Committee. He wished also, that some delay should take place, till an answer should be received to the address, which had yesterday been voted to his Majesty.

Mr. Hussey. Mr. Hussey objected to a moment's delay, lest it should be said that the House of Commons had rejected the very first proposition for peace, after the vote they had passed the night before.

Mr. Fox. Mr. Fox said, that though no man wished more ardently for peace than he did, still he did not see the necessity of passing any bill on the subject in the very first instance. Ministers might enter into a negociation, and apply to Parliament as soon as their assistance should be wanted. Whoever should have the conclusion of the business, whether the present ministers or others, they must act upon entirely new principles: for his part, he thought the idea of sovereignty over America, ought to be totally renounced; but still he hoped that no one would give up America, without obtaining a substantial connection with her.

Mr. Rigby. Mr. Rigby was of opinion, that no man spoke in general more substantially than the honourable gentleman, but still he must confess that he could not reconcile his two ideas of renouncing the sovereignty of America, and preserving a substantial connection with her. He was afraid the honourable gentleman wanted to retain under one name what he was so ready to renounce under another. For his own part, he did not entertain an idea of preserving the sovereignty over America; he gave that up for the same reason that he gave up the war—because he could not help it. He thought the bill proposed ought not to be delayed. He was not in the secrets of ministers; but who could tell that some progress might not have been already made in a negociation, and that the bill was necessary to the conclusion of it?

Mr. Fox. Mr. Fox did not mean by substantial connection, any advantage whatever that we should have a right to enforce: he meant such a connection as we have with Portugal; such as we had with Holland.

The Attorney General. The Attorney-General thought, that after what he had pledged himself to last night, it would have been unpardonable

able in him not to take the very earliest opportunity to promote that peace, which seemed to be the object of every gentleman's wish. In the bill appointing Commissioners to treat with America, there was a clause empowering them to suspend the Prohibitory act, which, though it related to the trade of this country, did not pass through a previous committee: however, he was very willing to send his proposition to a previous committee of the whole House; and he made a motion to that effect accordingly; which was carried without any farther debate.

Lord *Hinchinbrook* reported to the House, that his Majesty, having been waited upon (pursuant to the order of yesterday) humbly to know his Majesty's pleasure, when he would be pleased to be attended by this House, had been pleased to appoint to be attended to-morrow, at three of the clock, at his palace of St. James's. Lord Hinchinbrook.

March 1.

In a committee of ways and means, resolved, that there be applied towards the supply, 200,000l. out of the monies remaining in the receipt of the Exchequer, on the 10th of October, 1781, for the disposition of Parliament, of the surplusses, excesses, overplus monies, and other revenues composing the fund, commonly called the sinking-fund.

Sir *Philip Jennings Clerke* moved, "That leave be given to bring in a bill for restraining any person, being a member of the House of Commons, from being concerned himself, or any person in trust for him, in any contract made by the Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury, the Commissioners of the Navy, the Board of Ordnance, or by any other person or persons, for the public service, unless the said contract shall be made at a public bidding. Ordered, and that Sir Philip Jennings Clerke and Mr. Fox do prepare and bring in the same." Sir Philip Jennings Clerke.

March 4.

Mr. *Speaker* reported to the House, that the House attended his Majesty on Friday last with their address; to which his Majesty was pleased to return this most gracious answer: Mr. Speaker.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

There are no objects nearer to my heart than the ease, happiness, and prosperity of my people.

You may be assured, that, in pursuance of your advice, I shall take such measures as shall appear to me to be most conducive to the restoration of harmony between Great Britain and the revolted colonies, so essential to the prosperity of both; and that my efforts shall be directed in the most effectual manner against our European enemies, until such a peace can be obtained as shall consist with the interests and permanent welfare of my kingdoms.

Gen. Conway. General *Conway* rose to move an address to his Majesty. He was sorry, he said, that it had fallen to his lot to trouble the House so often; but he hoped that they would excuse him, on account of the great importance of the subject, on which he had so often taken the liberty to solicit their attention; often foiled in the course of the present war, in his attempt to put an end to hostilities with America, he had for once succeeded in a motion from which great expectations might be formed, though he had no great reason to flatter himself or the House very much from the answer that had been made to the address, which had followed his motion, as it was not quite so explicit as he could have wished: however, he thought it right and proper to return thanks for it to the throne, expressive of the satisfaction of the House, at those pacific dispositions which were manifested in his Majesty's answer. But he trusted he should be seconded by the House, in his desire to secure themselves, and this country, against the possibility of a doubt that the American war was not now completely concluded. Something, perhaps, might yet be wanting to confirm the resolution of the House last Wednesday; something by which ministers would be so expressly bound, that however desirous of evasion, they would not have it in their power to evade the injunction of that House; but now he would move, "That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, to return his Majesty the thanks of this House, for his most gracious answer to their address presented to his Majesty on Friday last, and for the assurances his Majesty has most graciously been pleased to give them of his intention, in pursuance of the advice of this House, to take such measures as shall appear most conducive to the restoration of harmony between Great Britain and the revolted colonies; and that his efforts shall be directed in the most effectual manner against our European enemies, until such a peace can be obtained as shall consist with the permanent welfare and prosperity of his kingdoms: This House being convinced that

that nothing can, in the present circumstances of this country, so essentially promote those great objects of his Majesty's paternal care for his people, as the measures which his faithful Commons have most humbly but earnestly recommended to his Majesty."

Lord *Althorpe* said a few words to second the motion. If it was necessary for the honourable General, with his brilliant abilities, to apologize for troubling the House, how much more occasion had he to do so? But he should consider himself as wanting in duty to his sovereign, if he did not, in the present instance, rise to second the motion for the address of thanks: At the same time, he said, he was not wholly and perfectly satisfied with the answer that had been given to the late address; and he wished that the honourable member would take some step that might tend to enforce the spirit of that address. With respect to the motion then before the House, he hoped it would be carried unanimously, as a mark of that respect which the House entertained for his Majesty. Lord Althorpe.

The *Speaker* read the motion; and, having put the question, it was carried *nemine contradicente*. The Speaker.

General *Conway* informed the House, that he had another proposition to make, which he thought absolutely necessary, and without which the great point that had been carried on Wednesday last, would be rendered nugatory and ineffectual. He was really ashamed to speak so often to the House on the subject of the American war; but he trusted this would be the last time he should obtrude himself on their patience. His habits and disposition were so contrary to the principles of this war, that he absolutely had a most rooted aversion to it; and, therefore, though he was convinced that he had spoken too often on the subject, he could not resist the impulse he felt to rivet, if possible, those fetters, which he hoped the address voted on Wednesday had put upon the American war. There were several strong reasons which urged him to persevere in making use of every means in his power to put an end to it. He had every reason to believe that there was a general desire in the Americans to make peace with Great Britain. There were persons at no great distance, authorised to treat with us about peace: and though hitherto the Americans had not bound themselves to any specific proposition relative to the West Indies, or an exclusive trade to France, which could stand in the way of a separate peace he was given to understand that Gen. Conway.

some-

something was in agitation, or on the tapis with the court of France, which, if concluded, would be of irreparable disadvantage to this country; our readiness to treat with America would, in all probability, prevent any thing definitive from being concluded between the Congress and France. These were his reasons for wishing for an immediate cessation of hostilities with America, and recommending to government, that, without loss of time, they would open a treaty of peace with America. The answer delivered to the address on Friday, was by no means generally understood; it was conveyed in a language not any ways satisfactory, as it did not say his Majesty would put an end to the American war, but that he would take such measures as appeared to him; that is, to his ministers, to be most conducive to harmony; he had no doubt of his Majesty's gracious intention; yet as the same men had openly declared in that House, that, to make peace with America, you must make them feel the calamities of the war, it was not unnatural to think that they would still advise vigorous measures to be pursued, especially as they chose not to understand what the true intent and meaning of the words offensive war conveyed; he had himself always been bred up in the military line, and nothing could appear more clear than the meaning of the words offensive and defensive. The prayer of the address was to put an instant end to the American war as a basis for a peace; and as there were persons near at hand properly authorised to treat for the same, undoubtedly it meant to negociate with them, as the most speedy measure that could be adopted; now was the time for the blow to be struck, before it was too late; and as, from the present answer, his Majesty's ministers might screen themselves from the public, by saying, they took such measures as appeared to them most conducive to putting an end to the war; they might think, that a war of posts, which had been so variously described, was the most proper measure; that the keeping the posts we had already got, or the abandoning them and choosing new ones, was the best; or they might think the recruiting the army lost under Lord Cornwallis, was a proper measure; yet, in his opinion, none of those heads were left to their choice, for they were bound to put an immediate stop to the war, and those who advised his Majesty to the contrary, were highly criminal, and ought to be brought to justice. He would therefore move a resolution, which would make the

the ſenſe of this Houſe ſo clear and manifeſt, that his Majeſty's miniſters could not poſſibly miſtake it; and by which the Houſe and the country would have the ſatisfaction of knowing that this mad war would no longer be purſued.—His motion was "That, after the ſolemn declaration of the opinion of this Houſe in their humble addreſs preſented to his Majeſty on Friday laſt, and his Majeſty's aſſurance of his gracious intention, in purſuance of their advice, to take ſuch meaſures as ſhall appear to his Majeſty to be moſt conducive to the reſtoration of harmony between Great Britain and the revolted colonies, ſo eſſential to the proſperity of both, this Houſe will conſider as enemies to his Majeſty and this country, all thoſe who ſhall endeavour to fruſtrate his Majeſty's paternal care for the eaſe and happineſs of his people, by adviſing, or by any means attempting, the farther proſecution of offenſive war on the continent of North America, for the purpoſe of reducing the revolted colonies to obedience by force."

Lord *Althorpe* roſe to ſecond the motion, which he did in a few words. He coincided entirely with the right honourable General, that this was wanting to finiſh and complete the buſineſs of the week before; and this, no doubt, would give complete ſatisfaction to every man. His Lordſhip declared, that one great inducement to him to ſecond this motion, was, becauſe he felt in his own mind, a want of confidence in the preſent adminiſtration, which their continued ſeries of ill ſucceſs, was alone ſufficient to juſtify; he thought, therefore, the Houſe could not be too cautious in having their ſenſe and wiſhes as explicitly declared as poſſible. The line of conduct this motion (ſuperadded to that of Wedneſday,) would moſt plainly chalk out, he flattered himſelf, would lead to peace with America, and by putting an end to that fatal war, which had cauſed all our calamities, he truſted an end would alſo be put to the preſent adminiſtration. Lord Althorpe.

Lord *North* did not riſe, he ſaid, to give any oppoſition to the motion; but he would obſerve at the ſame time, that he could not by any means agree with thoſe who thought it neceſſary: in his opinion, it had for its object only to ſtrengthen that which was ſufficiently ſtrong already.——The majority of that Houſe had reſolved, that peace ſhould be made with America; and the anſwer given from the throne, to the addreſs which had been voted on that occaſion, was ſo ſatisfac- Lord North

tory,

tory, that the House had just declared, that it was a satisfactory answer, by unanimously concurring in a motion to return thanks to his Majesty for making it: where, therefore, could be the ground for coming to a resolution, which seemed to doubt the propriety or sincerity of that answer, for which thanks had been just voted without one dissentient voice? He was not of the disposition of those who complained of majorities in that House, who condemned them; and by factious and seditious misrepresentations, held them out to the public in the most odious colours: A majority of that House was, in Parliamentary language, the House itself; it could never make him change a single opinion, yet he bowed to that opinion which was sanctioned by the majority; though he might not be a convert to such opinion, still he held it to be his indispensable duty to obey it, and never once to lose sight of it, in the advice which as a servant of the crown, he should have occasion to give his Sovereign. It was the right of that House to command; it was the duty of a minister to obey its resolutions; Parliament had already expressed its desires or its orders, and as it was scarcely possible that a minister should be found hardy, daring, infamous enough to advise his Sovereign to differ in opinion from his Parliament, so he could not think that the present motion, which must suppose the existence of such a minister, could be at all necessary.

He could not help however observing, that when Parliament was giving orders, the breach of which was to draw down upon ministers the infamy of being deemed enemies to their King and country, these orders should be so clear, so plain, and so explicit, that it would be impossible for ministers to mistake their meaning: he was sorry, that in the present instance, this was not the case; for the resolution of Wednesday last, of which the present was a kind of confirmation, was clouded with obscurity, which would render it impossible for a minister to know for certain, whether he was adhering to, or deviating from, the orders of the House. If he understood those orders right, and if he did not, he wished the House would explain them to him, the object of the late address was peace with America; and that keeping this object in view, all the measures that ministers should advise, were to be calculated to effect that object as soon as possible.

Several voices were heard to cry no, no.—Lord North wished then to be informed if he had mistaken the meaning of the resolution.

General

General *Conway* upon this, rose to explain the meaning of the address: the noble Lord, he said, had totally mistaken it; the meaning was not that peace should be made with America as soon as possible; but that the offensive war with America should immediately cease; the object of the address was an immediate cessation of all hostile operations in the field, though it did not by any means go to withdraw the forces, or to prohibit a defensive war. It did not recommend to Ministers to seize the first opportunity of making peace with America that might offer, but it expressly directed an immediate operation of war, by ordering that Ministers should instantly forego a prosecution of offensive war with America, for the purpose of reducing the revolted colonies to obedience by force. Men, the General said, naturally expressed their ideas in that way which their education made most familiar to them. Having been bred in the army, he had chosen a military term to convey his meaning to the House, and to a military man nothing could be a more clear, distinct, and simple idea, than that of offensive war. Without going into a long discussion of the nature of the several sorts of wars, a war of posts, &c. &c. that had been talked of by different gentlemen on a former day, he had expressly used the term offensive war, and as offensive and defensive war, were contrasted terms extremely simple, he could not help wondering that any difficulty should be made, at least if there was, he thought he ought to have been helped to a more distinct term than that of offensive war, by those who affected not to understand it. The General said, he recollected in the last war prince Ferdinand had, previous to the commencement of a campaign, wrote home for instructions whether it was the wish of the Minister that he should make an offensive or a defensive campaign. The compliment was paid him, of desiring him to make which ever he thought most adviseable; but neither in the army in Germany, nor at home, was any the least doubt entertained of the essential difference between offensive and defensive war. The General added some other arguments to prove that the terms he had adopted, were perfectly intelligible, that they certainly were not to give Ministers any instructions to seize the first opportunity that might offer, of making peace, but immediately to forego any further prosecution of offensive war with America, for the purpose of reducing America to obedience by force. General Conway.

Lord *North* replied, that as far as he was concerned, he would make it his study, because it was his duty, to fulfil, to the LordNorth.

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the utmost of his power, the orders of Parliament. He would make it his study, of course, to understand them. A little time would make it appear, whether he was sincere or not. If he should be found to have deviated from the sense of the House, then he should acknowledge himself to be a criminal indeed: but if, in the prosecution of this business, he should be found to have acted only erroneously, where it should be clear that it was his intention, *bonâ fide*, to adhere to the sense of the House, he trusted that he should find in that House judges who would overlook errors, when they should be convinced that the intention was fair and upright.

Mr. T. Pitt. Mr. *T. Pitt* was of opinion, that the resolution of Wednesday last was so clear and explicit, that it was not possible, that its true meaning could be misunderstood: if that part of it which declared, that the war should no longer be carried on in America, seemed to admit of any difficulty it was sufficiently cleared away by the subsequent part — "for the impracticable object of reducing the colonies to obedience by force." If the question was merely military, he must at that time make a very aukward figure in speaking upon it, but it was of a political nature; it was whether the war should be prosecuted on the continent of North America for the purpose of subduing it by force? to this question it was perfectly competent for him to speak; and therefore he was free to say that such a war was completely condemned by the resolution. —— Whether our present posts in America should be changed for others more convenient or advantageous — whether our troops should go out to forage, or attempt to repel an assailing enemy; these were question of a military nature, upon which it was not his business to decide: he left all this to the executive power, to act at their own peril: for he would not consent that Parliament should take from ministers an atom of their responsibility.

He was happy to see that the noble Lord in the blue ribband found it inconvenient to make any opposition to the motion. It was a happy omen for this country, and he congratulated them upon it.

Lord Howe. Lord *Howe* felt an inconvenience or impropriety in the wording of the resolution before the House, which he thought ought to be removed; as it then stood, it would involve in guilt, and brand with the name of enemies to their country, even the lowest subalterns in the army, who should act contrary to the late resolution of that House: now in his opinion, the great object of the resolution was to restrain minis-

ters

ters from ordering the troops to profecute the war; and the reftraining minifters would, in effect, reftrain the army; and as it might be dangerous to carry the reftriction down to the fubalterns, as it would make them criminal, and refponfible to a part of the conftitution, from which they did not ufually receive orders, fo he thought it would be proper to make an amendment in the motion; and inftead of faying, 'that all thofe fhould be deemed enemies to their King and 'country, who fhould advife, or by any means attempt the 'profecution of the war,' &c. to fay, 'who fhould advife, or 'direct the profecution,' &c. This he faid, would confine the refolution to thofe to whom it ought conftitutionally to be confined — the minifters of the crown.

He faid, he clearly faw the meaning and tendency of the motion; but he felt that officers acting at a diftance might not fo eafily underftand the meaning.

His Lordfhip faid, he knew perfectly well that if any officer was to command a garrifon, and the enemy invefted that garrifon or poft, and the officer was to make a fally, and, if fuccefsful, to purfue, that was not offenfive war, becaufe it was a defenfive operation; but ftill officers might have doubts upon other points of fervice; in order, therefore, to remove thofe doubts, he moved, as an amendment, to leave out the word attempting, and infert the word directing.

General *Conway* faid, he did not perfectly agree with the noble Lord. He had ufed the word attempting in order to conclude every circumftance and thing that might occur and precifely to prevent a poffibility of an infringement of the orders of the Houfe, by declaring any fuch infringement highly criminal. But he could not fee any hardfhip upon military men that would refult from the words of his motion. If a minifter fo far difobeyed the orders of that Houfe, as not to fend them out to officers in command, the minifter, and not the officer, would be criminal in cafe orders were difobeyed, and offenfive war fhould be hereafter purfued. Take the cafe the other way: If Minifters did their duty, and fent the orders out to officers with the neceffary inftructions to make thofe orders the rule of their conduct, and neverthelefs officers fhould prefume to profecute offenfive war, then the officers would be guilty, and not the Minifters. With regard to the noble Lord's idea of offenfive and defenfive war, he was completely of the fame opinion. Undoubtedly, making a fally, as the noble Lord had defcribed, or quitting one poft, and taking another, in a country where General Conway.

it was necessary to keep an army, were not offensive operations; when he talked of offensive war, he meant fighting our enemies in the field, with an obvious view to conquest.

Mr. Dunning. Mr. *Dunning* was of opinion, that the original motion was extremely proper, as it would not be right to tie down Ministers to the manner in which they should act, and leave it in the breast of Generals to act as they pleased, and perhaps directly contrary to the sense of the resolution of that House.

Mr. Pulteney. Mr. *Pulteney* thought the words of the original motion were too severe, particularly in the part pointed out by the noble Lord, as it would destroy the discipline of the army; and even a corporal would refuse to obey the command of his superior, saying, it was contrary to the vote of the House of Commons. It would be attended also with an inconvenience of an unconstitutional nature; it would teach the military to look up to that House for orders, which they ought to receive only from the executive power. But those were not the only inconveniences, which would attend the resolution as it then stood: it would spread an idea, that Parliament, by extending its orders to the army, was of opinion, that it could not enforce obedience without extending the line of responsibility; and that ministers were too great for punishment, when subalterns were to be rendered responsible.

Mr. William Pitt. Mr. *William Pitt* hoped there never would be room for any one to entertain an idea that ministers were too big for punishment, and out of the reach of Parliament; that House had drawn the line, and he made no doubt but those who should transgress it, would find that Parliament did not want power to bring them to punishment, let their rank be what it might: it was not therefore because the House could not punish the ministers who should disobey its orders, that responsibility was extended to those who should receive commands from ministers, contrary to the sense of that House, and obey them: but solely that there should not exist a possibility of ministers first disobeying the orders of the House, and then shifting the blame on the shoulders of their officers.

He could by no means agree with the honourable gentleman, that the discipline of the army would be affected in the least degree, and certainly it was proper that some persons should be responsible for their conduct in the business; for Ministers who wish to carry on this destructive war, would probably not act directly contrary to the resolution of that

House

House themselves, yet they might give their Generals such orders, that the whole end of Parliament might be defeated; certainly then those Generals, let them be who they would, ought to be responsible, as they must know they were acting directly contrary to the resolution of that House.

Lord *Howe* and General *Conway* were each up several times on this point. At length his Lordship declared, he meant not to insist upon his proposed amendment; it was therefore withdrawn, and the debate proceeded on the original motion. Lord Howe. Gen. Conway.

Mr. *Fox* rose, he said, to speak but a few words on the motion, for as the noble Lord in the blue ribband had said that he should not oppose it, there was no occasion for him to enter into any detail of argument in defence of the proposition; but some things had dropt from the noble Lord, on which he must animadvert. But he must first beg leave to say that he was one of those who was completely and totally dissatisfied with the answer of the Crown to the address of that House. When he spoke in this manner, he would be undoubtedly understood to mean, that he was dissatisfied with the answer which his Majesty's Ministers has advised his Majesty to give. It was the answer of the Ministers, and, among others, of that Minister, who had, on that day, been heard to declare, that he disapproved of the resolution of that House on which the address was founded; they had put an answer into the mouth of his Majesty which he could not approve of, because it was not an answer sufficiently clear and specific; for what did it say? That his Majesty would be graciously pleased to put an end to the offensive war carried on in America, for the purpose of reducing the Americans to obedience by force? No. But that his Majesty would take such measures as shall appear to him (that is, as should appear to his Ministers) conducive to the restoration of harmony. Could this be satisfactory? Parliament had pointed out the specific means by which to accomplish the object; namely, by putting an immediate stop to offensive war; but his Majesty's Ministers, instead of declaring in their answer that they would guide themselves by this advice, make his Majesty declare that they will take such steps as appear to them conducive to the object. He was not in the House when the motion for an address of thanks was agreed to, as he understood, unanimously; if he had, notwithstanding what he had just said, he should have voted for it, for he was careful to distinguish between the obligation that was Mr. Fox.

due to his Majesty personally for the grace of his answer (and he sincerely believed that his Majesty was, in his royal mind, most graciously disposed to restore the blessings of peace to his unhappy people) and those Ministers who wished to make the Crown follow a plan of conduct directly opposite to the advice of his faithful Commons, were not friends to their country, and should be deemed criminal. This answer of the Ministry, coupled with their language in that House, was perfectly intelligible; for here they declared, and particularly the Minister of the American department, the best way to conclude a peace with America was to make them feel the calamities of war. This expression the new Secretary of state had made use of but a few days before. His Majesty he sincerely believed, wished to conclude peace with America, as his faithful Commons had advised him; but his Ministers undoubtedly meant no such thing, for their language was different.

But the noble Lord had said, that he never would, nor should any man presume to act in contradiction to the voice of the majority of that House; nor dare to call it in question; nor dare to abuse it, in any shape. For his own part, he must claim to himself the right of declaring his opinion freely and fully of the conduct of Parliament in discharge of his own conscience, and of his duty. When majorities acted wrong in his opinion, he would, both within that House, and out of it, declare his disapprobation of their conduct: but the noble Lord pronounced it, as the indispensible duty of a Minister to hold the decision of the majorities of that House in the strictest reverence. Had he always done so? Did he not remember the vote of a majority of that House, declaring that the influence of the Crown ought to be diminished? What then was his duty upon that occasion? Surely to second the endeavours of that majority, to reduce the influence. Did he so? No. He there counteracted, opposed, and at last defeated and destroyed the desire of that House; nay, he advised the Crown in a shameful manner, to dissolve the Parliament before its regular period, lest they should, in another session, carry into execution the resolutions of a former — Did he not, by his conduct, bring upon that House, the disgrace and ignominy of having declared what was their duty, and afterwards failed to perform it? If the noble Lord sought for credit in his declarations of respect for the decision of majorities, let him now come to the resolution of the 6th of April, 1780, and reduce the influence of the Crown, and then he would be

confidered as a fair man; but the noble Lord would otherways incur the cenfure of faying things in argument which he by no means meant to abide by. His fituation was truly embarrafling. He had faid in debate the other evening, and he faid it by way of menace, that if the voice of the Houfe fhould be againft him, that was undoubtedly by being againft the principle and fyftem of his adminiftration, he fhould no longer continue in place: The Houfe had been againft him; the majority of the Houfe was againft him; and ftill the noble Lord kept his place: Such was his refpect for majorities, and fuch the credit that ought to be given to his declarations in that Houfe. But it was no way ftrange, that he fhould now affect to pay regard to the decifion of majorities; he ftood in a fituation which, he would be bound to fay, had not been precedented fince the Revolution; he remained in place when the Houfe had condemned the fyftem. Being then to carry on meafures contrary to his own opinion, what muft be done? When he went into his Sovereign's prefence, he muft addrefs him in language to the following effect: "I am come, Sire, to advife you to a meafure, which is exprefly contrary to my own opinion, and to all I ever told you; but, however, it is the opinion of a majority of the Houfe of Commons." The noble Lord was to gather every thing from the opinion of that Houfe, fince he feemed refolved to carry on meafures of which he difapproved, if this country fhould be fo reduced, fo poor in fpirit, or fo indifferent as to fuffer a Minifter to have the conduct of affairs in a moment fo dangerous as the prefent, when he dared not to execute his own plans. The free, incorrupt voice of the majority of that Houfe was, indeed, refpectable. He did refpect it; and refpecting that, he muft condemn and defpife the majorities of another defcription, which that Minifter had procured by means of corruption. When he faw a majority, compofed of contractors, whom a majority of that Houfe had previoufly declared to be ineligible to fit there, he could not refpect that majority. The Houfe having, by folemn refolutions, declared contractors, the Lords of trade, and certain other officers of the ftate, incapable of fitting in that Houfe, he could not afterwards refpect a majority made up of thofe men alone. He thanked God that the Houfe of Commons had come to the refolutions of Friday laft. Whatever were their prefent effects, they muft, in the end, be decifive; for they had, by thefe refolutions, broken, deftroyed and annihilated the principle

principle and basis of the present system, they had overcome corruption; and the system, thus deprived of its foundation, must crumble into pieces. It was impossible to believe that the ministry could be so daring and profligate as to go on after what had happened on Wednesday last; they could not have the presumption, surely, after the tidings that had come that day; they could not be impudent enough to go on. That day they had heard that the important island of Minorca was lost; that the garrison, consisting of 1500 men, had surrendered prisoners of war; and that there were circumstances in the loss of this island, which made it particularly criminal in Ministers; for, besides the loss of the garrison, he understood that there were several regiments now on their way to relieve the place. In the last war, the loss of this important fortress and island, drove a much greater Ministry than the present from their seats. The nation would not then suffer loss, disgrace, and calamity, without calling their rulers to a severe account. Would they now suffer loss after loss, disaster after disaster? Were they so habituated to defeat? Had Ministry made them so familiar with sorrow that they could now bear loss without a complaint? He hoped not. He had heard that day another report; he sincerely hoped it was not true; he had no other reason for believing it, but the probability, that the most important island remaining to us in the West-Indies, except Jamaica, he meant St. Kitt's, was taken. He desired Ministers to inform the House, if it was true that this calamity also had come upon us; and where they meant to stop; when they would confess that they had done enough. From his soul, he believed, that such was their accursed obstinacy, that even when they had lost nine-tenths of the King's dominions, they would not be satisfied till they had mangled and destroyed the last miserable tenth also—pride and obstinacy was so predominant in their natures. He could not help observing with pleasure, the triumph of men in every quarter, on the resolutions of the House on Wednesday last. The exultation, the triumph, the hope, painted and expressed in every countenance, was a test of the desire which they had for the object recommended in that House, and the consequences that it had produced on the funds, and on the credit of the nation, were also inconceivable. The people saw or heard of our triumphs without emotion. They heard of the victories obtained by his Majesty's Ministers without gladness. The stocks remained the same, the faces of men wore the same gloom; but on the instant that a victory was gained

gained over his Majesty's Ministers, whom they considered as the greatest enemies of their country, their joy was immoderate, the funds were immediately advanced, and the credit of the nation raised, because there was a prospect of the Ministry going out of place. All yet would be well in their conception if this should be brought about. When the noble Lord two years ago brought in a bill for conciliatory propositions with America, the funds were not affected; they hoped for no benefit from any thing that he should undertake; but when the Parliament declared it, they instantly proclaimed, now that the Minster is beaten the country may be saved. He professed that though he could not thank God for the many calamities which had overtaken the unhappy land, in consequence of the fatal system by which the King and people had been deluded, he still considered it as beneficial that the triumph of Wednesday last had not come sooner. It had, coming as it did, completely and effectually destroyed corruption; the reign of it was at an end. If the conquest had come sooner, before we had been so instigated against the baneful consequences of a system of corruption, perhaps there might have been contrived some paltry and insignificant coalitions which would have made the system more palatable. Now they were aroused, and leagued by a sense of common danger, to a plan of general and united action; though they might go on for a day, a week, a month, or a year, it was nothing to a man who viewed things on a great scale; the foundation was taken from it on Wednesday last, and it must fall down, and then an effectual remedy would be found to prevent its ever rising again. The honourable Gentleman concluded with asking Ministers if the report concerning St. Kitt's was true,

Mr. *Secretary Ellis* said, that in former Parliaments it was not customary for gentlemen to animadvert and challenge the decision of majorities; they were always held sacred, and ought to be so, for in fact, a majority was the sense of the whole House; every person was included who spoke either for or against a motion. With respect to the loss of Minorca he believed it to be true, but it did not immediately belong to his office to receive such intelligence, and with respect to St. Christopher's, he could only say it had been so rumoured, but he had not heard any thing officially about it. Mr. Secretary Ellis.

The Speaker was just going to put the question, when Mr. *Rigby* stood up: he said, he rose not for the purpose of dividing the House, but merely of giving his negative to the mo- Mr. Rigby.

tion then before the House, that it might not pass unanimously as the last had: and here he could not help taking notice, that it was a little singular, that so many gentlemen should disapprove the answer to the Address, and yet, that when a motion was made to return thanks for this very answer which so many condemned, not one dissentient voice was heard against it; the honourable member who moved it, the noble Lord who seconded it, and the honourable member who had lately spoken, had all condemned the answer, and yet it was carried *nemine contradicente*. This was a proof, in his opinion, that the charge so often brought against ministers, might be better applied to opposition; that they were divided among themselves. Some approved of the speech, others did not; the great leader of opposition himself had declared against the answer; but still it was carried unanimously, that the King should be thanked for it. Then came another motion, which to him appeared perfectly nugatory, because he could not conceive, that any minister would be hardy enough wilfully to disobey the orders of that House: but he imagined it was proposed to calm tender consciences; and that it had been made to conceal dissentions: the vote of thanks, and the present motions were to balance one another; and one set of men in opposition very likely had agreed to vote for the one, on condition that another description should vote for the second.

Much had been said about the majorities that had been against the noble Lord: how had he got rid of the resolutions of these majorities? Why by other majorities. And how had these majorities been obtained on both sides? By opinion. [A loud laugh] Gentlemen, he said, might laugh, but his assertion was true: it was the language of former days as well as of the present, that all who were in were corrupt; and all who were out were factious: these opinions had produced various resolutions in that House: but it was by no means a phenomenon in politics that a minister should keep his place, after having been left in a minority; and here he cited some instances in which even the honourable General who had made the motion had been left in minorities, and one in particular, when the Duke of Newcastle's brother, a man by no means famous for eloquence, had kept Charles Townshend in a minority for two months together: all sides of the House had been occasionally wrong: the act which repealed the Stamp Act contained a clause which strongly

strongly declared the right of Parliament to bind America; and the honourable member under the gallery, (Mr. Fox) had voted for the Boston port bill. With respect to the charge brought against the minister of the loss of Minorca, it was idle and unjust. Every thing was laid at his door, which convinced him that in the spirit of opposition, they blamed him indiscriminately both for what he did, and what he did not; both for what was right and what was wrong. With respect to the true meaning of the resolution, he declared it was his opinion, that it would be difficult for ministers to issue their orders conformably to it; for he had heard, from some officers of high rank, and who had served in America, that if they were there now, and that the resolution of the House should be sent to them, they really would be totally at a loss how to act under it. If a general forage should be ordered by our commander, and an action should ensue, would this be repugnant to the spirit of the resolution? If Long-Island should be attacked, it would require field operations to defend it, for it was one hundred miles long; York-Island was seventeen miles long; and Staten-Island was of considerable size; now as no one had ventured to say our troops ought to be withdrawn, so no one could say that the officer commanding our army, might or might not be censureable for operations which would require marching and countermarching, and other field operations. He believed the people were tired of the American war, and indeed he was perfectly tired of it. That the people were tired, he was confident, from a circumstance he had observed last week; for being in the country, and hearing the bells ring, he directly concluded it was on account of the majority obtained over the minister; but on enquiry was told, it was because there "was a peace with America;" so little were the people acquainted with the nature of the business, that they thought an act of Parliament could establish a peace. He was himself a great lover of majorities, and should always own, that he thought the noble Lord in the blue ribband the best of all his Majesty's ministers; but if there was so little faith to be put in his word as to make the present question necessary, it would be better to move at once to remove him from his office. The honourable gentleman in the course of his speech said, that he was tired of the American war; though he was by no means tired of receiving cash; but he could speak his honest opinion uninfluenced by his place.

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Mr. Fox. Mr. *Fox* said, he felt himself particularly called on to answer why he voted for the Boston Port bill; it was on the minister's pledging himself, that if the tea that was thrown overboard was paid for, the idea of taxation should be dropped; and that it was the intention of the Americans to pay for it was clear, as there were at that time merchants in London who pledged themselves, nay offered to pay for it. With respect to the right honourable gentleman's wondering why Lord North was blamed for the loss of Minorca, was he not Prime Minister, was he not a Privy Councellor, was he not the chief person who had access to his Majesty, and who advised with him in his cabinet? Certainly then he ought to be responsible; and the noble Lord himself had boldly and honourably declared it a few nights since, for he said, when debating about Lord Sandwich, if his conduct is blameable, I am to blame as well as he, as one of the advisers of those measures. But the endeavour of the right honourable gentleman to skreen the noble Lord from blame about Minorca, was too pitiful a quibble, for even that quibbling minister himself to make.

Mr. *William Pitt* was surprised to hear the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Rigby) declare he was not tired of receiving cash, if he was not, he would be bold to say the nation was tired of paying cash, and that they paid immense sums was perfectly known to that honourable gentleman who profited more by the war than any four men in that House.

Mr. *Rigby* got up to declare, that however lucrative his office might be, it had, previous to his taking it, been held by the fathers of the two last gentlemen, and he made no doubt but those gentlemen had some eye to holding it whenever he might be obliged to give it up; undoubtedly he was not tired of receiving money, but yet he was not to be told, that because men received the emoluments of office, they were the authors of our ruin.

Col. Barré. Colonel *Barre* took notice of the expression of Mr. Rigby, that if the country was tired of paying, he was not tired of receiving. It was no wonder. From the paper on the table it appeared, that for six years of the greatest distress and calamity that had ever occurred, he had had no less than 600,000l. of the national money in his hands; and that just in the moment when that House had complained of the enormity of such profits, he had drawn for more, and had kept in his hand a balance of near 900,000l. The honourable gentleman made some severe comments on this circumstance, and

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gave it as a reaſon for the honourable gentleman's conduct. He adverted to what had been, and was frequently thrown out againſt the oppoſition, that they were a rope of ſand. To this he ſhould ſay, that it was to their honour, holding different opinions as they did, that on this grand queſtion they were united, ſince it muſt be by principle. They were united by principle againſt the preſent ſyſtem, and they were united by the ſtrongeſt tie that could bind men—by the juſt apprehenſion that, under this ſyſtem, their country muſt be ruined.

A good deal of altercation taking place here, not directly to the queſtion, on the language of Mr. Rigby, and the anſwers and retorts, the Speaker begged them to return to the queſtion.

Mr. *Solicitor General* called back the attention of the Houſe to the objection of Lord Howe, and ſaid he thought it very forcible, as it would moſt certainly be exceedingly unfit that officers ſhould be brought into embarraſſments that muſt be detrimental to the ſervice; for if they muſt not dare to act in obedience to their commands, when they might, by ſo acting, offend againſt a reſolution of the Houſe of Commons which they did not clearly underſtand, the ſervice muſt ſuffer. He ſaid the word direct, inſtead of attempt, would do better; or the word command. Mr Solicitor General

General *Conway* ſhewed that both theſe words would go more particularly to affect officers than the word attempt; for to direct, and to command active operations, was peculiarly the duty and buſineſs of officers; but he had already, as he thought, ſufficiently explained his meaning. Gen. Conway.

The *Secretary at War* ſaid, that he was alſo of opinion that officers would be very much embarraſſed to diſcover a proper line of conduct in their obedience to the orders which they might receive from miniſters, and in the reſolutions of that Houſe. He would therefore move an amendment, he ſaid, by leaving out the word attempt, and inſerting the word direct in its ſtead. The Speaker informed him that word had been already moved in amendment of the motion, and could not be again moved. After ſome farther converſation about that point, the motion was put in its original form, and agreed to without a diviſion. The Secretary at War

March 5.

General *Smith* ſtated, that in the courſe of the proceedings of the committee, on the buſineſs of the Bengal judicature, Mr. Gen. Smith

Mr. R. Barwell, a member of that House, who had been directed to appear before that committee to give evidence, had refused to answer some questions, which had been put to him by the committee; the minute taken at the time, was read; and it appeared, that Mr. Barwell had not refused to answer, from any wish to conceal truth, or suppress evidence, but merely from motives of delicacy, which urged him not to speak on the subject of a transaction in India, (the resistance made by the supreme-council against the orders of the judges) in which he himself had had so great a share. It appeared also, that Mr. Barwell had insisted on having a right to a copy of the minutes of such questions and answers as had passed between him and the committee; and also that as a member of the House he had laid claim to a right to be present at the debates of the committee relative to his refusal to answer some of their questions: the General then observed to the House, that as truth was the great object of the committee's investigation, he trusted gentlemen would agree with him in the opinion that it was highly proper that the House should interpose its authority, and order that Mr. Barwell should answer the questions put to him in the committee; and such others as should be hereafter put to him in the course of their enquiry; also that no member should be present at their debates, except those who were members of the committee; and lastly, that the committee should not be bound to give minutes of their proceedings to any one, before they should finally make their report to Parliament: on these heads he made three separate motions, which were agreed to without opposition.

Mr. Barwell. Mr. *Barwell* said that he had no manner of objection to them; when the House commanded, it was his duty to obey; and the only difficulty he felt before, when he resisted the wishes of the committee, and declined giving answers to certain questions put by them, arose from a delicacy to interfere in that place, between Mr. Francis, who had lodged complaints against the Governor of Bengal, in a transaction, in which he had taken an active part in India, in support of the Governor.

Sir Thomas Rumbold. Sir *Thomas Rumbold* had a complaint to make of a very different kind from that of the last speaker, who complained that he had been examined on points to which he thought it would be indelicate in him to speak, for his part, the complaint he had to make was, that he had not been examined at all by the Secret committee. The reports of that committee, already

already before the House, were very voluminous; but there remained still others to come in; so that it would be absolutely impossible for any man to be able, in the short space between this and Monday next to read the reports, much less to draw up a defence against such charges as might be deduced from the reports: and yet on Monday next propositions or resolutions were to be submitted to the House, in which his character, fortune, and every thing dear to him, might be involved.

The Lord Advocate. The *Lord Advocate* said he believed he should not be able to proceed so soon as Monday; but whenever he should offer any resolution to the House, which might point at the honourable member, or at any other gentleman, it would be but fair to allow him, or any other gentleman, or whoever else might be affected by such a resolution, ten days, or a fortnight, to prepare for a defence, before the House should pronounce definitively on the subject.

Sir P. J. Clerke. Sir *P. J. Clerke* brought up, for the fifth time, his annual bill for the exclusion of contractors from seats in Parliament: it was read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time on a future day.

Lord Mahon. Lord *Mahon* observed, that this excellent bill, which had twice passed the House of Commons, had been as often rejected by the Lords: he rose to inform the House, that if it should be rejected there a third time, he would point out a remedy; and if no one else should move it, he would undertake to do it himself; and that remedy was a resolution of the House itself, that no contractor should have a seat in it.

Mr. Whitbread. Mr. *Whitbread* moved, with the approbation of Lord North, who had advised the measure, that a committee be appointed to enquire into the contracts made by the Commissioners of the Navy and Victualling offices for supplying his Majesty's fleet with corn, butter, cheese, biscuit, porter, wine, and other spirits. The motion passed without opposition.

The order of the day, for going into a previous committee, to consider of the Attorney General's proposition for bringing in a bill to enable his Majesty to make peace or a truce with America, was called for, and read. The Speaker left the chair, and Mr. Ord having taken the chair of the committee,

The Attorney General. The *Attorney General* rose to make his proposition. Peace with America, he said, was the great object of his intended bill; and to such a bill he trusted no opposition whatever could be made from any quarter of the House. Peace was

 the

[illegible] House, and of the nation at large; and he hoped [illegible] unanimity ever marked the progress through Parliament of any bill, the bill which he should have the honour to propose, would be unanimously supported. This bill was calculated to remove certain bars and impediments which stood in the way of peace. By an act commonly called the Prohibitory-act, all commerce whatever was cut off between the Colonies and Great Britain, until the former should be declared to be in the King's peace, that is to say, completely and fully restored to heir allegiance to, and dependence on this country; a period which he feared was at so remote a distance, that to wait for it before the prohibitory law should be repealed, would be absurd and ridiculous. The only way now left, in his opinion, to restore the connection between the two countries, would be to open our ports to them, without which no truce or peace could be advantageous to this country. But the Prohibitory-act was not the only one that ought to be repealed; in the year 1774, the Congress had complained of certain other acts, to which his intended bill should have a reference; and in general to all acts relative to commerce with America, from the 12th of Charles II. down to the date of the present troubles. By the 12th of Charles II. every thing that was destined for the consumption or use of English America, could by law, be shipped only in England, and the whole produce of the Colonies could not be carried elsewhere than to England: this act of course must be repealed, as well as many others which it would be tedious to enumerate. These were the outlines of his bill, and having said this much, he moved, 'That the chairman be directed to move in the House, for leave to bring in a bill, to enable his Majesty to conclude a truce or peace with the revolted colonies in America.'

Having made this motion, he added these few observations:—that it appeared to him necessary, in the present circumstances of affairs, to bring in this bill as soon as possible, not solely for the purpose of repealing the acts alluded to, which might be repealed in a future period, when the measure should be agreed upon after a negociation, but to remove the cause of certain jealousies, which he understood existed, relative to the sincerity of Parliament, in its wishes for peace.—When the Commissioners were sent out to America, they were empowered to suspend those acts, which it was now his intention to repeal: but then as all their proceedings were to be subject to the revision and approbation of Parliament, it was insinuated in America, that Parliament was not sincere

in

in its proposals, as it might rescind or annul every thing done by the Commissioners. The same doubt might still exist; and the apprehension of such a thing would probably deter the Americans from entering into a separate treaty with us, lest they should be abandoned by their allies, and afterwards be deceived by Parliament. To remove the shadow of such a doubt, he thought it best for Parliament to begin by repealing the acts in question; and that would certainly be the best test of their sincerity.

Mr. *Fox* rose next: he assured the Committee that nothing but the personal respect he bore the learned gentleman had prevented him from treating the proposition before the Committee just as it deserved to be treated; and that was to burst out a laughing when he had heard it, and then walk out of the House; for nothing could be so ridiculous and farcical as to hear such a proposition from that side of the House, and from a member who, on Wednesday last, had combated as far as he was able, a resolution, the obvious tendency of which was that very peace with which the learned gentleman seemed at present enamoured: the supporters of the present administration entertained at present a wish for peace; but they had been beaten into it, and nothing but flagellation and correction could drive them to think of peace:—pity it was that so much correction should be necessary!—The learned gentleman said, and said truly, that opening our ports to the Americans, and facilitating mutual intercourse with them, was the most effectual way to incline them to return to that preference which they used to give to our market over any other. Pity it was, that the learned gentleman and the other friends had not discovered this four years sooner; then we should not have to lament the loss of America and our West-India islands; we should not have to regret the loss of Minorca, or be now reduced to this melancholy situation, that of all our foreign possessions, those in India excepted, we could scarcely say that we had now remaining more than Jamaica and Gibraltar; and God only knew how long these might remain in our hands! When he rose, it was not with an intention either to support or oppose the motion of the learned gentleman, from which however he was free to say, that he expected very little good; but before he should consent to furnish ministers with the means of making peace, he would ask how far it was probable that they were inclined to make peace? Gentlemen knew well that Spain had offered her mediation, before she declared war— Mr. Fox.

Would ministers tell upon what grounds it was rejected? In the year 1781 one of the most powerful princes of Europe had offered a mediation—Upon what principle was it rejected? Those who do not listen to mediations, can scarcely be called friends to peace: but if measures destructive of peace had been pursued, would any one say that the present ministers were inclined to it, or proper agents to negociate it? Was it true that our ministers had flatly refused to suffer any agents from America to meet their plenipotentiaries, under the mediation of the prince alluded to? If it was true, then it was to be concluded, that as they have driven the Americans to treat through France, they would consequently have taken the most effectual means to rivet the alliance between them; and of course nothing could be more injurious to the interests of this country. The learned gentleman therefore, in looking for the impediments and bars to peace, which he was desirous to remove, ought to look to his right and to his left, and in the persons of his friends, the ministers, he would find the greatest impediments to peace. Before he should sit down, he had a proposal to make to the ministers; he would inform them for certain, that there were persons now in Europe, who were fully empowered to treat for a peace between Great Britain and America; and though he believed they would not treat with the present ministers, still he would put them in a way of making peace; nay more, if they did not like to interfere in it themselves, he would undertake to negociate it for them himself. He saw a learned gentleman smile at his proposal; he was not surprised at it; nor could he have brought himself to make it, if the good of his country did not urge him to it; and he might propose it, without being guilty of more inconsistency than the noble Lord, who condemned the resolution of Wednesday last, for peace with America, though at present he was willing to act every day contrary to his inclination; and to be constantly advising the Sovereign to pursue those measures, which he so much condemned. Our affairs were so circumstanced that ministers must lose their places, or the country must be undone: he would therefore let them enjoy those emoluments, which they held so dear, provided he could save his country: for this end he was willing to serve them in the business of peace, in any capacity, even as an under commis, or messenger. But in so doing, he desired it might be understood that he did not mean to have any connection with them: from the mo-

ment when he should make any terms with one of them, he would rest satisfied to be called the most infamous of mankind: he could not for an instant think of a coalition with men, who in every public and private transaction, as ministers, had shewn themselves void of every principle of honour and honesty: in the hands of such men he would not trust his honour, even for a minute.

Ld. North.

Lord *North* observed, that as the honourable member had not said one word in opposition to the motion, or to the principle of the bill, to which the motion referred, he believed, that in decency to the mover, he ought not to enter into any discussion about it, but let it go immediately to a vote. However, since he had risen, he would take some notice of the extraneous matter, which had fallen from the honourable member. He had been pleased to say, that ministers were not inclined to peace: this charge he would meet with a flat denial, at least in as much as it related to himself. He had always been a friend to peace; and there were men in that House who knew it. To a bill of the nature of that which was now in question, he certainly had not always been a friend; because he had always thought inferences might be drawn from it, by no means conducive to peace: but he no longer feared, that the bill would give room for those inferences, because he knew they must be already drawn from another measure already adopted by that House—the resolution of Wednesday last.—To the policy of that resolution he did not, and could not subscribe, but as Parliament had thought proper to pass it, and as ministers were bound to obey the orders of Parliament, so he should make that resolution the standard of his future conduct. The honourable gentleman had said, that there were persons in Europe authorized to treat of peace between Great-Britain and America; if so, the propriety of passing the bill now in question, must appear the more striking to gentlemen; because it must facilitate that peace, for which all parties seemed to wish so ardently. But then the present ministers could not be fit to negociate for peace, because a proffered mediation had not been followed with good effects. For his part, when he opened the last year's loan, he had said that there was "a tendency towards a peace;" a general mediation had been offered; at that time nothing specific had been proposed; and therefore he had made use of the expression, "a tendency towards a peace," and a stronger one he ought not to have used, without going farther than the state of the negocia-

tion would admit. The honourable Member was kind enough to offer his services in a negociation; but he would not take any part with the present Administration; and the reason that he assigned was, that he could not trust his honour in their hands for a moment that were without any principle of honour or honesty: these were good and substantial reasons, and better certainly could not be assigned; and the same should serve him against the honourable Member. He would never employ a person who publicly declared that he could not have confidence in him. He was intitled to say just as much of that honourable gentleman; and therefore he would not trust his honour in the hands of that gentleman; and thinking of him as he did, he was determined not to employ him as his negociator.

The honourable member seemed to be in a great hurry to get the places of the ministers; at least he was in a great hurry to drive them from their places, though he was not able to learn that among those who wished to succeed, there was any settled system or agreement, and therefore it would be for the good of the public that he himself should stay in, and continue in office to prevent, as he had hitherto done, confusion in the state, and the introduction of principles which might not be constitutional: with this view he was determined not to go out of office, until he should receive his royal master's commands so to do, or till the sense of that House, expressed in the clearest manner, should point out to him the propriety of withdrawing.—As to the emoluments of office, God knew that though they were indeed much greater than his abilities deserved, still were they forty times greater than they were, they could not compensate for the anxiety and vexations incident to situations, aggravated by the uncandid treatment he frequently met in that House: it was not love of power or greatness that determined him to hold his place, so long as his Sovereign and Parliament would permit; he spoke in the presence of men who knew how little he was attached to either; but there was a certain pride of office which prevented him from resigning; and he would so far listen to that pride, that he would not resign until he could do it with gratitude to his gracious Sovereign and to the public, from whom he had found so great support during the course of his administration.

Mr. Fox. Mr. *Fox* assured the noble Lord, when he said he was dishonourable in private transactions, he meant in such as were of half public, half a private nature; and not at all in his

private

private character, or in such part of his public character as related to money matters, in which he was ready to admit that he stood clear from every imputation. He wished however, in every other respect, it should be believed that he was understood to have spoken no harsher than he meant. He ridiculed the idea of the noble Lord' remaining in office to prevent confusion; and was surprised at the difference which he found in the noble Lord's language on this day and Wednesday last, relative to resignation.

Lord North jocosely said, that he undoubtedly had prevented much confusion; and if he had not prevented more, it was because there were others who had greater abilities to create confusion than he had to prevent it. He maintained that his language both on this day, and Wednesday, was the same, respecting resignation: he said on Wednesday, and he now repeated it, that if any one branch of the legislature should so far withdraw confidence from the executive power, as to interfere on all occasions, and give particular directions how the executive power should proceed, it would be better, and more constitutional, entirely to remove the ministers, than to leave power in their hands, after confidence had been withdrawn: and he added on Wednesday, and repeated it now, that if he found himself so little the object of the confidence of Parliament, as that every day he should find that Parliament was under the necessity of directing him how to act, he would undoubtedly, in that case, retire from office. But as long as Parliament should not think it necessary to remove him either by a vote, or by totally withdrawing their confidence,—the honourable member would excuse him, if he should resolve still to retain his situation. Lord North

Mr. T. Townshend, Captain John Luttrell, and some others spoke; and the committee at last agreed to the motion without a division, and adjourned.

March 6.

Sir *Joseph Mawbey* claimed the attention of the House to what he called an indecent behaviour in ministers, who always took care to have inserted in the Gazette every address from any little paltry borough that flattered or cringed to them, but the important address to his Majesty, to put an end to the cursed American war, and his Majesty's answer to it, had not yet made its appearance; he therefore desired to know the cause of such neglect. Sir Joseph Mawbey.

This brought on a conversation between Lord North, Sir Grey Cooper, Mr. Townshend, and others, which was put an end to, on

Lord Surrey. Lord *Surrey*'s rising to declare, that however indecent ministers had behaved on former occasions, and with respect to the late address, they had never behaved in so shameful a manner as on Friday last; for when the House of Commons went up with the address, who should they see close to his Majesty's right hand but that declared and most determined foe to America, General Arnold. Surely if ministers had the least particle of shame left in them, they would have advised his Majesty otherwise, and not so wantonly have insulted the people.

Lord North. Lord *North* desired the House would permit him to postpone going into the taxes, as he was not ready, owing, in a great measure, to the hurry of business, and the late hours which the House had for some time past sat. He was exceedingly sorry he should so far trespass on their indulgence, but he trusted their candour would excuse him, as he would very shortly name a day, and stand to it.

Mr. Burke. Mr. *Burke* said, he did not rise to oppose allowing the noble Lord the indulgence he requested, but he thought it rather extraordinary, that on the 6th of March the noble Lord should come forward and say he was not prepared with his taxes to pay the interest for a loan which had been voted above a week. If the noble Lord, who by the nature of his office could procure every information possible, was not prepared on the taxes he meant to produce, was it reasonable or just to suppose that persons, totally unacquainted with them, could, with a degree of justice to their constituents, vote those taxes at first sight? If the taxes the noble Lord meant to produce were grounded on the former ones, such as doubling the excise laws, or any thing of the kind, the House would be prepared to debate on the subject; but if the taxes to be proposed were, as the noble Lord mentioned on opening the budget, numerous and novelle, it was nothing but fair that he should give the House some information what they were. He had himself just looked over the blessed fruits of the noble Lord's administration, and there he found that we were loaded with ten new taxes, viz. beer, wine, soap, leather, houses, coaches, post-chaises, post-horses, stamps, and servants, (a friend here hinted to him that he had forgot sugar) upon which he said he had totally forgot sugar; but to be sure, now we had lost St. Kitt's, and in all

human probability should soon lose Barbadoes and Jamaica, it was not extraordinary he should have forgot that valuable article, as we shall soon have no sugar to tax.

He did not wonder the noble Lord was at a loss about new taxes, for what fresh burthen could he add to this unhappy nation? We were already taxed, if we rode, or if we walked; if we staid at home, or if we went abroad; if we were masters or if we were servants; if we drank wine, or if we drank beer; and, in short, we were taxed every way possible. Thus, after being taxed in the manner mentioned, he had endeavoured to see how the account could stand, when viewed in a mercantile form, and the first thing was, debtor by loss, one hundred million of money; he next looked for a creditor side, and what rendered it most curious was, that there it stood, creditor by loss; we had purchased one hundred million worth of national disasters, and the whole, when in one view, appeared as follows:

Debtor by loss.	*Creditor by loss.*
ONE HUNDRED MILLION OF MONEY.	One hundred thousand men, and the loss of Massachusets, Pennsylvania, New-York, Virginia, Maryland, South Carolina, North Carolina, Florida, Georgia, Delaware, New Jersey Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Hampshire, St. Vincent, Grenada, Dominica, Tobago, St. Christopher's, Senegal, Pensacola and Minorca, Which, at a moderate computation, produced to this country annually, Four million five hundred and fifty thousand pounds.

Now, as the account stood in such an advantageous manner, it was impossible but the public must see the cause of the noble Lord's gratitude, which he talked of so much on Tuesday last; he undoubtedly owed much gratitude to his Sovereign, for keeping him for losing so many valuable dominions, and he owed much gratitude to the public; but he desired the noble Lord would inform the House, whether he meant to raise, by his new taxes, the sum of 800,000l. merely to pay the interest of the new loan, or whether he meant to raise 1,300,000l. to pay both the interest and deficiencies of his other taxes. This was a thing the noble Lord ought to do, as it was very material, and what he owed in gratitude to that House.

The noble Lord had told them he would continue in his office out of gratitude to the people. "Gratitude, the noble Lord's gratitude!" Oh, Sir, said Mr. Burke, addressing himself to the Speaker, the noble Lord's gratitude is like that of another fallen angel like himself, described by the poet;

> The debt immense of endless gratitude
> So burthensome, still paying, still to owe.

So with the noble Lord, his debt immense of gratitude was endless, and could never be discharged, and therefore he had presumed to fly in their face and to insult them with such language as ought to be reprobated by every man in the House, who had a sense of the decency due to Parliament, from the noble Lord, and how ill it became him of all men, to say that he would continue in his office out of gratitude.

Lord North

Lord *North* said, the taxes he meant to produce were numerous, and many of them novelle in their kind; therefore he had been obliged to postpone them, as, from their novelty, it was impossible, without time, to make any thing like a true estimate. New taxes were frequently uncertain in their produce, and undoubtedly there might be frequently at the end of the year great deficiencies, some of the taxes not answering as was expected.

Mr Fox.

Mr. *Fox* desired the noble Lord would answer that part of Mr. Burke's speech which requested to know what end the taxes were to be raised for, and when the noble Lord meant to move these taxes.

Lord North

Lord *North* said, he would, on Monday next, without fail, bring in the taxes; and he only meant to raise 800,000l to pay the interest of the new loan.

Mr. *Fox*, on this, attacked his Lordship with uncommon force;—the noble Lord had at last confessed himself totally exhausted

exhausted in point of finance, and no longer able to raise taxes to pay the interest of a debt, occasioned by his cursed American war; the people were burthened, and so loaded with innumerable oppressions, that even the noble Lord was at a loss how to distress them any farther. His constituents, he said, felt severely the fatal effects of that noble Lord's administration; and indeed the whole nation felt them too severely; for he had, by a determined obstinacy to keep in place, ruined above nine-tenths of the British dominions, and seemed equally determined to ruin what little remained. The noble Lord had lately talked of his gratitude, and that he only staid in office to see his country righted. In the name of God, what good could the country expect from a man whose whole administration had been one continued scene of blunders. From the noble Lord's confession to-day, he had proved himself what he always took him for, viz. an ignorant and bad financier, a man totally unacquainted with the resources of the country, and certainly unfit, and unworthy of the office he held. He had said, his taxes were novel, and uncertain in their produce, it was unnecessary for him to have mentioned the latter, for the deficiencies of the noble Lord's former taxes, which were annually added, and of consequence became an additional load upon our shoulders, plainly proved it. The taxes the noble Lord meant to produce on Monday next, were supposed to raise 793,000l. the interest of the new loan; but whether they would produce 3 or 400,000l. the noble Lord was totally ignorant. Thus he went on year after year, making taxes which were inefficient for the purpose intended, and consequently must add fresh burthens; therefore it became the duty of the noble Lord to mention to the House when he intended to propose taxes to pay off the former deficiencies, which otherwise would remain a dead weight to whoever should succeed the noble Lord in office. The way for a minister to establish his credit with the public, would be to have his taxes ready, and those substantial, at the time he came and asked for a supply; not to borrow so large, so enormous a sum, and then he at a loss how to pay even the interest. It was conduct such as he never remembered, and what must stamp indelible disgrace on the noble Lord, who, in a former debate, a few evenings since, said, "You should not speak out and declare your readiness for peace, it will prevent your getting such good terms as you have a right to demand." Could any thing speak out plainer to our ene-

[illegible] that the noble Lord had done himself this day? Had he not declared to all the world, that this nation was incapable of any longer carrying on a war, by saying he was unable to raise more taxes?

The greatest piece of delusion the noble Lord had been guilty of, was in keeping the nation in a profound darkness with respect to the state of their affairs. He deluded them by a set of taxes which they were led to believe were sufficient for the purposes intended; therefore the public suffered him to go on, not knowing their situation; if they did, long before this would they have cried out against him, and awakened from that state of lethargy which had been so disgraceful to them, and so ruinous to their country. He would not trouble the House any longer, but conclude with declaring a firm belief that the last token of the noble Lord's gratitude, would be the losing of Barbadoes and Jamaica, after which, there being nothing more worth giving up, he supposed his Lordship would quit his office.

Sir Joseph Mawbey.

Sir *Joseph Mawbey* said, as the noble Lord had deferred his taxes until Monday next, and the call of the House stood for to-morrow, it would be exceedingly proper that the call be put off until a proper day, that gentlemen might not leave town at a time when such material business was likely to come on; he should therefore move, That the order for the call to-morrow be discharged, which was done without a division. He then moved, "That the House be called over on Thursday se'nnight;" upon which

Mr. Rolle.

Mr. *Rolle* got up, and proposed an amendment, by inserting the words, "three months" instead of "se'nnight," which was seconded by Mr. C. Turner.

The Speaker.

The *Speaker* said, the first question for the call of the House had been withdrawn, on a full assurance that no opposition would take place on the worthy Baronet's second motion.

Mr. C. Turner.

Mr. *C. Turner* declared, his reason for opposing it was, because he thought the call of the House a mere farce, a nonsensical thing, and quite unnecessary. If members would not attend without being compelled, they were unworthy of being members of that House, and ought not to have a seat. If the present times would not make them attend, no call of the House could be of service. An honourable gentleman (Mr. Rigby) had frequently called opposition a rope of sand, but had been answered the other evening, that

such

such a rope as it was, they could, when occasion required it, hold together by the firmest of all ties, principle. The rope of sand had done a glorious work lately; but it was not one or two good acts that were sufficient to make him esteem a House which he had so long detested; they must go on, and the people must join them; for this was the time for the people to join Parliament; if they did not, they deserved to be slaves as long as they lived.

Parliament must give him greater proofs of their honesty than they had done, before he would believe them, or put any faith in their works. He loved the Hanoverian succession, he was fond of a Hanover King, while he continued to act for the good of his people, and he would in the greatest distress prove his love, by putting his hand in his pocket and helping to support him; but if the King acted against his people, and endeavoured to gain a corrupt controul over his Parliament, he would be the first to join the French, or any other power, against such a King; for he wanted none of the luxuries of the present age, he could live upon one-third of his estate, and would, sooner than submit to the present set of ministers, retire to Switzerland, or some other remote corner of the earth, to spend the remainder of his days. The present ministers stiled opposition a rope of sand; he called the ministry in return a rope of onions, for they stunk in the nose of all England, and would, he hoped, either rot all together, or speedily drop off one by one.

The Speaker.

The *Speaker* then put the question, that the word, "se'nnight" stand a part of the motion, upon which the House divided,

Ayes	—— —— ——	106
Noes	—— —— ——	90

so the House is to be called over on Thursday next.

The order of the day was then called, for reading, a second time, the bill to prevent vexatious removals of the poor, which occasioned a long conversation between Sir George Yonge, Lord Mahon, Mr. Poney, Mr. Gilbert, Mr. Robinson, Sir P. J. Clerke, Sir Richard Sutton, &c. but was at length carried without a division.

Lord Hinchinbrook.

The *Lord Hinchinbrook* reported to the House that their address of Monday last, to return the thanks of the House to his Majesty, &c. had been presented to his Majesty, and that he was pleased to receive the same very graciously.

Lord Advocate.

The *Lord Advocate of Scotland*, from the committee of secrecy, appointed to enquire into the causes of the war,

 that

that now subsists in the Carnatic, &c. made another repo of these proceedings, which was ordered to be printed.

March 7.

Sir Grey Cooper.

Sir *Grey Cooper* informed the House, that the manufacturers of snuff had petitioned against the unfair practice which at present prevailed in the importation of foreign snuffs.

All foreign snuffs, says he, as the law now stands, pay a duty of fifteen-pence on every pound, value five shillings, except French snuff, which ought to pay at the rate of 75 per cent. ad valorem; but the smugglers, to evade the just duty, import French snuff under the article of Flemish, and sanctify such a proceeding with a Custom-house oath, by which means every pound is valued at no more than four-pence, and consequently pays only three-pence per pound duty, instead of paying fifteen-pence: this illicit method hurts the fair trader very materially in that article; therefore, to prevent such practices in future, he wished that a law might be established for the equalizing the duty, and to make every pound of foreign snuff imported, whether Flemish or French, pay a duty of fifteen-pence per pound, which he trusted would put an end to the present grievance.

Sir George Yonge.

Sir *George Yonge* said, he thought some degree of preference ought to be paid to our good ally, the Emperor, and the snuff imported from his dominions ought not to be charged with so high a duty as that from France. He likewise thought, as we had lost our growth of tobacco, we ought to consider some act to encrease the growth of that article in England.

Sir Grey Cooper.

Sir *G. Cooper* said, as the duty meant to be laid, was no more than usually had been on Flemish snuff, he could not suppose the Emperor would feel himself affronted; nor would he wish to connive at French snuff being imported under the head of Flemish.

Lord Surrey.

Lord *Surrey* informed the House, that in the reign of Charles the second, an act was made to prohibit the growth of tobacco in England, since that time a law had been made, allowing Ireland to plant tobacco; but the right did not extend to Scotland, yet the people at Kelso grew great quantities, and had never been molested, upon which some persons near Leeds in Yorkshire attempted the same, but had been prosecuted for so doing. He could not suppose it was meant to suffer Scotland to enjoy privileges which were denied

denied to Englishmen, he therefore thought the laws prohibiting the growth in England ought to be repealed.

The Speaker informed the House that now was not a proper time to debate on that business, as the motion intended was a matter of revenue.

Sir Grey Cooper.

Sir *G. Cooper* then moved, that a committee be appointed on Tuesday next, to consider of the duties now paid on the portation of foreign snuff.

March 8.

Motion, by Lord John Cavendish, of censure on his Majesty's Ministers.

Lord John Cavendish.

WHEN the private business of the day was finished, Lord *John Cavendish* addressed the Speaker. The business he said, to which he took the liberty to call the attention of the House, was of the most serious nature, and of the last importance to the state. —— The great and splendid empire of Britain was nearly overturned; calamity, disgrace, and distress were pouring upon us from every quarter; and the measure of our misfortunes was likely to be soon completed by the loss of all our dominions in America and the West-Indies: if it was yet possible to prevent any part of such disaster from being completed, it was only by investigating the cause of our calamities; for until that should be ascertained, it would be impossible to find out, or apply a remedy to the evil. In endeavouring to explore that cause, and ascertain the most effectual means to remove it, he assured the House he was not under the influence of any other passion than that of love for his country: from the present ministry either collectively or individually, he had never received a personal incivility, and therefore the gratification of resentment could not be ascribed to him as a motive for the measures he was going to propose. He never had asked or received a favour from any former administration that he had supported; and he was determined, let who would be ministers, never to ask a favour at their hands; therefore he hoped the House would give him credit, when he assured them that in any change of ministers he entertained not the least idea of any personal interest to himself; if he could serve his country, the great object of his wishes would be completely gratified.

He intended to propose to the House a string of resolutions, so clearly founded in fact, that he did not know that any

any one could venture to controvert them. When he looked round for the causes of our calamities, the first thing that struck him was the profusion with which the public supplies had been voted. The sums already voted for the present disastrous and disgraceful war, under the three heads of navy, army, and ordnance, amounted to the immense total of 100,000,000l. to this sum he might add the difference between the navy debt at the end of the year 1774, and that of the present year; which, with a few items, still to be voted for the service of the current year, would swell the total to 103,000,000l. The taxes which the war had made it necessary to impose already exceeded 3,000,000l. annually. In the last glorious war we had been led from victory to victory, from conquest to conquest, and the taxes laid on during the war, amounted to no more than 2,500,000l. What a difference in the sums! What a difference in the consequences of the expenditure of both! at the end of the last war, the whole world was at our feet; and there was not in the world a navy but our own. In this disgraceful war, we have already spent infinitely more money; and purchased nothing but losses and disgrace: America was gone, Minorca was no more, and our dominion in the West-Indies nearly annihilated; while our navy was every where inferior to that of our numerous and combined enemies.

Could the nation, if woeful experience had not demonstrated it, have imagined or suspected, from the sums voted for the navy, that we should be every where inferior to the enemy, on an element where we used to ride triumphant, and where we had been fondly taught to think that we should still continue to triumph? No man could have thought such a thing, if he had read the list of sums voted by Parliament, for the use of the navy. During the peace, the naval establishment had been kept up so high, that it doubled any former peace establishment in this kingdom; the reason assigned, was, that it had become necessary always to have a respectable naval force in readiness, for sudden emergencies, and to keep in awe the neighbouring maritime powers. But had that object been accomplished? Had the neighbouring powers been kept in awe? The very reverse; for they were suffered to raise a most formidable marine, whilst our own, notwithstanding the immense sums voted for it, seemingly decreased in proportion as that of our enemies encreased. If this was an event, which from the nature of things might have naturally been expected, why had ministers shewn so little fore-

fight

sight as to provoke the different wars in which we were actually engaged? The American war, the source and origin of all the others, might surely have been avoided; but since ministers had rashly and unwisely run into it, why had they not taken the wise precautions of securing friends on the continent, in order to prevent a war with France and the rest of the House of Bourbon? This was an unpardonable neglect, which ministers could not attempt to palliate, but by a defence, which, of itself would be sufficient to prove, that they were unfit to govern a state, namely, by proving, that they wanted foresight. He feared they wanted something else; he feared they wanted their senses; for upon no other ground could he account for the war into which they had hurried us with Holland. The Dutch were our oldest friends and allies; they had been allied to us for more than a century; they were bound to us by a thousand ties of interest and of principle; but these ties were dissevered; and these our old friends and allies were pronounced to be enemies. This was a fatal declaration; and though some gentlemen might think, that, as yet we had not suffered any thing from the Dutch war; yet, let them look into the ordinance estimates for the present year, and they would find there some monuments of our disgrace; and must soon be convinced that we have already felt the Dutch war extremely burdensome; for the better defence of our coast, a chain of fortifications had been erected along the coast to the north of Scotland, to protect it from the Dutch; this measure was at once expensive and disgraceful: it evinced the weakness of our fleet, the decrease of our marine, and the apprehensions of the nation. In the last war no such fortifications had been erected; they were not necessary; our navy then was equal both to the defence of our own coast, and the annoyance of that of our enemies; but those days were no more; the navy of England was comparatively gone, and with it all our glory. But by whose fault was our navy gone? Was it by the fault of Parliament? The very reverse; for exclusive of the immense sums voted for that service since the beginning of the war, no less than 25,000,000l. had been voted for it during the peace. Such had been the liberality of Parliament — This liberality was requited by the most shameful neglect.

But this was not the only loss we had sustained by the war with the Dutch; it had cramped our operations in other quarters, and greatly served the purposes of the House of Bourbon,

Bourbon, as it diverted a considerable part of our naval force, which might have been better employed against our natural and inveterate enemies. If in their weak and backward state of preparation the Dutch had caused so great and so fatal a diversion of our naval force, what had we not to dread from them in the next campaign, when they should be in a much better condition to annoy us?

Would gentlemen, then, think that he spoke rashly or uncharitably, when he should say, that the present calamitous situation of the country had been produced by the want of foresight in Ministers, previous to the war, and their mismanagement since its commencement? If this was true, and he believed a review of their administration would demonstrate it, would not gentlemen allow that it would be highly improper to trust them any longer? Gentlemen were at liberty to do as they should think proper; for his part, he would propose those resolutions, which his regard for the welfare of his country had suggested to him; and, if they should be carried, he would follow them with another for an address to the King, not specifically to remove any one minister, or to point out any man or set of men to his Majesty, as the most proper persons to serve him; but merely to pray that his Majesty would take such steps and make such arrangements in his councils as should prevent the total ruin of the country.

He concluded with the following motion: "Resolved, That it appears to this House, that since the year 1775 upwards of one hundred millions of money have been expended on the army and navy, in a fruitless war."

The House desired he would read the remaining three, which he did, as follows:

"Resolved, That it appears to this House, that during the above period we have lost the Thirteen Colonies of America, which anciently did belong to the Crown of Great-Britain, (except the posts of New-York, Charles town, and Savannah) the new acquired colony of Florida, many of our valuable West India and other islands, and those few that remain are in the most imminent danger."

"That it appears to this House, that Great Britain is at present engaged in an expensive war with France, Spain, and Holland, without a single ally."

"That it appears to this House, the chief cause of all these misfortunes is owing to want of foresight and ability in his Majesty's Ministers."

Lord

Lord John read his four resolutions to the House, and then concluded, by regularly moving the first.

Mr. *Powys* seconded the motion; he, as well as the noble Lord who preceded him, disclaimed all personal resentment against any man in office: he had no communication with one of them out of that House, and therefore it was impossible for him to have any personal animosity against any one of them. He declared, that it was a matter of the most perfect indifference to him, by what set of men the country was governed, provided it were well governed; and that if it was now only a struggle for places and power between two parties, he would sit a silent and indifferent spectator of the contest. But the question was not now who should govern the state; but whether there should be left any part of the state to be governed? Mr. Powys.

The noble Lord in the blue ribband had said a few days ago, that if Parliament should withdraw its confidence from him, he would resign — that period was come; the confidence of Parliament was withdrawn; and the shackles with which that House had thought it necessary to fetter his hands were the strongest proof of it. —— The noble Lord had given the House a specimen of the speech he should make at the moment of his resignation; would to God he had pronounced it at the proper theatre—at St. James's, in the presence of his Majesty! — Whenever the happy moment should arrive, when that noble Lord, to the unspeakable joy of the nation, should really go to his Sovereign to resign his employments, he hoped he would not forget to draw to the King a picture of the flourishing state in which he found his Majesty's empire, when the government of it was entrusted to his hands, and the ruinous condition in which he was about to leave all that remained of it. The noble Lord had said also, that it was to prevent confusion that he had remained in office: the House would judge how far the noble Lord was candid in this declaration, and how far it was founded in truth, when they should take the trouble to consider who were the men most likely to succeed him, and what were the principles to which they pledged themselves. The first thing to which these men stood pledged, when they should get into office, was, to check profusion and prodigality in the expenditure of the public money: this was one reason for ministers to be afraid that confusion would be introduced into government, if œconomy should be made to succeed to prodigality. These men stood pledged also to explore the

dark recesses of that *sanctum sanctorum* of government — the civil list; and to lop off the useless and unnecessary branches of that establishment, and apply the savings to the purposes of the state. They stood pledged, in fine, to pursue some plan of improvemnt in the manner of sending representatives to Parliament. They did not stand pledged to adopt visionary plans; but such as would really tend to cut off the causes of corruption in the constitution of Parliament. Such were the men from whom the noble Lord was so apprehensive of confusion; but with how much cause, the House would form its own judgment: among these men were some of the first abilities in the kingdom; some who were the representatives of the most opulent families in the nation others among them were the descendants of all that was great, all that was illustrious: among them was the son (heir to his father's virtues and unexampled talents) of a man who had carried the British name to the very highest pinnacle of glory; and who had quitted the reins of government, only when he found that, by a secret, but baneful influence, he was no longer able, with honour to himself, or safety to the state, to execute those counsels which he was not permitted to direct; among them were those men who invariably stood firm in the profession of those principles to which his Majesty's family owed the crown; and yet from such men, the noble Lord pretended to apprehend confusion. — Rebellion raged in the extremities of the empire; and which our state physicians without the least concern, were going to get rid of by amputation: but they were alarmed indeed, lest the dreadful disorder of œconomy should seize the vitals of government, and crush their administration.

To draw a just and proper contrast between these men and the present ministers, he would trouble the House with a short analysis of the latter. To begin with the youngest in office. The King of Sardinia is stiled King of Cyprus and Jerusalem, he said, with the same justice as the honourable gentleman (Mr. Ellis) is stiled Secretary for the American department; yet the King of Sardinia has no power over Cyprus nor Jerusalem, neither has the honourable gentleman any power over America. He gave no great reason to hope, that such measures would be pursued, as would be for the benefit of the nation: the House knew what had been the principles of that gentleman, and if he should adhere to them, the nation had no reason to rejoice at his appointment: since he came into office, he had given a kind of sketch of his po-

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litical creed; he could not call it a sincere profession of faith; on the contrary, he must look upon it, at best, but an instance of occasional conformity; he recanted no former error; he abjured no former principle; but seemed only to give way a little to the temper of the times; he had once been loud in opposition; but was now so drenched in the lees of ministerial complacency, that all the starch and buckram of his character was gone; and he himself reduced to the most perfect state of pliability.

The noble Lord in the blue ribband was of a no less pliant texture: He scarcely had a principle of his own to follow; but led on by the impulse of secret and unknown influence, his principles were swallowed up, and he blindly submitted to adopt those of other men.

The noble Lord had said he would always act in conformity to majorities of that House, yet when a reform was to take place, in abolishing a number of useless offices, he had thrown every obstacle in the way of that reform, and had totally defeated the object intended by a majority of that House. The noble Lord, he believed, now stood in a situation that no Minister before him ever did; for after finding that he had lost the confidence of the House, he still remained in office, contrary to his own declaration, that he would quit, the sense of the House was against him; would he wish for a greater proof than he had already experienced? if he did, he trusted the House would give it him. The old Secretary of state had retired to the Upper House, and was transplanted into a Viscount, for the having compleated the loss of America; certainly, by the same justice, the noble Lord in the blue ribband, for his eminent services in having begun and continued, until he had finished the ruin of his country, ought to be transplanted into the first Duke; —— for, indeed, if being an enemy to his country was a ground for promotion, the noble Lord stood foremost for the highest honour.

In the other House of Parliament there were ministers of whom as little good could be said, as of those he had already mentioned. Lord Stormont filled the office of one of the Secretaries of state; but what treaties had ever been signed by him? In what instance had he shewn himself a statesman or politician? Perhaps he might receive accounts at his office; the accounts of the marriages, births, or deaths of princes on the continent, which he notified to the King: but here ended all his politics; how far he was a proper person to treat of peace

with America, might be presumed from one of his answers—"his Majesty's ministers receive letters from rebels, only "when they sue for pardon."

Lord Hillsborough was another minister in the other House; all he would say of him, was, that he had once corresponded with America; and the traces of his correspondence had not yet been worn out of the memory of the Americans. Of the naval minister, he would say nothing; for it was out of his power to describe his character, as he ought: he believed, however, the House did not want a description; nothing could give it better than a review of the history of his administration at the Board of Admiralty.

These were the men who remained in office for the purpose of preventing confusion; and of preventing it on the part of men from whom order, regularity, and success, might, with more propriety, be expected than confusion apprehended. Would the gentlemen who had hitherto supported ministers consider attentively the contrast, and say that they deserved to be still supported? He was ready to admit that many gentlemen of the most independent fortunes had supported them, from principle; but how greatly had their number decreased! How few of this description of gentlemen still adhered to them!

Apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto.

As to the resolutions read by the noble Lord, he believed them to be strictly founded in truth: no one could deny his noble friend's premises; he was of opinion that few would dare to controvert his conclusions: and he had not a doubt but if the noble Lord in the blue ribband should set aside his contractors, and the few friends who might vote with him from private friendship, the resolution which he got up to second, would be carried by such a majority, as would make the noble Lord heartily ashamed of his minority.

Mr. Martin. Mr. *Martin* rose next, and spoke to the following effect. I think myself happy in having caught your eye thus early in the debate, as the few words I shall attempt to offer to the House would be heard perhaps with impatience at a later hour. I am exceedingly happy that a motion so good in itself, and so much tending to the consolation and comfort of this suffering country, has been offered to the House, by a noble Lord whose public and private character, and whose family principles must endear him to all who love the public and a

free

free constitution. Sir, the noble Lord will do me the justice to believe that I can have no mean or selfish view in paying him any compliment, on this or any other occasion; indeed, Sir, he is far above any poor praise that my feeble talents can bestow. But, Sir, in times like these, when public virtue finds no other external reward, it is highly fitting it should receive the hearty and well deserved praise of those who admire it—but no more of this.—Sir, as to the question itself, I should be very sorry if it could be thought that I had personal dislike to any of the present administration: I, Sir, am too inconsiderable to have any sort of connection with them, other than that of a private member of Parliament. Indeed, Sir, I rather fear that I have not had that degree of public dislike to them, which became me as a public man, from the good qualities I have heard ascribed to some of them in social life. Sir, since I have made any observations in politics, I have constantly thought that the principles of the Administration were of a tendency to root out that free constitution on which we set so great and so just a value. Having often taken the liberty to mention to the House my opinion of the American war, I shall only now repeat in general, that I regard that war as the grand evil which has at least been continued to weigh us down, and to overwhelm us with disgrace, as well as misfortune, by the present ministers. Sir, I do not say that I think all ministers are equally corrupt, or even that all ministers are in any degree so. I believe, for instance, that the noble Lord in the blue ribband, is naturally honourable and pure; but, Sir, he may have false pride, and improper notions of the government of a free people; and these notions, irritated by ill success and opposition, may have carried him far beyond those bounds, which rectitude of principle, and a good disposition would have confined him to. This, Sir, may be true in some degree, of the colleagues of the noble Lord, but however that be, or whatever be the cause, the effect has been almost fatal to this country. And, Sir, when I say fatal, I do not mean merely in respect to the loss of many valuable possessions, and the diminution of our navy, in proportion to that of other powers; but in respect to the wounds the constitution has received, to the horrid corruption of the morals of the people, and to the gross and ruinous influence of the Crown, which has been condemned by a majority in Parliament, though no measure has been since taken to stop, or even to check it in the least degree. Sir, I had the misfortune (which seldom happens to me) of not being in the House,* when an

honourable

honourable gentleman, whose great abilities will probably lead him into administration, if this vote should pass, made the strongest profession, in the strongest language of his determined resolution, if in power, to persevere in those noble principles, he has so oft avowed. Sir, that honourable gentleman has, on various occasions, declared himself a stedfast friend to the people. And here, Sir, I beg I may not be misunderstood, as if I meant to speak for the populace, in distinction from the public at large. Sir, I respect all ranks of persons, and am persuaded, that the honourable gentleman, when he speaks for the people, means his country at large. Sir, this country at large has many grievances, which, perhaps, have not originated in this administration, but which they have been so far from redressing, that they have, to say the least, rather encouraged and fomented them. Sir, I wish to see a real patriot administration, an administration loving the public, and loyal not only to the King, but to the true constitution of this country. Sir, the leaders of opposition, have for many years talked the language of integrity and disinterestedness: if, upon trial, they should shrink not only from their language, but their principles, I trust that I shall join with every independent gentleman in this House, in giving them as hearty an opposition as I have generally given to those gentlemen, whose principles I have detested, and whose conduct I have disapproved, though, as I have repeatedly said, I have had no personal animosity to them whatever. Mr. Speaker, I hope, above all things, that whoever may have the conduct of public affairs, that they will so far consider the rights of humanity, as to make a reasonable and general peace their first and principal object. I apprehend, Sir, that ministers naturally, from their situation, lose those feelings for their fellow-creatures that are common to persons in other situations. But let them remember that others feel, and feel most cruelly the calamities of war. Let them therefore act in their public capacities rather in the principles of universal justice and rectitude than from motives of what is vulgarly called national glory, but which is often really nothing more than national vain-glory, and a spirit of tyranny and oppression.—Sir, I trust, I shall be believed, at least by some few, that I have no personal, or at least no lucrative view, in a change of ministers. I may be honoured with a slight acquaintance with many of the gentlemen who sit on this side the House, but I regard the duty of a member of Parliament, as so sacred a trust, and pure in its nature, that

I never wish for any other advantage from it, than that of serving the public to the best of my poor abilities. Sir, till this way of thinking, however romantic it may appear to some gentlemen, shall be more general, we may have one administration somewhat better than another, but we shall never be governed as we ought to be.—Sir, I heartily thank the House for their kind attention, and shall detain them no longer than to read a very short paper from an author of no small reputation, which, though written in the year 1770, twelve years ago, seems to me in many points so very applicable to our present circumstances, that I will make no farther apology for giving it in a very few words.

'The palm of ministerial firmness is now transferred to Lord North. He tells us so himself, with the plenitude of the *ore rotundo*; and I am ready enough to believe, that, while he can keep his place, he will not easily be persuaded to resign it. Your Grace was the firm minister of yesterday; Lord North is the firm minister of to-day. To-morrow, perhaps his Majesty, in his wisdom, may give us a rival for you both. You are too well acquainted with the temper of your late allies, to think it possible that Lord North should be permitted to govern this country. If we may believe common fame, they have shewn him their superiority already. His Majesty is indeed too gracious to insult his subjects, by choosing his first minister from among the domestics of the Duke of Bedford. That would have been too gross an outrage to the three kingdoms. Their purpose, however, is equally answered, by pushing forward this unhappy figure, and forcing it to bear the odium of measures, which they in reality direct. Without immediately appearing to govern, they possess the power, and distribute the emoluments of government as they think proper. They still adhere to the spirit of that calculation, which made Mr. Luttrell representative of Middlesex. Far from regretting your retreat, they assure us very gravely, that it increases the real strength of the ministry. According to this way of reasoning, they will probably grow stronger and more flourishing every hour they exist; for I think there is hardly a day passes in which some one or other of his Majesty's servants does not leave them to improve by the loss of his assistance. But, alas! their countenances speak a different language. When the members drop off, the main body cannot be insensible of its approaching dissolution. Even the violence of their proceedings is a signal of despair. Like broken tenants, who have

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had warning to quit the premises, they curse their landlord, destroy the fixtures, and throw every thing into confusion, and care not what mischief they do to the estate.'

The Secretary at War. The *Secretary at War* rose next. He admitted that the fact stated in the resolution before the House, which declared that 100,000,000l. had been expended, was unquestionably true, but still it would, in his opinion, be very impolitic in Parliament to come to such a resolution; not because it would make known to our enemies every secret relative to our finance, with which they are not already very fully acquainted; but it would express a degree of impatience under our distresses which must necessarily be detrimental to us in a negociation for peace: to state our heavy and accumulated expences, would argue a most heart-felt weariness of the war; and of course, would imply an impatience to get rid of it: from such a preliminary to peace, no good was to be expected; it would declare to the enemy, that being sick of, and exhausted by the war, we were ready to purchase peace on any terms; this would be dangerous language to hold to an enemy, and the truer the more dangerous.

The war in which we were engaged with America was undoubtedly unsuccessful; but it was not for this the less just in its principle; it was undertaken to defend the rights of Parliament; and the general voice of the people had concurred in the justice of that measure. If we found ourselves now, ter a tedious and unsuccessful war, obliged to relinquish the object of it, we were exactly in the same situation in which the most powerful, and most wise nations, stood in their turn: the House of Austria and the House of Bourbon, had each been exhausted, and almost ruined. It was true, indeed, that, at the end of the last war, our power had been carried to the most unexpected height; but that was the very reason why we were now without allies; for it was the natural consequence of great power to excite envy; and envy produced enemies: our greatness was formidable to Europe, and Europe perhaps rejoiced at seeing it cease. Austria and Bourbon had been too formidable for their neighbours; and their neighbours combined to ruin them in turn: we were the third great power that had been humbled, and the same cause which gave birth to leagues in those times, produced a similar one against us now, and kept the powers not immediately concerned in it, from joining with us: this was the true reason why we were without allies; and ministers stood perfectly innocent on that head. He did not mean to combat the truth

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of the resolution before the House; but he was clearly of opinion that it would be highly inexpedient to agree to it in the present posture of affairs; and therefore, in order to get rid of it, without giving a negative to what he could not deny, he would (and accordingly did) move for the order of the day.

Mr. T. Townshend

Mr. *T. Townshend* said, he was surprised to hear the Secretary at War declare, that the present motion was dangerous, on account of its informing our enemies what sum of money the war had cost us. Good God! was not that sum to be seen in the votes of the House? Was it any information to our enemies that we had lost America, and our valuable islands? Did not they know it as well as we! Was it any information to our enemies to say we were at war with France, Spain, and Holland, and without an ally? Was it any information to say, that these disasters were owing to a want of foresight and ability in our present ministers? Certainly not, for that was a fact he believed all Europe knew. The greatest secret he believed of the four was, that we were at war, for our enemies scarce knew it by our proceedings. But our ministers were more criminal than the last proposition stated, for if they wanted foresight themselves, they had been warned of the danger, and told the consequence at the beginning of the war; but they had obstinately refused to listen, and when they were told that France and Spain would interfere in favour of America for the purpose of crushing this country, they replied, "France and Spain have colonies of their own, they cannot assist America, for it will be setting a dangerous example to their own subjects, and be a stimulation to them to rebel;" and with respect to our going to war with the Dutch, ministers had termed that a wise and prudent measure, for they declared there was less to fear from them as an open enemy than as a secret one; for by their smuggling they supplied our enemies with naval stores, and thereby were a more formidable enemy than ever it would be in their power when acting offensively. After the present ministers had plunged us into those expensive wars, how had they conducted them? Not for the glory and welfare of the state, but for some little paltry revenge; and to support them, had been obliged to burden the subject, (to use the noble Lord's own words) with taxes, numerable and novelle in their kind, and very uncertain in their produce. The noble Lord had taxed houses, servants, and every article of life that could be named, and rendered it almost impossible for the poor

labouring man to exist; our manufacturers, our merchants, and our bankers were ruined, yet the same system of measures was to be pursued, and we were to be loaded with fresh burdens, until our ruin was compleated. Certainly the times, the situation of affairs, called loudly for a change of ministers, and unless that was speedily done, the country must be entirely ruined.

Mr. Secretary Ellis

Mr. *Secretary Ellis* rejoiced that the resolution before the House would afford gentlemen an opportunity to declare whether their confidence in the present ministry was extinct or not; it was not manly to pursue a system of motion-making, tending always to remove ministers, but still studiously avoiding the most effectual way to remove them; if it was true, as gentlemen were pleased to assert, that Parliament no longer had confidence in the present servants of the crown; if the fact was as it was stated, a direct motion to that effect could not fail of success: the present motion was of that nature; and therefore he rejoiced that the moment was come, when the ministers and their friends, and their enemies, and the world at large, might be able to ascertain the truth of the assertion so frequently made in that House, that ministers had totally lost the confidence of Parliament. He was ready to admit that Parliament, in passing the vote of Wednesday se'nnight, had given leading symptoms of a want of confidence in the servants of the crown; it was therefore his wish, as well as that of the most determined enemies to Administration, that the House would this day come to a final decision on the subject, and declare openly, that they had no confidence in ministers, if such was the case.

An honourable gentleman had thought it a bad omen, that he had not recanted any former error. he certainly had not recanted; for he did not see that he had been in any error: he had voted for the American war from principle; but he did not depart from that principle in concurring now with other gentlemen, that circumstances had happened, which rendered it necessary to abandon the object of that war. No man wished more ardently for peace than he did; and though his noble friend (Lord North) and he had on Wednesday last been left in a minority, they did not at all differ from the majority of the House on that day in the principle of the question; it was merely upon the expediency that he had differed from the majority.—The honourable member had thought proper to charge him with excessive pliability of charac-

character, because, now that he was in office, he was willing to pursue measures opposite to those which he had voted before he had been called to his Majesty's councils; the honourable gentleman should have said at the same time, that circumstances had happened which had altered the nature of the contest, and made it necessary to depart from those principles upon which the war was undertaken, with the tide of popular applause in its favour. To those circumstances he had bowed; his principles were still the same: he only thought that now they ought not be enforced.—It could not be said, that there were any very great temptations to induce him to accept of the office he now filled: At the time he accepted the seal, he was in possession of a lucrative employment, without responsibility; he had then, as it had been said on a former occasion, a warm comfortable bed, from which he had stept into the ship of state in the midst of storm and tempest; by this change he was called to a place of responsibility, and, from the late resolution of Parliament, of some danger: these circumstances being considered, he believed gentlemen could find very little cause for this extraordinary pliability with which he was accused.

To the resolution before the House, he must declare himself an enemy; because, though no good whatever could arise from it, much mischief might be produced by it:—the enemy, he was very well aware, was undoubtedly acquainted with the state of our expences, but still, if those expences were sent out into the world, authenticated and sanctioned by that House, the consequence would be, that our enemies would think we were falling into despair; and they would in proportion rise in their terms, as they saw us proclaim to the world that we were exhausted. Peace was his earnest wish, but he could not think that such a peace as must follow such declaration, was worth wishing for. Gentlemen, he believed, would confess with him, that the man who should advise the Congress to declare to the world, that their resources were exhausted; that they had overburdened their constituents, and that their paper-money was not worth a farthing, and who should give this advice for the purpose of obtaining a safe and honourable peace, must absolutely be an ideot or a madman. Would not gentlemen suppose a man to be out of his senses, who after having supported for a long time a very expensive law suit, should go to the opposite attorney, and by way of inducing him to compromise the matter, should tell him that he was reduced to the

last farthing; that he could no longer fee counsel, and tha unless the matter should be compromised, he should be under the necessity of giving up the suit? Would any man say that such was the language by which the attorney could be persuaded into the compromise? Certainly not; and yet those who should vote for the resolution before the House, would hold exactly a similiar language to obtain peace; and probably with as good an effect. He would suggest another consideration against the resolution:

We had been unsuccessful, it was true; but then were gentlemen ready to say positively that those who planned our measures, and those only, were to blame? It was possible that many of the plans might have miscarried, through the fault of those who were to carry them into execution; he really did not mean to excuse any one; but he wanted merely to shew the fallacy, nay the injustice of the position —that if a measure miscarries, the persons who planned it are solely responsible. Perhaps, in many cases, neither the persons who planned, nor the persons who were to execute, were in fact to blame; the wisdom of Providence, which baffles the foresight and wisdom of man, might have decreed that we should be unsuccessful.

The honourable member had considered him as a minister; true he was one, but he had been so very short a time in office, that the honourable gentleman could not as yet say that he had done any thing to deserve censure; indeed, though he was certainly responsible for every thing that he had taken a share in, in the cabinet, still to speak properly, he had as yet performed only one single official act; and he was happy to know, that far from being censured, it was applauded by all descriptions of men; that act was the appointment of Sir Guy Carlton to the chief command of the army in America. Mr. Ellis concluded by calling upon gentlemen on his own side of the House, and adjuring them as men of honour and as Christians, to vote against the motion for the order of the day, and to support the resolution of the noble Lord, if they in their conscience had, like gentlemen on the other side of the House, really lost all confidence in the present ministry.

Mr. Burke. Mr. *Burke* got up to answer the honourable gentleman, and in one of the best adapted pieces of satire we almost ever remember to have heard him make, observed, that the present ruinous system of affairs was not defended by any one man of real independent property; there was no man

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in that House, unless he had a place, a contract, or some such motive to speak, that attempted to defend them, therefore it was highly indecent for men to echo their own praise, and to be the only persons that could justify their conduct; they were all exactly in the same tone, and played into each other's hands extremely clever: If a motion censured the American Secretary, he was defended by the Secretary at War; if the Secretary at War was censured, the American Secretary thought it his duty to defend him; and if the noble Lord in the blue ribband was accused, then both the others cried out, Would you remove a man who is at the head of your affairs at this critical period? He would answer, yes; now was the time, for the voice of the people was against him, and without their having faith in him, all his ends must be frustrated. Ministers, he said, always made use of the excuse, "That you blame our measures after the event has happened, because they miscarried." If ministers meant to exculpate themselves, let them come forth, shew the House what their plans were, how they had formed them, and what they intended; then it would be in the power of the House to judge whether they deserved blame or not, but certainly it was very natural to censure men from the event of their actions, for by what other criterion could you judge them? When first he heard the new American Secretary proclaim his profession of faith, he was inclined to think there was some likelihood of his salvation, but as he still persisted in his errors, all that hope of extreme unction was wiped away, and he was now as far from being saved as any of his colleagues. He said, Mr. Ellis had got out of a good warm bed, and ventured, with his eyes scarce open, into a vessel tossed in a tempest, and riding on the billows in a violent storm. He thought him exceedingly unwise in having done so; and declared it might be said to him, what the wife of Brutus said to her husband,

> Is it not for your health thus, my Lord, to commit
> Your weak condition to the raw cold morning.

Upon the present occasion, the honourable gentleman had talked as a physician, a lawyer, and a divine. To answer him as a physician, he should declare, that on finding his former doctor had ruined his constitution, he would call in the advice of a more skilful man in the profession, and not trust

trust to him who had so mistaken his disorder; he would seek out for the most able physician that could be found, for one that every person gave a good name to, for one that the family could trust with confidence. To answer him as a lawyer, he would plainly tell him, that after having lost him thirteen estates, he could put but very little faith in his abilities, nor could he trust him to go any further.—Oh, says the lawyer, in answer, you have lost your estates it is true, but your title still remains good, it was that I contended for; would not he immediately answer again, what signifies my title, are not my estates gone, can you deny that?—Oh, replies the lawyer, don't complain, your title is still good, and you may by another suit recover them.—Yes, answers the client, but there is your bill yet to be considered, that I am afraid amounts to as much as the worth of the estates. After a conduct of that kind, can any man suppose the client would suffer the same lawyer to carry on another suit for him? certainly not; a man of more integrity and greater abilities would be sought for. To answer him as a divine, he was sorry to say, he appeared to have but a bad opinion of the justice of Divine Majesty, to suppose that all our misfortunes could arise from Providence counteracting the designs of his majesty's ministers. He undoubtedly heard and believed, that Divine Providence had sometimes scourged a land for its wickedness; and the scourge it had inflicted on this country, was a set of abandoned wicked ministers, for they were the greatest curse that Providence could have inflicted. He had heard of Divine Providence striking persons stupidly blind; he was of opinion a punishment of that sort had been inflicted on the present ministry, which occasioned them to act as they did. The Hon. Secretary, he said, had declared, that he quitted a warm bed for a post of danger; in his firm belief the bed was left merely for the purpose of introducing a Scotch warming pan, [the Lord Advocate of Scotland] that was the chief cause of the new Secretary's being created. He then reprobated the measures of administration for a series of years, and declared, that in looking over the papers on the table, he saw that the sum of 57,000l. was set down in the year's expences for presents to Indians; and with other sums for services performed by these savages; the whole amounted to 100,000l. with which great sum he only found 25 women and children butchered. Surely we had overpaid these good allies of ours, or had estimated the women and chil-

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dren very high. That sum of 100,000l. would have purchased two 50 gun ships complete, which, in his opinion, would have been employing the money to a better purpose.

On looking into the expence incurred for furnishing the garrison of Gibraltar, it appeared that no less a sum than 569,000l. had been expended from the Ordnance Office, therefore it would be considerably under the mark to say that 600,000l. had been expended there, which would, had it been applied to the use of the navy, have built fifteen line of battle ships, of much more consequence to this country than Gibraltar for the purpose which we keep it. At the commencement of our war, we should have sent a strong fleet to Gibraltar, to prevent a junction of the Spanish fleet with the French, and should have had another fleet to watch the harbour of Brest, and thereby have prevented them from joining the Spanish: At our breaking out with the Dutch, we should have had a fleet to command the entrance to the Baltic; instead of which we had done neither. We had suffered the fleets of France and Spain to join, and had likewise suffered the Dutch, with an inferior force, to slip past us; we had sent our fleet to Gibraltar, when it should have prevented the sailing of de Grasse, and protected our riches from St. Eustatius; in short, "we had done those things which we ought not to have done, and we had left undone those things which we ought to have done, and there was no help in us." He had, he said, just cast his eye over some of the expences incurred by the American war, and found that the article of forage was not a trifling one; the article of oats was no less a sum than 80,000l. the article of hay 26,000l. and the transport service, for those two articles, amounted to 43,000l. in looking on a little farther, he observed that the victualling bills amounted to 1,250,000l. which led him to think there must be a vast army in America; but on enquiring among gentlemen returned from that place, he learned, that our army did not consist of one-third of the force that was charged, and that the number of men actually employed in America, could not devour the provisions said to be expended. He then turned in his mind what could become of the provisions, and was at one time in a peculiar manner led to believe, as he had heard it was a French war, that we were victualling the French; in short, after the most minute enquiry, he was obliged to leave off where he began, and remain totally in the dark. The noble Lord, in the

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blue ribband, he said, had declared, that he would never quit his office, until he could quit it with honour; he therefore congratulated the House on the happy prospect they had of keeping the noble Lord in office, for if he never quitted his post until he could quit it with honour, he would be bound to say he would retain it until the last hour of his life.

Sir John Delaval.

Sir *Sir John Delaval* rose, he said, as a country gentleman, just to say, that he had a high opinion of his Majesty's ministers.

Sir Harry Hoghton.

Sir *Harry Hoghton* rose for the same purpose, and in expressing his sentiments of the ministry, he threw out an insinuation against Mr. Burke; he said the honourable gentleman might be supposed to act under circumstances not perfectly independent. His prospect of being, if he had not been, the agent of New-York, might have the effect which gratitude always has on a mind of sensibility,— it might attach him to their interests.

Mr Burke.

Mr. *Burke* said, that whoever had communicated the intimation to the honourable Baronet was a liar; and he could assure him, that if it should be told to him again, he might consider the story as a lie. The meanness of the imputation he despised; nor should he have considered it as worthy even of the notice which he had given it, had it not been brought forward, decorated with a dark colouring of seeming candour. He had been a member of that House for seventeen years, and he defied any man breathing, even the honourable Baronet himself, to charge him with one sinister, with one dirty, with one interested transaction.

Mr. Duncombe.

Mr. *Duncombe* paid a warm compliment to the purity of Mr. Burke's character, and very much commended the propositions before the House; for it was impossible that this country could go on farther, under the management of men who had lost every particle of confidence with the people.

Earl Nugent.

Earl *Nugent* said, that the support which he gave to the ministry, was founded on the conviction of their neither wanting foresight nor ability. The opposition seemed only anxious to push the ministry out of place, without taking any care previously to form a system of stability, by which the country might be benefited. He sincerely declared, that he pledged himself to the misfortunes of the noble Lord in the blue ribband; he would abide by him in adversity on the principle which he had supported him in his power. He had suggested the most practicable means of put-

putting an end to the American war, perhaps the only plan which we had left, but it had been treated with disrespect.

Sir *Horace Mann* gave a firm approbation of the motions proposed to the House: they were temperate and salutary; they were in fact become indispensible. For the present distracted and trembling system could not go on. It was not possible that his Majesty's ministers could proceed without the confidence of that House, and without the opinion of the country. They had lost both. He formed for himself no prospect from a change in administration; his views were for the empire; and he was convinced that by the discharge or the retirement of the present men, a ministry might be formed possessed of real talents, strength, and union; if that House could not furnish them, they might from the mass of the people be collected; and all that was great, solid, and commanding in the nation, might be combined and directed to our salvation. Sir Hor. Mann.

Mr. *Rashleigh* stated to the House, that he had received advice from a Captain of one of the ships he owned, having arrived at Lancaster, and brought the news, that he fell in with the Queen frigate, ten leagues to the westward of Bermudas, who informed him, that Sir Samuel Hood had gone with his fleet to the relief of St. Christopher's. That he had the good fortune to take the whole of the French force, and to relieve the island. He said farther, that St. Christopher's, as appeared from his account, had never been captured; the French had landed, indeed, and taken possession of part of the island, but Brimstone-hill had not surrendered. This he thought news of the most flattering nature, and that it was authentic, he declared, he had every reason to believe, as he knew the Captain who brought it to be a man of strict integrity, and he had his deposition in his pocket. He wondered not, he added, that the other side had not ventured that day to say one syllable respecting St. Kitt's; the news he had just mentioned was the cause of their silence on the subject; they dared not face it, though had it not arrived, he doubted not but a great deal of censure would have been thrown upon ministers for their having lost that island, notwithstanding it was a matter with which they had little concern. Mr. Rashleigh.

Lord Viscount *Maitland* made an admirable commentary on this poor triumph of ministry. Heavens! what must the state of that government be, which founded all its pretensions to national support from the probability of one disaster? Lord Viscount Maitland.

disaster out of many being retrieved! The noble Lord contended strongly for the propositions on the table, and said, that in the failure of argument to refute them, the other side of the House had endeavoured to protect themselves by slandering a character, the most respectable of any in that House; even in this however, they had their usual misfortunes, for Mr. Burke, of all others, was the man on whom calumny could not sit. He ridiculed the impolicy and the folly of suffering a ministry to continue in the execution of measures of which they disapproved. He gave as a proof of the impolicy, the instance which these very men had afforded, of prematurely dissolving the Parliament which voted for reducing the influence of the crown.

Mr. Adam. Mr. *Adam* said of the opposition, that the principles which they were to bring into power, and the system which they were to form, must be considered on the present occasion, as the House surely would not, by adopting the motions on the table, discharge the present ministers from office, (for if they did adopt these motions, they would directly drive them from their seats) without also taking some pains to examine what were the principles of those to come in. Mr. Fox had said, in a former debate, That that man would be infamous, who, on coming into office, should forget or retract his [illegible]er principles. The honourable gentleman having been [illegible]ndid, as to make this declaration, previous to his coming into power, it would, he presumed, be allowed fair, and he trusted, it would be felt necessary for that House, called on, as they were, to vote a removal of the present ministers, to pause for a few minutes, in order to recollect and consider, what had been the principles and doctrines of the men who were to form the new ministry, if a new ministry was to be formed. And first, the honourable gentleman had more than once declared, that the voice of the people was to be collected without doors from the people themselves, and not from their representatives—a position that went not only, to what he thought, a breach of the constitution, but was an express reprobation of the majorities of that House, notwithstanding that the honourable gentleman had found it convenient, to hold up a late majority, as an authority of the first importance; a doctrine, which he was ready to subscribe to, though not more than to the authority of majorities in general. The honourable gentleman had also repeatedly told them, that he was an advocate for annual parliaments, in opposition to the wisdom of

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their anceſtors, who, after the matureſt conſideration, adopted ſeptennial, as the moſt ſerviceable to the common weal, and the moſt uſeful to government, at the ſame time that they infringed not on the rights of the people, ſo as to injure thoſe rights in the ſmalleſt degree. The honourable gentleman had likewiſe expreſſed a deſire to alter the repreſentation of the people; a meaſure, gentlemen would ſee, that would be a violent alteration of the conſtitution, which had for ſo many years been looked up to and admired as the moſt perfect ſyſtem of political arrangements and diſtribution of power that human wiſdom could frame. He then adverted to the plan of Mr. Burke, for reducing the civil liſt, and declared that he ſhould conſider it as a direct violation of national faith, and a meaſure to which he was ſure many gentlemen of that Houſe could not agree. If then an adminiſtration was to be formed of men poſſeſſing theſe principles, could unanimity be expected to take place, and that harmony and concord which was from all ſides allowed to be neceſſary to our ſalvation. It could not, in his opinion, be expected. He inſiſted on it, that our ſucceſs laſt war, after the change of the miniſtry, was more owing to unanimity than even to the abilities and exertions of the late Earl of Chatham, great and extraordinary as thoſe abilities and exertions undoubtedly were, or even to the gallant and good conduct of our Admirals and Generals: he therefore earneſtly recommended the example as worthy and neceſſary to be followed immediately. It was from unanimity alone that we could look for better fortune! Let parties unite, let faction be extinguiſhed, let true patriotiſm, founded on a real love for the country, prevail, and the ſucceſs that had attended the laſt war might be hoped for, as diſtinguiſhing the progreſs of the preſent, whence alone a ſafe and honourable peace might be expected; Mr. Adam declared he ſhould vote for the motion for the order of the day (moved for by the right honourable gentleman, the Secretary at War) becauſe he thought the noble Lord's fourth propoſition an unfair concluſion, becauſe if miniſters were to be removed, it was neceſſary that their ſucceſſors ſhould have ſome ſyſtem or plan that warranted a proſpect of better fortune, and becauſe he did not think the principles of the preſent oppoſition promiſed any thing ſufficiently advantageous to the country, to attone for the confuſion, that, he ſincerely believed, would follow a change of adminiſtration at that moment.

Mr. *Holdsworth* spoke a few words on the news so loudly trumpeted to the House by Mr. Rawlinson; he did not think, under all the circumstances with which it came, that it ought to receive any great credit.

Mr. *Fox* now rose, and in an excellent speech of argument and explanation, answered the matters thrown out by Mr. Adam. He had declared, and he repeated the assertion, that he would be an infamous man, who should on coming into place, abandon the principles and professions which he had made when out of place. He was happy to say that every principle he had ever held had been adopted by a majority of that House, the decision of which had given sanction to his opinions. The two great leading principles of his mind, in which he differed from the King's ministers, were, the prosecution of the American war, and the influence of the Crown; in both these matters he had been supported by the opinion of Parliament. The resolutions of the 27th of February, had concluded the American war, and that of the 6th of April, 1780, had declared the influence of the Crown ought to be reduced. The general principle of reducing that influence he warmly adopted. The corruption of that House was intolerable, and to all the resolutions which the House had come to at that time, for excluding contractors, for excluding the members of the Board of Trade, of the Board of Green Cloth, &c. &c. from his [illegible] [illegible]. All these members the House had declared to be incapable of sitting and voting in that House. By taking up Debrett's List of the division on the late memorable occasion, instead of leaving the minister in a minority of nineteen, he would prove, that by taking away these contractors and placemen, who were declared by the House to be incapable of voting, the majority against the minister was upwards of a hundred. To all the details prepared for the reduction of influence, he did not subscribe; but in this he was clear, and decided, that that House ought to be made what it was originally intended to be — the representative of the nation. With respect to shortening the duration of Parliament, it had always been his opinion, that it ought to be shortened; it was, however, a question on which honest men might differ, for honest and free men would differ, and he was clearly of opinion, that the shortening the duration of Parliament would do nothing, without reducing at the same time the influence of the Crown; but he thought the shortening the duration of Parliament would be one great means of reducing that influence,

[illegible] he considered not, that his noble friend, who moved the proposition that day, and several other of his honourable friends, did not perfectly agree with him respecting the necessity and expediency of shortening the duration of Parliaments. He could not, however, help expressing his astonishment at the honourable gentleman's declaring, that septennial Parliaments were chosen as the wisest and most consonant to the general well being of the state, by those respectable and great men, the Whigs, who settled the constitution, when the revolution took place. He reminded the House that the bill for septennial Parliaments was a bill of modern date, and that though it might not be practicable, to alter that mode immediately, he said, he still was of opinion that annual or triennial Parliaments would be an improvement, calculated to preserve the privileges of the people from the encroachments of the prerogative of the Crown.

Having this, he begged leave to explain a said matter which he had said on a former evening, and which he understood had been, by some, misapprehended. It had been given out that he gave out that there would be formed an administration of proscription. This he positively denied; on the contrary, it was the desire of those with whom he had the honour to act, to form an administration on the broadest basis, an administration which should take in all that was great and dignified in the empire, to collect all the ability, the talents, the consideration, and the weight of the nation; to draw within its arms every man of influence, every man of popularity, every man of knowledge, every man of experience, without regarding his particular opinion on abstract points, and unite, and employ all this body of strength to one great end, the deliverance of the empire. He had said only, that he could form no connection with the present cabinet; that he should be infamous if he did. He thought however, that they had no weight nor consideration in the country, as private men. Even among them, there was one, however, for whom he entertained great respect. (He meant the Lord Chancellor.) He was one that always took care to convince the world, that he had no share in their measures. The sense of the nation called for a change of men, as the only probable means of producing a change of measures, and a peace with America, who would not treat with her resentful and avowed foes, the members of the present administration? What was to be expected from an American Secretary, and a minister, who severally maintained their former sentiments

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respecting America, and who considered the vote of Wednesday se'nnight as a fetter on their inclinations! The times required it, and he hoped to God, the country would soon have an administration settled on a broad bottom, in which they could place confidence, and from whose measures they might rationally hope for success. It was by driving the present weak, wicked, and incapable advisers of the Crown, from about the person of his Majesty, that the country could alone expect to recover from its present disgrace and misfortune. The propositions moved by his noble friend that day, he was convinced in his own mind, would tend to produce that great and desirable effect, which every well-wisher to Great Britain must anxiously long for; and therefore wishing as he did for the removal of the noble Lord in the blue ribband, and such of his colleagues as had been the planners and conductors of the accursed American war, as the best blessing he could wish for his country, he should vote against the order of the day, as the most likely means of obtaining it.

The Lord Advocate of Scotland.

The *Lord Advocate of Scotland* now rose to answer the honourable gentleman; but previous to this, he took notice of some things that had fallen from other members in the course of the debate. It had been said that no placeman or pensioner was fairly intitled to deliver his sentiments upon the question, because they might and ought to be supposed to defend the minister from interest, and not from principle. In answer to this he should say, that he was superior to any such pitiful consideration, and that gentlemen on that side the House were no more liable to an undue influence one way, from being in place, than the gentlemen on the other side were liable to be unduly influenced the other way, by their desire to get into place. He acknowledged that what he had just said was no very good argument, but it was as fair for him to urge it against other gentlemen, as for other gentlemen to urge it against him; and as often as ever he should hear any such charge from the other side, just so often would he rise and retort it, as he had then. Having said thus much, he observed there was another matter, that it was necessary for him to take notice of, and that was, a pleasantry of an honourable and ingenious friend of his, who seldom spoke without greatly entertaining the House, and who had, that night, been pleased to laugh at the right honourable gentleman who sat next him (Mr. Ellis) and to talk of his having quitted his warm snug bed, in order to make room for a

Scotch warming-pan; now he saw no reason, why it might not be an Irish warming-pan that was to be put into that bed, instead of a Scotch one; if the eager expectations of the other side of the House, with regard to their coming into the immediate possession of power, were fulfilled, when he looked at the gentlemen who sat there, he did not think the one was less improbable than the other; certain he was, that however idle report might have wantoned with his name upon the subject, he knew not that there was the smallest foundation for it. The learned Lord now came to speak of the arguments made use of by the honourable gentleman who spoke last; and he professed that he knew not how to understand the meaning of a broad-bottomed administration, which was to proscribe, at least, one half of the ability of the empire; and he wished that he would describe how far he meant to go, and where to stop in his formation of an administration which was to embrace some men of all sides. He took up the argument of Mr. Adam, and he called upon gentlemen to say whether they were ready to follow the honourable gentleman in the doctrines which they had heard him avow. Suppose, for instance, the honourable gentleman were in conformity to the vote, "that the influence of the crown was increased," and the rest of the words of that resolution, to propose some measure in that House, that should appear unwise, from its being likely to endanger the constitution, and he should find himself in a minority? In that case, would the honourable gentleman, who had repeatedly declared the right of appealing from that House to the people, resort to his other Parliament in Westminster-hall, or elsewhere, and complain of the conduct of the Parliament within those walls; tell the people they were betrayed, and induce them, like certain associations that had assembled for some years past, to come to specific and pointed resolutions, extravagantly praising some characters for their conduct in that House, and necessarily implying censure on others, so that the effect of the whole was intended to operate as a check and controul of Parliament. The Lord Advocate urged this idea very strongly, and he rescued Mr. Adam from the charge of having asserted that septennial Parliaments were settled at the Revolution, declaring that he had made no such assertion, and observing that those who knew his honourable friend's course of reading, would not very readily suspect him of making any gross mistake about the Revolution, or any of the circumstances that had attended it.

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What his honourable friend had said, was, that the King's civil list revenue was settled at the Revolution, when the hereditary and unalienable revenues of the crown were by compact with Parliament exchanged for a fixed and stated annuity. With all the respect, therefore, that he felt for the honourable gentleman, who brought in the bill, generally called, "A bill for the reformation of the royal household," he must pronounce it to be a most unjust and unwarrantable bill; unjust, because it tended violently to take from the crown what Parliament had pledged its faith to give; and unwarrantable, because it assumed a right of interfering with the distribution of an annuity, which the legislature of Great Britain had put into the hands of the Sovereign, for his own distribution and expenditure.

With regard to the motion of the noble Lord, as he had now cleared his way to it, he would meet it directly, and give his sentiments upon it, without the smallest reserve. It was, he said, of a two-fold nature, and consisted of certain abstract propositions on the one part and a declaratory resolution, conveying a direct censure upon Ministers on the other; so that altogether, it amounted in effect, to a motion for the removal of ministers, as directly as if it were drawn in words immediately expressive of that purport. He, therefore, should so consider it, and treat it accordingly. The noble Lord, who had introduced the motion, and all its supporters, had attributed our present unfortunate situation to the want of foresight, and want of ability in Ministers, and had taken up the facts on which they rested that assertion, from the year 1775. He was ready, peremptorily, to deny the assertion in the first place, and next to maintain, that all our present misfortunes had their origin in the American war. Indeed, there was scarcely a gentleman on the other side the House, at all accustomed to speak on political subjects, who had not at one time or other expressly declared as much: but in order to see how the American war commenced, and to whom its origin was ascribeable, he should contend it was necessary to look a great way farther back than the year 1775. The American war, in his opinion, was to be ascribed to the extraordinary, irresolute, weak, and contradictory measures of that government, and of those administrations which first passed the American Stamp-act, then repealed it, and then passed the Declaratory-act. That the American war was in its beginning a popular war, and that it was supported by the voice of the nation, was a truth not to be denied.

denied. It certainly was ſo, as certainly as it was at that moment very much diſliked, on account of the expence of blood and money it had coſt the country, the extenſive and complicated war in which it had involved us, and the difficulties and calamities it had drawn down upon us. The French, our natural and inſidious foes, had watched the opportunity the American war gave them, of quarrelling with Great Britain, in order to reſent our having beaten them laſt war, to recover ſome of their conquered poſſeſſions, to diminiſh our power, to leſſen our force, and to tarniſh our glory. Let gentlemen conſider the moment the French broke with us —— immediately after the ſurrender of the Britiſh army at Saratoga! He mentioned it without meaning the ſmalleſt incivility to the honourable gentleman who commanded that army, he mentioned it ſolely to ſhew, that it was our ill-ſucceſs in America that gave them the cue for breaking with us, and neither the want of foreſight, nor the want of ability in Miniſters. After France had broke with us, it was extremely natural for her to entice the other branch of the Houſe of Bourbon into the quarrel, and as many other powers as poſſible, in order to ſtrengthen herſelf, and proportionably weaken us. To this, it was, that the war with Spain, and the war with Holland, were ſeverally attributable, and to no other cauſe whatever, and therefore, had he no other reaſon for oppoſing the noble Lord's concluding reſolution, he would vote againſt it for the reaſon he had juſt ſtated.

Mr. *Fox* ſaid, in explanation of his deſcription of the broad-bottomed adminiſtration which his friends deſired to form, that they would proſcribe no men, of any principles, in the preſent dreadful moment, but the five or ſix men who were now, and had been, the confidential adviſers of his Majeſty in all the meaſures that had brought about the preſent calamities. To demonſtrate his meaning by an example. They did not mean to proſcribe the learned Lord, although they abhorred his ſentiments of the conſtitution. He then ſpoke of his idea of conſulting the voice of the people without doors. It was clearly his opinion, that they had a right, and that they ought to declare their opinion of men and things; and that to do this, they had a right to meet and conſult together, provided they did it in a peaceable, orderly manner, and abſtained from any thing illegal in the whole of their conduct. He would add to this, that when that Houſe ſhould become ſo loſt to all ſenſe of duty, and ſo far gone in

Mr F

 corruption

corruption as to abandon the rights of the people altogether, and to become the passive instruments of the Crown, then it might be justifiable for the people to revert to the original principles of the constitution, and to resume the direction of their own affairs, so as to preserve the popular weight in the scale of government. The present administration was the first since the revolution that had dared to deny this right. But, says he, make Parliament the representative of the people, and the voice will be collected within those walls.

Sir F. Norton.

Sir *F. Norton* said, he had listened with attention, but did not hear any arguments adduced to justfy the measures of his Majesty's Ministers, nor any person attempt to controvert the facts stated in the motion; in short, they could not, for they were such self-evident propositions that it was impossible to deny them. Could any man say, that 100,000,000l. had not been expended? could any man deny the loss of America, and many of our islands, and that the remaining ones were in imminent danger? could any man deny that we were at war with three powers in Europe without an ally? certainly not, then of course those three first propositions were admitted; and must not the fourth follow of course? Has not the cause of these misfortunes been want of foresight and want of ability? would any man say, his Majesty's Ministers had foresight, if they had, having their foresight, and acting as they had done, still made them the more criminal. The learned Lord's having desired to know what the new system would be, it was a manoeuvre meant to divert the attention of the House from the point in question. Let us, says he, first get a change, then it will be time enough to talk of the new system. He then begged to call the attention of the House to what appeared by the report of their commissioners, appointed to enquire into the expenditure of public money, to be particulary deserving of their attention. By that report, a right honourable gentleman, (Mr. Rigby) was said to have had for several years past a balance of the public cash in his hands, from five to nine hundred thousand pounds, which he was very credibly informed the honourable gentleman had put out to interest; if so, he desired to know to whom that interest belonged, he should suppose, from his knowledge of the law, to the public; but he desired to have the opinion of the crown-lawyers upon the subject. That right honourable gentleman had the fingering of upwards 50,000,000l. of money, and certainly ought to apply the interest gained by such a sum to the service of the

public,

public, for these were not times for individuals to keep the public treasure in their hands.

Mr. *Rigby* rose to answer the right honourable gentleman, he spoke in a style of ridicule for some time, and paid many ironical compliments to the learned gentleman for the public zeal and the disinterested principle with which he took up this business! To be sure he was actuated by no personal pique! He had no incitement of revenge, or of anger; but all was pure patriotism and love of œconomy! At last he said, that it was scarcely fair, scarcely decent to call upon him in such a manner, to settle so large a sum at once; he expected to have the same indulgence that had been granted to former paymasters, and certainly he was entitled to it; for he was the greatest paymaster this country ever knew, that larger sums of money had passed through his hands than ever did in any man's before. He denied that he was in the least moved to speak as he did on the late questions from the report of the commissioners; but that his chief reason was, he saw the noble Lord was a persecuted man, a man that was falling, and therefore he would lend him his vote and support. If he courted his own safety, certainly he should look up to the honourable gentleman, (Mr. Fox) for he was to be Minister if the present question was carried—he was to be the man to whom all men must look for promotion. That it would be exceedingly difficult for a man to pay 500,000l. he allowed, and that he believed the honourable gentleman knew as well as most people. He wished, however, that gentleman would recollect, that on his conduct as paymaster, depended his character, his honour, his fortune, and all that was dear to him in the world; therefore, though it was natural that his situation should excite envy, and that some rubs at his office should be made in times like the present, he wished gentlemen to distinguish a little between such rubs as would be fair, and such an attack as that from a great lawyer that evening; and that the other day, when another honourable gentleman had talked of his being tired of paying his own money, but not tired of receiving that of the public. With regard to the motion of that day, and the propositions they were told were to follow them, he thought them extremely improper. It was needless, however, for him to add any thing to what had been said against them. The learned Lord over the way had reasoned in a manner so able, and so much to the purpose, that any thing he could say, would be superfluous. He declared he never heard stronger arguments, nor a closer adhe-

Mr. Rigby.

rence to the queſtion ; he was ſure the learned Lord's was by far the beſt ſpeech that day, becauſe he perceived it had given moſt offence.

Sir Fletcher Norton

Sir *Fletcher Norton* pledged himſelf, if the crown-lawyers did not take up the buſineſs reſpecting the intereſt of the balance in Mr. Rigby's hand he wou'd.

Mr T. Pitt.

Mr. *T. Pitt* ſaid, he had not heard any arguments advanced in favour of the preſent miniſtry, and unleſs they could diſprove the facts in the motions they did nothing. The celebrated ſpeech of the learned Lord, which had been ſaid to give offence, he could ſee nothing in it, it was foreign to the queſtion, and only went to ridicule a ſyſtem that was not yet formed. Let a miniſtry be compoſed of wiſe, honeſt, and independent men, that could be found in this country. When that ſyſtem was formed, let the learned Lord, or any other perſon attack them if they did wrong, but the preſent queſtion did not point out any particular one; it was a fair, plain matter of fact, which could not be denied.

Mr. Byng

Mr. *Byng*, to ſhew that the preſent miniſtry had neither foreſight nor integrity, read extracts from his Majeſty's ſpeeches in the years 1775,6, and 8, wherein his Majeſty declared the pacific intentions of other powers at the very moment they were arming and preparing to act in the moſt hoſtile manner againſt him.

Mr Sheridan

Mr. *Sheridan* (who had been up ſeveral times before, but had ſat down again, to give way to other ſpeakers) ſaid, he ſhould not have riſen again as he had not met the Speaker's eye before, but that he thought the learned Lord and the right honourable gentleman who had followed him, had led the argument to ſuch an iſſue, that it was impoſſible for any one who had a reſpect for the conſtituent body of the country, not to wiſh to give his ſentiments on the extraordinary arguments they had uſed. He meant to ſpeak to the purpoſe, but he wiſhed not to be judged by the teſt laid down by the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Rigby) for he meant to give no offence in what he ſhould ſay, though it was true, the rule had been propoſed from high authority, for undoubtedly, if the degree of offence which ſpeeches gave, was to be conſidered as the criterion of eloquence, the right honourable gentleman muſt be looked up to, as the Demoſthenes of that aſſembly. He had acted, however, in that day's debate perfectly conſiſtent; he had aſſured the Houſe, that he thought the noble Lord ought to reſign his office, yet he would give his vote for his remaining in it. The honour-

able

able gentleman had long declared, that he thought the American war ought to be abandoned, but he had uniformly given his vote for its continuance; he did not mean, however, to insinuate any motives for such a conduct; he believed the right honourable gentleman to have been sincere; he believed, that as a member of Parliament, as a privy counsellor, as a private gentleman, he had always detested the American war as much as any man, but that he had never been a able to persuade the paymaster that it was a bad war: and, unfortunately, in whatever character he spoke, it was the paymaster who always voted in that House. His attacks on the noble Lord, he said, appeared only an ingenious method of supporting him; it was figurative; but *aye* and *no* were speeches that did not admit of a trope. Mr. Sheridan then attacked the language used by that right honourable gentleman on all occasions, where the constituents of that House were mentioned; his manner of treating the late petitions on the American war was highly indecent, and at that time extremely impolitic. The people began to be sufficiently irritated; gentlemen should be careful to drop no expressions of contempt towards them in that House; they had borne a great deal, perhaps it might be prudent not to treat their patience with insult. The way to prevent the interference of the people, the way to destroy those associations and petitions, which seemed so offensive to the right honourable gentleman, was to endeavour to make Parliament respectable. Let that House shew itself independent, let it shew itself consistent, and the people will never think of interfering; but if Parliament became contemptible in the eyes of the nation, the people would interfere, and neither threats nor influence would prevent them.

He was sorry to have observed that the debates of that day had worn so much the complexion of a contention between two parties, the one eager to keep their places, the other to get them; for this, he thought, the ground of all others on which the people, who were the real sufferers in the contest, had a right to say they would be heard and be attended to. Mr. Sheridan then adverted to the Lord Advocate's attack on the supposed dangerous principles of his honourable friend, (Mr. Fox) supposing he were Minister. He ridiculed the learned Lord's apprehensions, that his honourable friend, were he at the head of affairs in that House, and ever to find himself in a minority, that he would fly from the decision of Parliament and appeal to the people. What! did the learned Lord mean that he would ever appeal to the people

as

as a Minister? Did he see no distinction between a member of Parliament applying to his constituents, whose agent he was, and a servant of the crown holding an office at the will of his Majesty, attempting to appeal to them in that capacity against Parliament? — No, were his honourable friend in the noble Lord's place, and were he to forfeit, which he could not easily suppose, the confidence of Parliament, he was sure he would neither fly to the people nor to the Throne for support. He would disdain to continue longer in his office, he would not cling with the convulsive grasp of despair to the helm, which he was no longer able to guide; on the contrary, he would no doubt follow the advice, which the learned Lord himself had successfully given to a late Minister; — he would instantly retire — though not to the other House perhaps, but to a situation more honourable in the hearts of the people.

The noble Lord, however, in the blue ribband, Mr. Sheridan said, was certainly not likely to give any apprehensions of this sort to his friend the learned Advocate. He gave him full credit for having no thoughts of flying to the people for refuge against the majority which had appeared against him in Parliament. He dared not look the people in the face, much less ask their protection; he would as soon fly to some town of America, disfigured with the blood and miseries of this inhuman war, which the noble Lord had so obstinately persevered in, and hope to find a sanctuary there. Having pressed this idea very home, he took a view of the arguments used by another gentleman, (Mr. Adam) to prove that opposition had been chiefly instrumental in the calamities of the country, and after reasoning very forcibly on the subject, he put it to the Minister, whether he would ever come forward and answer to the world with such an excuse as this; whether he would ever acknowledge, that he, having had every thing he had desired, having been entrusted with an unbounded treasure and immense army, having had the whole force and the purse of the nation in his hands, he had yet been defeated in all his projects, by the talking and writing of a party in the country, who had yet never prevented his having a man or a guinea that he had demanded? He believed the noble Lord himself, whatever situation he might be brought to, had too much candour and spirit ever to stoop to such a defence.

He concluded with a warm panegyric on the conduct and principles of opposition, which he said he should not presume to make, if it were not in his power to assert,

that

that he gave his vote as independently as any man in that House; that no man should ever dictate to him; that he gave it as he did, from a sincere conviction that that party had ability to retrieve the affairs of this country, as far as they could now be retrieved, and that they were men who had an honest meaning to the constitution and liberties of the country, both of which he thought actually assailed under the present system.

Lord *North* said, he had heard much talk of the glorious majority of nineteen the other evening. In his opinion it was the most impolitic step Parliament could take, but having done it, he was bound to obey it, and this he would now do implicitly. —— The present motions, he said, to be sure were rather more moderate than an address to remove Ministers, but they went to the same effect, and if carried, Ministers must go out, but he considered the propositions by no means proved. At the time Lord Stormont gave the answer that had been alluded to, he was ambassador, and represented the King, certainly he could give no other answer than he did. With respect to Lord Hillsborough, he had undoubtedly corresponded with America, but then he had at the time the voice of the people with him. The new American Secretary had not been in office long enough to be proved whether he was short sighted, or wanted ability; and the proposition, stating that we had no ally, was by no means proved to be the fault of ministers, who might, as far as any person knew, have made every endeavour possible to gain allies, but had been prevented by other nations wanting foresight and ability. He denied having ever deluded the people by his Majesty's speeches, for, at the time he talked of pacific intentions, he was taught to believe that foreign courts were pacific. Lord North

Mr. *W. Pitt* answered every objection of the noble Lord's; the noble Lord, he said, must either be guilty of want of foresight, or guilty of delusion; one or the other he must be guilty of. With respect to not procuring allies, he was undoubtedly to blame; for no excuse could palliate that offence. If allies were not to be procured, the noble Lord should not have plunged us into a war. Mr. W. Pitt

He reminded the House of the noble Lord's still avowing that he retained his enmity to the resolution of Wednesday se'nnight, and appealed to their judgment, if a Minister, confessedly hostile to their orders, was to be depended upon any longer in such an exceedingly difficult moment? As an argument

ment that a change of Ministers must be for the better, he said, it would afford a chance for the salvation of the country, which alone was in his mind a material advantage. With regard to a new Administration, it was not for him to say, nor for that House to pronounce, who were to form it; all he felt himself obliged to declare was, that he himself could not expect to take any share in a new Administration, and were his doing so, more within his reach, he never would accept of a subordinate situation. What he had now offered, was meant merely for the sake of his country; for the simple question was, Will you change your Ministers and keep the empire, or keep your Ministers and lose the kingdom?

Lord North. Lord *North* spoke to explain about the King's speeches, that he had not deluded the nation by them.

Lord Howe. Lord *Howe* rose to declare, that the first three propositions were so evident and clear to every man, that he was certain no person could vote against them; but as Ministers might say, the want of success was owing, in a great measure, to his Majesty's officers, he could not, out of delicacy, vote for the fourth proposition, though that to him was perfectly clear with the rest; for he was determined, in his own mind, that want of foresight and ability in his Majesty's Ministers were the chief causes of all our misfortunes.

Sir Edward Deering. Sir *Edward Deering* made a short speech, amdist a great deal of clamour for the question, and at two in the morning, the House divided on the motion of the order of the day, when the numbers were,

Ayes 226; — Noes, 216 — Majority in favour of Administration, 10.

March 11.

The House went into a committee to consider farther of ways and means.

Lord North. Lord *North* rose to open the second part of his budget for the year. He said it was a disagreeable office to propose new taxes; it must always be so; but in the present moment it was particularly severe, when the interest to be raised was so extensive, and the burdens already borne by the people so great. But the duty, however irksome, must be discharged and he had only to request the indulgence of the committee, while he went through the details, which, from their nature must be tedious; he would, he said, state the several article

as shortly as he could, consistent with the necessary precision and clearness.

The sum requisite to pay the interest of the late loan was 793,155l.

TAXES.

First, a tax upon that kind of beer, which, in the excise phrase, is called Tenth Beer.

From this subject he meant, he said, to draw an additional duty, which would operate both for the purpose of regulation and revenue. By the acts of Parliament, said the noble Lord which lay duties upon beer, small-beer is described to be such as sells for 6s. per barrel, independent of the duty. The duty on this kind of beer is 1s. 4d. per barrel, and therefore it sells at 7s. and 4d. whatever beer is above that price is liable to the strong-beer duty, which is 8s. But in the trade there has been a long practice, admitted by sufferance only, but, however, generally admitted, and grown into use, that in settling the duty of 10 barrels of beer, value 10s. it has been usual to rate nine of them at the small beer duty of 1s. 4d. and one at the strong beer duty of 8s. By this method of settling the duty, the tax on the ten barrels comes in general to 2s. per barrel. This practice had however been the cause of introducing much dispute, and many difficulties. The brewers had claimed to have the same thing done on the beer of 12s. per barrel; and even they had gone so far as to claim the connivance for settling the beer of 14s. by the same rule. The latter had never been suffered; but the 12s. beer had for a considerable time been settled by this rule. It was, however, altogether a matter of connivance, but it was a connivance of long standing, so that if it were ever necessary to break it, it would not be easy. It was, however, necessary, that the line should be drawn, that the medium should be settled, and that it should not depend, as it had done for some time, on connivance, which would always give rise to dispute and cavilling. It was therefore his intention to propose, that beer sold at the price of 12s. per barrel, should in future pay a duty of 3s. per barrel, which, according to the present practice, would be an additional duty of 1s. At the same time it must be observed, that the beer, which now sold for 12s. was taxed, agreeable to the rule which he had mentioned, two shillings per barrel, which reduced it to 10s. but they were allowed a drawback of 6d. for the malt, so that they received in

fact 10s. 6d. for their barrel of beer. He proposed, however, to remove this drawback from the new regulation of 14s. beer, so that the new duty of 3s. with the drawback of 6d. would be laid on beer which brought the brewer 10s. and 6d. The noble Lord said, that he would propose therefore that it should be allowed to the brewer to pay the small beer duty of 1s. 4d. on beer value 6s. and for all beer, value 10s. and 6d. or which he would sell at 14s. that he should pay 3s. per barrel, without being allowed the drawback of 6d. for malt. For all beer above that price, he should pay the strong beer duty of 8s. per barrel. That is to say, in future, all beer above 6s. and under 11 shillings per barrel, should bear a duty of 3s. per barrel, without being allowed the drawback. The noble Lord said, that this quality of beer, on which the additional shilling was laid, did not come under the description of that beverage which the common people drank. Beer at 14s. per barrel, was a very rich beer, and not such as would, by the little rise now proposed, affect the poor.

He stated that the quantity of beer of this description consumed in Britain was 563,000 barrels, on which the additional shilling would produce

	£	s.	d.
He stated that the quantity of beer of this description consumed in Britain was 563,000 barrels, on which the additional shilling would produce	28,000	0	0
To this however, was to be added, the amount of the saving, by taking away the drawback of 6d. per barrel, — —	14,000	0	0
Amount of the duty on small beer, —	42,000	0	0

And for so much the noble Lord said he would take this article, of which he had no doubt, as it was a tax already ascertained, and of which the collection was familiar.

On TEA-LICENCES.

The next tax which he had to propose, was an additional duty upon tea-licences. Two years ago Parliament laid a tax of five shillings on the dealers in tea, by forcing them to take out a licence annually. This tax had a very eligible operation. There were about thirty-five thousand dealers in tea in the kingdom. It was his intention to lay an additional duty of five shillings on their licence. This he knew the trade could bear, without any injury to the public; and indeed it was eligible for other reasons. Parliament had suggested, and adopted many expedients for the prevention of

of ſmuggling. They had none of them, however, fully put an end to the licentious, pernicious practice, and the dealers in tea were very much belied, if they did not in their ſhops ſell contraband tea, and ſuch as did not come into their hands with a permit. This tax would reach them in the ſureſt and moſt effectual way. It might however be ſaid, that this tax was improper, becauſe, in the manner laid on two years ago, it did not reach the dealers in a fair and equal degree, proportioned to their dealings, and to the extent of their trade. He wiſhed to propoſe a remedy for this defect. Parliament had, in their deſire, to prevent ſmuggling, ordered, that every parcel of tea containing ſix pounds or upwards, removed from one part of the country to another, ſhould be removed by a permit. He would therefore propoſe, that all wholeſale dealers, and ſuch as had occaſion to ſend ſix pounds of tea or upwards at a time, ſhould be ſubject to an additional licence of 2l. but perhaps they might endeavour to evade this laſt tax, by never ſending more than 5lb. in one parcel. That this alſo might be provided aginſt, he would propoſe that all ſuch dealers as ſhould, in the courſe of the year, ſell above one hundred weight of tea in the year, muſt pay the higher duty of 2l. for their licence. Taking it therefore in this way, and he could not imagine that a licence of 2l. could be any object to a dealer who ſold a hundred weight in a year, he would ſtate, and he did it from the beſt grounds of information, that out of the 35,000 dealers in tea, there were 20,000 who ſold more than a cwt. a year.

		£.	s.	d.
20,000 tea dealers then, at 2l.	— —	40,000	0	0
35,000 ditto at 5s.	—	8,750	0	0
Additional duty on tea-licences	——	48,750	0	0

On SOPE.

The next duty which he had to propoſe, gave him very great concern, becauſe it touched a neceſſary of life. It was on ſope, an article undoubtedly which the poor wanted, but by no means in great quantities. The committee would remember, that in laying an additional 5 per cent. on the various duties of exciſe, ſope, candles, and leather, were excepted, becauſe it was at all times inconvenient to reſort to articles neceſſary in manufacture, and to the poor. With reſpect to ſope, however, it was not, he ſaid, ſuch a neceſſary, ſo much wanted, or which would affect the poor like

candles or leather. He omitted it, becauſe a ſlight tax, without bringing much revenue to the country, might be very irkſome to the conſumer, and becauſe, at a future time of need, the article might be taken with confidence for a large ſum. His reaſons for thinking that ſope was not ſo material a neceſſity of life, as either candles or leather, were theſe: Sope was not conſumed in large quantities by the poor. They uſed many aids, and reſorted to various modes of working without the uſe of much ſope. Some made uſe of ſope lees, which they procured at a low price; ſome of a lye made from wood aſhes, this was chiefly done in the country; and he was given to underſtand, that in this way, that they mixed a little ſope with the lye, but in a very ſmall quantity. He believed that a quarter of a pound of ſope generally ſerved a ſmall family a whole week. But the chief reaſon of his propoſing an additional duty at the preſent time was, that the article of ſope had fallen greatly in price, and was daily falling. Within the laſt two years, it had fallen in the wholeſale buſineſs full ten ſhillings in the cwt. and in the retail it had had two falls in the ſame time; the firſt from ſeventy-two ſhillings and ſix-pence, to ſixty-ſix ſhillings, and from ſixty-ſix to fifty two ſhillings. This was partly owing to temporary, and partly to permanent cauſes. The temporary cauſe of the fall, which was not very material, was owing to the fall of tallow; but the permanent and great cauſe was the fall of barilla. This article had fallen from ſixty to thirty-ſeven ſhillings per cwt. This was a great permanent cauſe, for in every cwt. of ſope the material of barilla uſed in proportion to the tallow, was as eight to thirteen. Gentlemen would ſee, therefore, that this fall was eſſential to the manufacture. Barilla was a Spaniſh plant, and, from the demand, great and increaſing quantities of it had been raiſed along the Spaniſh coaſts, ſo that greater quantities were imported. But this was not all. Of late years, a method had been found out to make barilla go much farther in the uſe than it did formerly. After having uſed the quantity of barilla neceſſary to the manufacture of a certain quantity of ſope, by adding one-fifth of new barilla to the old, it will do again to make a freſh and equal quantity of ſope, and ſo on, always adding a fifth of new barilla. This method, he confeſſed, was not known to all the ſope makers. But the principal manufacturers in London [illegible] Briſtol knew it; and by the mixture and change of ſervants, the ſecret would be ſoon generally known and practiſed.

practised. From these causes, he did not think that the additional duty would be in any measure felt. The tax would not make sope equal to the price which it bore two years ago; for it would not be equal to the fall which it had sustained. The tax which he meant to propose, was seven shillings per cwt. which would come to about three farthings per pound. He could not imagine that this would make any material alteration in the article, or at least that it would come with any weight on the poor. No duty had been laid upon sope since the year 1713; amidst all the variations in the price of every commodity, it had remained unfettered with more duties; and being, as he had said, but little used by the poor, it would not be a burthen to them; for taking it on a pretty exact calculation, that a quarter of a pound of sope would serve a small family for a week, the additional duty would only make a difference to them of nine-pence three-farthings in the year.—This tax then of seven shillings per cwt. or three-farthings per pound, would bring in a clear sum of 104,500l.

Having done this, the noble Lord enumerated together the three articles of taxation, which he had named.

	£.	s.	d.
The additional duty on beer — — —	42000	0	0
Additional tea licences — — —	48750	0	0
Additional three farthings on the pound of sope	104500	0	0
	195250	0	0

And these three duties, he said, were to be collected by the Commissioners of Excise, without any additional expence, and he thought he could answer precisely for the efficiency, as they were already tried.

On TOBACCO.

The noble Lord said, the next tax he meant to propose, was an import duty on tobacco. This he trusted, would by no means be an oppressive tax, and at the same time time would bring in a very considerable sum. Since the war with America, the best tobacco had sold for three shillings per pound, but the chief cause of the rise was the taking of the island of St. Eustatius, which had a considerable quantity of tobacco upon it, and which stopped for a time the importation. Another great cause of the rise was owing to the blocking up the Chesapeak, which, at that particular time, was the scene of the war, and prevented our receiving any

tobacco

tobacco from America, as they could not get out with it either to New-York or elsewhere; by these means we were prevented for a time; but since the re-taking of St. Eustatius, the consumers had looked out for another shop; and we had received, and should receive great quantities from Danish ports; besides these, we had a right to expect a vast quantity from New-York, which was purchased at the capture of York-town, to the amount of 3000 hogsheads, and which would consequently, when they arrived, greatly reduce the price, that had indeed for some time lately been upon the fall. The medium price sometime ago was about 2s. 6d. per pound; but now it was not more than 2s. 1d. he would therefore propose to add a fresh duty of 4d. per pound which would make it sell at the rate of 2s. 5d. per pound; and as the consumption of this country was well known to be as stated last year, 8,500,000 pounds weight annually, and he by no means could think the estimation over rated, it would, on a fair calculation, produce. On 8,500,000 pounds, at four-pence per pound, 141,333l. The quantity of tobacco bonded at the Custom-house, at the present time, was exceedingly small, and that which was in private hands, it was impossible exactly to account for. However, from the best information he could get, the whole together would not amount to more than between three and four thousand hogsheads; so this new duty would not be an advantage to individuals, and there was no occasion to tax the quantity and stock in hand.

On BRANDY.

The noble Lord said he next meant to propose a duty upon brandy, which was of a trifling nature; it was meant merely as a necessary regulation, which the trade loudly called for; it had long been found extremely inconvenient to rate brandies as they are now rated; for as the law now stands, French brandy pays the highest duty; and in order to evade the payment of that tax, brandies are imported under the head of Flemish and other names, from places that do not produce a single grape vine; he should therefore propose to the committee, in order to put a stop to these evasive practices for the future, to put all foreign brandies on an equal footing, and to make each pay the price of French brandy, which would, on a moderate computation, produce the sum of 5000l.

4 This

This duty, as well as the tobacco, he intended ſhould be collected at the Cuſtom-houſe on importation; and it would require no freſh officers. Therefore the whole duty to be collected at the cuſtoms would be,

	£.	s.	d.
On tobacco — — —	141,333	0	0
On brandy — — —	5,000	0	0
	146,333	0	0

On SALT.

Here, the noble Lord ſaid, he found himſelf going to propoſe a tax which there could be but little difficulty in aſcertaining the amount of, as it was about two years ago in agitation to lay on a duty of fifty per cent. upon that article, which he had refuſed, and had only laid on an additional duty of twenty-five per cent. or ten-pence per buſhel, reſerving the other twenty-five per cent. to times when there might be more cauſe for the tax. He had, therefore, propoſed to add an additional duty on ſalt of twenty-five per cent. which was not a farthing per pound, as a buſhel of ſalt contained fifty-ſix pounds, and the new duty was only 10d. The retailer, therefore, might lay on an advance of a farthing per pound, and would have a ſufficient profit, as he would have fifty-ſix farthings, or 1s. 2d. for a duty that coſt him but forty farthings, or 10d. The conſumption of ſalt, he ſaid, was ſo well known, that he could, with ſafety, ſet this down at 60,000l.

On MEDICINAL SALTS.

Beſides the tax on common ſalt, the noble Lord informed the committee, that medicinal ſalts, although they pay no duty, bear an extraordinary high price, he ſhould therefore propoſe to lay a duty on all ſalts of that nature, at, and after the rate of 1l. per hundred weight, which would, on a moderate computation, produce about 5000l: and when he came to move the reſolutions, he ſhould be ſure to enumerate the ſeveral ſpecies of this ſalt, and provide for them all; therefore the duty on ſalt would be,

	£.	s.	d.
Common ſalt — — —	60,000	0	0
Medicinal ditto — — —	5,000	0	0
Total on ſalt — —	65,000	0	0

And

And this tax would be collected at the Salt Office without any additional expence.

The noble Lord ſaid he now came to new duties, but he hoped, though they were new, and he could not ſtate them with accuracy, they would yet be productive. He would, in the next place, then propoſe,

An annual duty on all ſums of money inſured on houſes and goods from fire.

This was a duty which he could not argue on from experience; but it bore the aſpect of production and efficacy. Gentlemen knew that a duty had been laid on policies of inſurance; but they had not produced the ſum at which were calculated, and for this reaſon It had been imagined, that when perſons inſured annually, they would have a policy annually; or when they inſured ſeptennially, they would, on every ſeven years, have a new policy; but this had not been the caſe. The offices had continued, and renewed the inſurance from period to period, without giving a new policy. By this means, the duty had proved unproductive. But this might be remedied in the preſent tax, for, by laying an annual duty on the amount of the ſums of money inſured, would be the means of aſcertaining the truth correctly. But the money inſured was not paid, and there might be great difficulty, as there always was, in touching perſonal eſtates. They generally ſlipped through the fingers of the public, and were not to be procured.

The land-tax, in its original form, view, and intention, was on all perſonal eſtates; but perſonal eſtates not being comeatable, not being ſo palpable as land, it came to be confined to landed property alone. In the preſent caſe, however, he thought the perſonal eſtate might be found, and in a manner to which the owner could not object, for the tax would be laid on houſes and goods, rated by the ſum which the owner himſelf thought them worth. The tax which he meant to propoſe, was 1s 6d. on every 100l. inſured. This was not an immoderate tax; and he thought it would be a very good, eligible, and productive one. But now it might be aſked, where it was to be found, by whom to be collected, and what ſum to produce. He thought that the Treaſurers of the ſeveral inſurance offices would be the proper perſons to collect the tax, and that they ſhould receive it when the inſurance-money was paid. They could pay it into the Stamp-office when they paid their money for the inſurance policies; it would be but one trouble, and a compenſation for the trouble would be allowed. It was exceedingly difficult

cult to say what to expect from the new duty. There were no certain grounds on which they could build their calculations, and they must, in the present state of the matter, take it from the speculative lights which they had in their power. There were in London six old insurance-offices, besides the sugar-bakers, who had formed a common plan of insurance, for their common safety. The six old offices in London were the Sunfire-office, the Royal-Exchange, the London-Assurance, the Hand-in-Hand, the Union, and the Westminster. It was not possible to come exactly at the amount of their several dealings; but from pretty accurate information, he could state the following as the rate of their several insurance for the year. The Westminster-office insured to the amount of between nine and ten millions a-year. The Sunfire-office was said to insure to ten times the amount of the Westminster, but he would state it at 90 millions a-year. The Royal-Exchange at twenty-five millions; the Hand-in-Hand at fifteen millions; the Union at ten million, and the London Assurance at eight millions.

According to the information which he had received, these sums which he had stated were within the amount of their annual dealings. The Westminster, almost to a certainty, insured to the amount of ten millions a-year; the Westminster and the Hand-in-Hand only insured houses, but not goods; the other offices insured both houses and goods; and and it was also pretty certain, that the Sunfire-office insured to the amount of one hundred millions a-year: But taking these, the Sugar-bakers company, and all the inferior offices, both in town and country, and there were several very great and respectable offices in the country, he would calculate the whole at 150 millions of money insured annually.

	£.	s.	d.
Then on 150,000,000l. of annual insurance, the proposed duty of 1s. 6d. per 100l. would be, — — —	112,500	0	0
But as there might be deficiencies, and as his information might not be correct, he would take the tax only at — —	100,000	0	0

Perhaps it might be said, in objection to this tax, that it might prevent people from insuring their houses and goods. This he could not believe: The sum of 1s. 6d. on 100l. was so exceedingly trifling, that he could not think it would be the means of preventing any person from insuring his property

who ſhould be otherways inclined to do it: gentlemen would alſo perceive an advantage in this duty, that it would not multiply collectors: it would come to the Stamp-office with great regularity, and without much expence.

On INLANDS BILL of EXCHANGE.

This alſo was a duty which would be collected at the Stamp office, and he thought without confuſion; the tax was, a ſmall ſtamp duty on inland bills of exchange, not payable at ſight. He meant by this, all promiſſory notes, bills of exchange, and ſo forth, with a promiſe or contract of payment at a certain date. The tax which he meant to propoſe was exceedingly ſmall, but it would be very productive. He meant to propoſe, That a ſtamp duty of 3d. ſhould be laid on all bills under 50l. and of 6d. on all bills above 50l.

He did not ſee any material, or indeed reaſonable objection to this tax. Perhaps it might be ſaid, that it would embarraſs communication and the intercourſe neceſſary to trade. This he could not believe; for even now, bills of exchange and notes were generally given on ſome particular ſort of paper, either thinner than the uſual frame, or with ſome mark, margin, or other peculiarity. Few or any notes were now given on common paper; ſo that they might as well ſupply themſelves with the ſtamps as with other paper for the purpoſe; but it might be ſaid, that by purchaſing a quantity of the new ſtamps loaded with the duty, it would be a hardſhip on the trader, becauſe he muſt lay out a ſum of money for ſtamps which muſt lie dead in his hands for a time. To this he muſt anſwer no; for the ſtamp-office had diſtributors in every market town throughout the kingdom, and indeed in other towns, ſo that perſons could not be at any loſs for a ready ſupply of ſtamps as the occaſions might ariſe for their uſe, without having quantities lying by them. He knew it might be alſo ſaid in objection to this tax, that the practice of giving notes and bills of exchange was a ſign of poverty, and not of wealth; and that therefore he was laying a tax on pockets already drained. He was ready to acknowledge that it was a ſign of neceſſity; but at the ſame time he muſt obſerve, that where a bill was given, one of the parties was poſſeſſed of value to the amount; and therefore, in that condition, the tax could not be a hardſhip to him. But

But there were a set of people who made a trade of drawing and redrawing bills, by which some few people had made money, but many more had lost. Such persons, by drawing a great many, might be affected by this tax. He wished that they might be. If the revenue should thereby suffer, at least the public would be benefited. With respect to the manner of ascertaining what the duty would produce, to be sure it was, like all other new taxes, difficult, because it depended on conjecture, but their were certain grounds on which they might judge with some accuracy. He knew one banker in a country town who drew annually 13,000 bills of exchange. There were three other bankers in the same town who drew among them inland bills to the amount of 26,000l. a year. This was one town, and these were country bankers. There were altogether nine hundred market towns in England, in each of which, taking them on the average, he might safely say there were annually drawn between four and five thousand bills a year. There were many towns beside those which came under the description of market towns; and there was all the country, the fairs, and other marts, at which traffic in bills was used. Surely then he should take it very much within what it really would produce, when he stated the whole number of bills of exchange drawn in the year to be four millions. —— Then on 4,000,000 inland bills of exchange, a duty of 3d. and 6d. as stated above would amount in the gross to 50,000l and at this sum he would take it.

On all PLACES of PUBLIC ENTERTAINMENT.

The next tax he said, which he meant to propose, and which he thought a very fair and proper one in the present day of general distress, was on the places of public entertainment; and this he meant to rate agreeable to the prices paid for admission, and consequently to be in several classes. The following was exactly the arrangement.

3d to be laid on each admission not amounting to more than 1s. where no wine nor liquor is sold, and 6d. where it is.

A duty of 6d. on each admission from 1s. to 3s.

A duty of 1s. on each admission from 3s. to 5s.

A duty of 2s. 6d. on each admiſſion, from 5s. to 10s. 6d. and a duty of 5s. on each admiſſion above 10s. 6d.

In order, he ſaid, to collect this tax with as much certainty and as little expence as poſſible, he intended that every perſon opening a place of public entertainment, ſhould take out a licence; and that the perſons appointed to receive the money at thoſe places ſhould alſo receive the duty, and deliver a ticket to the perſon coming in, and ſo paying, which he ſhould give to an officer of the Stamp appointed to receive them. Thus the door-keeper of the place of entertainment and the ſtamp officer, would mutually check one another; and the proprietors of the place could pay in the money at intervals to be appointed in the act. This method he conceived, would be eligible; but if gentlemen could contrive a better method, more practicable, and leſs liable to objection, he would be ready to adopt it. No new ſtamp officers would be required, at leaſt not in town; for the ſtamp officers had done their buſineſs in the morning; and they would be happy to attend at night, and for a ſmall ſum receive the checks. The duties which he had mentioned, were in proportion to the prices of the places of entertainment with which they were beſt acquainted, and which would be the principal ſources of the duty. He was given to underſtand, that thoſe places were generally well filled with company — they deſerved to be ſo; their entertainments, were rational, and there was every reaſon to believe, that Drury-lane, Covent-garden, the Hay-market theatre, the Opera houſe, Sadler's Wells, Ranelagh and Vauxhall, the regular places of entertainment in the town, and which were generally crowded, would produce the revenue. On the moſt moderate computation, he would ſtate, that

The duty on the places of entertainment in town would produce ——— ———	20 000
And on thoſe in the country ———	10,000
	£. 30,000

And he would therefore take it at the above ſum.

On CARRIAGE of GOODS.

The noble Lord ſaid, he was now going to propoſe the laſt tax, which was of a very extenſive nature, exceedingly complicated, and what he was afraid would meet with oppoſition;

position; however, he trusted he should make it out to the satisfaction of the Committee, as a tax far more eligible than it would appear at first sight. The tax he meant to propose, was on the carriage of all kinds of goods, which he at first intended to have made on goods *ad valorem*; but found that totally impracticable. He had therefore determined upon making it agreeable to weight, by which means it would fall upon all, and sit lightly on every one. Carriage of goods he should consider under the three following heads: Land carriage, inland navigation, coasting vessels.

The first he should take notice of, would be that of land carriage, and there he should take in all coaches, waggons, carts, &c. used for the conveyance of goods from one place to another. By an act of Parliament already passed, there was a law limiting what weight each carriage should bear, viz. waggons with 16 inch wheels are allowed to carry eight tons in summer and seven tons in winter. Waggons with three inch wheels, rolling a surface of 16 inches, six tons in summer, and 5½ tons in winter, &c. &c. but since the letting waggons with these immense broad wheels pass toll free had ceased, there were but few or none of these waggons now in use.

The tax he meant to propose was, that the owner of each carriage should take out a licence, which should contain his name and place of abode, the breadth of his wheels and the probable length of his journeys. If he travelled to London, he should at the end of every month, pass his account at London; but if he did not, he should, at the expiration of that period, pass his account at some capital town where he did travel to. The master of the waggon to collect the tax in the same manner that the masters of stage coaches do now. The rate at which he meant to tax the carriages would be as follows: — On all waggons with wheels exceeding nine-inches broad, 3d. per mile; nine-inch wheels, 2½d. six-inch wheels 1¾d. narrow wheels 1½d. carts with nine-inch wheels 1¼d. carts with six-inch wheels 1d. carts with three-inches or less 0½d.

Now it seldom happened, from what he could learn by enquiring at the different inns and toll-gates, that ever waggons or carts carried less than the load allowed by act of parliament; indeed they generally carried more; for as the surcharge at the weighing engine for over-weight was so small for the two first hundreds, most carriers chose

chose to run the risque of overloading, as they paid only after the following rate:

For one hundred over weight 3d. two hundred 6d. three hundred 1s. four hundred 1s. 6d. —— And so on in proportion; therefore the additional duty would not be more than one half-penny and seven-sixteenths of a farthing per ton per mile, which would not enable the carrier to advance upon his customers more than after the rate of three farthings per ton, per mile.

The carriage between London and sixty market towns, according to the rate waggons generally travel at, he understood was about twenty-six miles per day, therefore their freight was about thirteen pence per hundred weight per day; and as a broad-wheel waggon was allowed to carry four tons five hundred weight, on a journey of twenty-six miles, the freight would produce 4l. 12s. 1d. therefore the new duty of 2½d. per ton per mile would produce 5s. and 5d. which would be a seventeenth part of the whole of the freight.

But he wished to inform the committee, that he intended to exempt from this duty, hay straw, corn, coals, fuel, manure, &c. as these articles he by no means wished to make dearer than they were.

With respect to the carriage of household furniture and small parcels, he did not suppose they were carried at present at so cheap a rate as 1s. 1d. per hundred; but there was such a number of carriages in each town in competition with each other, that he was confident they would keep the price down as low as possible. He had endeavoured, he said, to collect, from the best information possible, what the number of carriages were at present, which travelled to and from London: 500 broad wheel waggons; 100 narrow wheel ditto; 100 three-inch ditto; 50 nine-inch ditto carts; 50 six-inch ditto ditto; 50 three-inch ditto ditto. Which, up on a moderate computation, as they travelled five days in a week, would produce the sum of

	£.	s.	d.
the sum of —— ——	48,235	8	4
And allowing one fourth part of that sum for such country carriages as do not either come or go from London, it would make	12,059	0	0
Therefore the total would be — ——	60,294	8	4

The

The next article would be the carriage by way of canals, and there he would propofe the fame kind of licence, as in carriages, for the owner of every boat, or barge, fhould regifter his name, the tonage of his barge, and the probable journies he would take; he fhould therefore propofe one farthing per ton per mile on all goods by water carriage, which as rivers turn and wind, makes the journey much longer than by land, and would therefore, in a journey of 80 miles, amount to one penny per hundred weight. One of the chief articles that would be affected by this tax was flour, which he would calculate at a voyage from Reading in Berkfhire. ——The carriage of one ton of flour from that place would amount to twenty pence, and the carriage of a neceffary quantity of faggots to bake that flour into bread, would coft five-pence, therefore the whole would amount to two fhillings and a penny; and one ton of flour, when made into bread, was fufficient food for 2500 men for one day.

There are in England 2387 navigable miles of water, and an able engineer, who has made it his ftudy to calculate the traffic which is carried on in thefe rivers, computes the river Thames to produce 90l. per ton per mile per month, leffer rivers 75l. and the fmalleft canals 60l. per mile per annum. therefore the produce of carriage of canals may be fet down at 163,410l.

With refpect to the coafting trade, there is fuppofed to be at prefent about 1,160,000 tons of fhipping ufed coaftways, upon which he propofed to lay a duty of 3d per ton, to be paid at the time of entering outwards; this tax, he did not mean to extend to coals, as they paid a coafting duty already; he would therefore fuppofe this tax at 12,000l. which would make the whole of the duty on carriage of goods as follows:

	£.	s.	d.
By land	60,294	0	0
By canals	163,410	0	0
By coafting veffels	12,000	0	0
Total	235,704	0	0

But he would only fuppofe it to produce the fum of 210,000l.

The noble Lord having thus gone through the whole of his taxes in detail, came to the following fhort recapitulation:

ADDITIONAL

ADDITIONAL DUTIES.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
An additional duty of 1s. on four-ſhilling beer — — —	28,000	0	0			
——Saving of the drawback of a 6d. —— —— ——	14,000	0	0			
				42,000	0	0
Additional tea-licence 20,000 at 2l.	40,000	0	0			
Ditto, ditto 35,000 at 5s. — —	8,750	0	0			
				48,750	0	0
Additional duty on ſope, 7s. per cwt. or ¾d. per pound. ——				104,500	0	0
Theſe to be collected by the Exciſe.				195,250	0	0
Additional duty on tobacco 4d. per pound — — — —	141,333	0	0			
—— Regulation on brandy to produce —— —— ——	5,000	0	0			
Theſe to be collected by the Cuſtom-houſe. ——				146,333	0	0
Additional duty on ſalt 25 per cent. or 10d. per buſhel —— ——	60,000	0	0			
Duty on medicinal ſalts 20 per cent. —— — — —	5,000	0	0			
Theſe to be raiſed at the Salt office				65,000	0	0

NEW DUTIES.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
An annual duty of 18d. per cent. on all money inſured on houſes and goods from fire — —				100,000	0	0
A ſtamp duty on all inland bills of exchange, not payable at ſight, 3d. for leſs than 50l. and 6d. for above 50l. —— ——				50,000	0	0
A tax of various claſſes on places of public entertainment, to produce in town 20,000l and in the country, 10,000 —— ——				30,000	0	0
A tax on the carriage of goods, viz.						
Land carriage to produce —	60,294	0	0			
Inland navigation —— —	163,410	0	0			
Coaſting veſſels — —	12,000	0	0			
	235,704	0	0			
But of this he would only take for the annuity -				210,000	0	0
				390,000	0	0

Theſe to be collected by the Stamp Office.

		£	s.	d.
Total of taxes to be raised	—	796,583	0	0
Interest of loan wanting	—	793,155	0	0
Surplus of taxes	— — —	3,428	0	0

The noble Lord begged pardon of the committee for having taken up so much of their time. He cou'd only say, in his excuse, that he thought the details were necessary, and he had been as explicit as possible. He must also inform the committee, that he had suggested to several gentlemen the idea of a small stamp duty on receipts and discharges; but it had given such general offence, that he had withdrawn it; although he confessed he could not see the value of the objections. He had had it in contemplation to propose a tax, which would have produced alone the sum of 800,000l. It was right, however, for the committee and the world to know, that they had such a resource, to which they could apply with safety and success: Gentlemen would give him credit for having taken some pains in making himself master of those long details: If he had not the praise of genius, he would have at least the merit of industry. They would not say, that he had come to the committee, altogether ignorant of what he was to communicate to them. There was another matter which he must mention: An honourable gentleman had asked him, whether he meant to propose taxes for 800,000l. the annuity of the year, or for 1,000,000l. by which he might provide for the deficiencies of former years? This question seemed as if the honourable gentleman was afraid that he should go out of office, and leave burdens upon him who was to be his successor: He assured him he had no wish to burden him; but the deficiencies did not amount to 500,000l. The noble Lord enumerated the taxes for the last six years, and stated that the deficiencies did not amount to more than 170,000l. or at the most to more than 200,000l. and for these he was ready to provide. He did not wish to shrink from his duty He concluded with moving the first resolution.

Mr. *Fox* rose, he said, to make an observation on what had fallen from the noble Lord. Whatever the noble Lord might think, or whatever the noble Lord might choose to say of his wishes, of his hurry, and of his eagerness to get into the noble Lord's place, he did assure him he had no such Mr. Fox.

 foolish

foolish ambition whatever. He wished only that his country might be saved, and that there might be some government, and that government might be more wise, more virtuous, and more vigorous, than that under the administration of the noble Lord. With regard to the deficiencies of the taxes, whether the amount of them was 500,000l. or 200,000l. it made no manner of difference; the arguments he had used the other day were to the full as applicable, to the full as justifiable, and to the full as necessary one way as the other. What he meant to say then, and what he would say at that moment, was, that the noble Lord of late years had adopted a strange custom of proposing the loan one day, and not proposing the taxes for some time afterwards, which every body present knew neither to be a good, a wise, nor an ancient practice; the custom had been, and the custom ought ever to be, to propose the loan and the taxes on one and the same day, that the House might know the minister did not borrow money for the public, of which he did not take care the public should be provided with certain means of paying the interest. What had the noble Lord done? Had he taken care of late years to provide to raise money by taxes adequate to the interest of the loan? No such thing. He had gone on from year to year borrowing immense sums, and neglecting to provide taxes adequate to the payment of the interest. The consequence had been, he had taken the sinking fund, which ought only to stand as a collateral security, for the interest to the money lenders, and made it answer the interest itself. Thus this year, knowing as he did, that the nation still owed two hundred thousand pounds, as he had that day avowed, and knowing, that instead of 800,000l. he ought to have taxed for a million, he comes and taxes for the [illegible], towards payment of the interest of this year's loan. This it was, Mr. Fox said, that he reprobated on Wednesday last. This it was that he reprobated then, and this it was, that he would continue to reprobate, till the noble Lord had done [illegible], and provided for the deficiencies of the former taxes! With regard to those proposed this day, he had not much considered them, but there were two, which struck him as very unwise, and as highly impolitic, and those were, the tax on insurance policies from fire, and the tax on carriage of goods inland. The first of these appeared to him to be a very foolish tax, the latter a most improper one. The tax on carriage of goods

struck

ſtruck him as the worſt that could poſſibly have been deviſed; it was a tax on the convenience, the labour, and the induſtry of the people! A tax on the means of taxing, and ſuch a tax as he ſhould have thought no man in his ſenſes would have ventured to meddle with. The noble Lord had ſaid with an air of triumph, that he had more eligible taxes, and particularly one to produce 800,000l. which he did not prefer, but he had not told the committee what thoſe taxes were; how then were they to know, whether the taxes propoſed by the noble Lord, or the taxes not propoſed, but which, he ſaid, he had, were moſt eligible? He knew not, for this reaſon, that they were more eligible, and he ſincerely believed, that this fine productive tax of 800,000l. was not only a ſecret to the Houſe, but to the noble Lord himſelf; but with regard to the two he had objected to, the tax on inſurance policies, and the tax on carriage of goods by land and water, he would venture to ſay, not any taxes could be more ineligible. He meant not, however, to take the ſenſe of the committee upon them, or to oppoſe them; and that, for this very good reaſon, he knew that the noble Lord would, as uſual, exclaim, If you object to one tax, you ought to find another. The noble Lord had talked of the late reſolution of the Houſe in a taunting manner, and he had, on Friday night, jeeringly called the majority of Wedneſday ſe'nnight a glorious majority. However he might be inclined in general to be diverted with the noble Lord's pleaſantry, Mr. Fox ſaid, he could not approve pleaſantry at an improper time. God knew, that was no hour for merriment, and he begged the noble Lord to remember, that his jeſts had coſt the country dear enough. He had no ambitious views to his place he did aſſure him, but it was high time there ſhould be ſome government. At preſent there was none at all. He adviſed him, therefore, to let ſomething be decided, and not to ſuffer the country to remain in ſuch a lamentable ſtate. He had thought the noble Lord would have gone out, and he had depended upon, what he was ready to agree, was the moſt fooliſh reaſon in the world for any man to depend on—on the noble Lord's own promiſe! He did beg him, however, not to flatter himſelf with the diviſion on Friday laſt. The trifling majority of ten was nothing, and the noble Lord muſt know in his own mind, that virtually a majority had decided againſt his continuing in office that night. Poſſibly the noble Lord

meant, according to his old custom, to abandon his former doctrines, and set up the prerogative of the crown against the voice of the people, speaking through that House, of which the noble Lord had shewn himself for some time ready to profess a much higher opinion than he was ready to entertain. The noble Lord might possibly intend to justify the right of the crown to appoint its own servants, and to stand on that footing against the sense of Parliament. Be it so, but let the noble Lord avow it in the face of the House boldly and manfully, and some way or other patch up the matter soon. There must be a scuffle on the occasion, and the sooner that scuffle was over the better. He did assure the noble Lord, that in what he had said then, and in what he had said formerly, he meant not to press upon him in an unhandsome way, he meant not to goad him, or run him down, or say any thing that should hurt his mind, or make him uneasy. Upon his honour, he had no such intention, and though he asked not pardon of the Chairman, nor of the committee, for what he had said, he asked pardon of the noble Lord, if he had offended him, for he meant it not; but he must continue to urge him to retire, and the sooner he did so, the doing it would have the more dignity, and would be accompanied with the less disgrace!

Before he sat down, he informed the committee, that on Friday next, a motion of the utmost importance would come before the House; and as it was slightly mentioned on Friday evening, that it was intended for Wednesday next, he hoped gentlemen would take notice, and not mistake the day.

The Earl of Surrey.

The Earl of *Surrey* said, he by no means thought the taxes, as proposed by the noble Lord, so good as might be found out; and with respect to the tax on tobacco, it was, in his opinion highly impolitic, especially now as we were in hopes of a peace with America, and that was the chief commodity we should trade in from thence. The noble Lord had therefore estimated it at a very large sum, when he laid it at 141,333l. Another of the taxes mentioned by the noble Lord, that of carriage upon goods, had been so ably pointed out by his honourable friend that he should say little upon it; but he could not help remarking for a hint to the noble Lord, that iron was a very considerable article in the manufactures of this kingdom; in short, the hardware busi-

ness

neſs was one of the great ſtaple commodities of Great Britain, and would, he was confident, be materially injured, if the ſame exception did not take place for that as was to be obſerved for manure and other things neceſſary for agriculture. The towns of Birminghrm, Sheffield, and Wolverhampton, conſumed amaſing large quantities of iron, and the trade would, in a great meaſure, be ſtopped, if the additional duty propoſed on carriage took place.

The duty upon ſalt, he was of opinion, the noble Lord had ſtated by far too high, for he had grounded it upon the preſent conſumption, making no allowance for the deficiency that generally happens on the price of any article riſing.

With reſpect to taxes on public places of amuſement, he was not againſt it, yet he had always conſidered our two public theatres as places not only of rational amuſement, but of great inſtruction and improvement. In many capital cities and market towns there are theatres which are not licenſed, and which are only on ſufferance; but by this means his Lordſhip would licence every ſtroller, which he could not think was a wiſe or politic act.

Mr. *Huſſey* ſaid, the noble Lord in the blue ribband, in ſtating the deficiencies of former years, had not ſtated them fairly; by which means he made them appear conſiderably leſs than they really were. He then, with all that accuracy which generally marks him when he enters into arithmetical queſtions, ſhewed the noble Lord his error. The tax upon inſurance of houſes was particularly oppreſſive, he ſaid, and would affect the poor and middling claſs of life conſiderably more than the rich, for the rich could afford to bear a loſs much better, and therefore did not ſo generally inſure; but the middling claſs would be materially injured, as the inſurance offices now did not, for what they called ſingle hazardous inſurances, take more than two ſhillings per cent. on the ſum inſured, and this new duty would make it 3s. 6d. which would prevent numbers from inſuring. Mr. Huſſey.

Mr. Rolle, Baron Dimſdale, Mr. Stanhope, Mr. Sibthorpe, Mr. Baker, and ſeveral other gentlemen, aſked queſtions of the noble Lord, to which he gave anſwers; and without any further debate, the committee agreed to the reſolutions as propoſed by the noble Lord, and which were as follow:

That, towards raiſing the ſupply granted to his Majeſty, there ſhall be raiſed, levied, and paid, throughout England and Wales, for every barrel of beer or ale above ſix ſhillings

lings the barrel, exclusive of the duties of excise, and not exceeding eleven shillings the barrel, exclusive of such duties, to be brewed by the common brewer, the sum of three shillings, and so in proportion for a greater or lesser quantity, to be paid by the common brewer, in lieu of all other duties; and that no allowance shall be made to any common brewer, out of the monies to arise by the duties on malt, granted by an act made in the twentieth year of the reign of his present Majesty, for any such beer so brewed by any common brewer as aforesaid.

That the duty on licences to be taken out by persons trading in, vending, or selling coffee, tea, or chocolate, do cease, determine, and be no longer paid or payable.

That every person selling of, or dealing in, coffee, tea, coca-nuts, or chocolate, who shall retail, or consume any of the said commodities in small quantities under the weight of six pounds in any one parcel, shall yield, and pay annually unto his Majesty, his heirs and successors, the sum of ten shillings, for a licence for that purpose.

That every person selling of, or dealing in, coffee, tea, cocoa-nuts, or chocolate, who shall vend or sell any of the said commodities by wholesale, or any quantity above the weight of six pounds in any one parcel, shall yield, and pay annually unto his Majesty, his heirs and successors, the sum of fifty shillings for a licence for that purpose.

That every person selling of, or dealing in, coffee, tea, cocoa-nuts, or chocolate, who shall sell, or consume in any one year, the gross quantity of one hundred pounds weight of coffee, tea, cocoa-nuts, or chocolate, shall be deemed, and taken to be, a seller of, and dealer in, the said respective commodities by wholesale, and shall yield and pay annually to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, the said sum of fifty shillings for a licence for that purpose.

That there shall be raised, levied, and paid, for and upon all sope, of what kind soever, which at any time or times, shall be made within the kingdom of Great Britain, by any person or persons whomsoever, an additional duty of three farthings for every pound weight avoirdupois, and after that rate for a greater or lesser quantity; the same to be paid by the maker or makers thereof respectively.

That an additional duty of four-pence per pound weight be laid upon all tobacco imported into Great Britain.

That the said additional duty upon tobacco shall be subject and liable to the payment of the duty or charge of five pounds

pounds per cent. laid upon the produce and amount of the several duties under the management of the respective commissioners of the customs and excise, by and act made in the nineteenth year of the reign of his present Majesty.

That the duties now payable on the importation of French, Spanish, Portugal, and Italian brandies, according to the rates at which brandies are respectively rated, or valued, do cease, determine, and be no longer paid.

That there be raised, levied, and paid, for every ton of brandy, or spirits, containing two hundred and fifty-two gallons, imported into this kingdom, the sum of eight pounds eight shillings, and after that rate for any greater or lesser quantity.

That there be raised, levied, collected, and paid, for every ton of arrack, containing two hundred and fifty-two gallons, imported into this kingdom, the sum of eight pounds eight shillings, and after that rate for any greater or lesser quantity.

That the said several duties upon brandy and arrack, shall be subject and liable to the payment of the duty or charge of five pounds per centum, laid upon the produce and amount of the several duties under the management of the respective commissioners of the customs and excise, by an act made in the nineteenth year of the reign of his present Majesty.

That an additional duty of two pence half-penny per gallon, be laid upon all foreign salt imported into Great Britain, to be paid by the importer and importers thereof, and after that rate for a greater or lesser quantity.

That an additional duty of one penny farthing per gallon, be laid upon all salt and rock salt, which shall be made at the salt works, or be taken out of any pit, or pits, in that part of Great Britain called England, Wales, and town of Berwick upon Tweed, and after that rate for a greater or lesser quantity.

That an additional duty of seven pence per bushel, be laid upon all salt which shall be made at any salt works, or be taken out of any pit, or pits, in that part of Great Britain called Scotland, and after that rate for a greater or lesser quantity.

That an additional duty of seven-pence per bushel be laid upon all salt imported from Scotland into England, Wales, and town of Berwick upon Tweed, and after that rate for a greater or lesser quantity.

That

That a duty of twenty ſhillings per hundred weight, be laid upon all ſalts known or called by the name of Glauber and Epſom ſalts, and every other medicinal ſalt made or produced at ſalt-work within the kingdom of Great Britain, and after that rate for a greater or leſſer quantity.

That the ſum of one ſhilling and ſix-pence be charged yearly for every ſum of one hundred pounds, and ſo in proportion for any greater or leſſer ſum, that is, or ſhall be, inſured by any perſon, in or by any policy of aſſurance for insuring houſes, furniture, goods, wares, merchandiſe, or other property, from loſs by fire, in Great Britain.

That a ſtamp-duty of three-pence be charged upon every piece of vellum or parchment, or ſheet or piece of paper, upon which any inland bill of exchange, promiſſory-note, or other note, payable otherwiſe than upon demand, ſhall be ingroſſed, written, or printed, where the ſum expreſſed therein, or made payable thereby, ſhall not amount to the ſum of fifty pounds.

That a ſtamp duty of ſix-pence be charged upon every piece of vellum or parchment, or ſheet or piece of paper, upon which any inland bill of exchange, promiſſory note, or other note payable otherwiſe than upon demand, ſhall be ingroſſed, written, or printed, where the ſum expreſſed therein, or made payable thereby, ſhall amount to the ſum of fifty pounds or upwards.

That every perſon or perſons who ſhall keep any theatre, houſe, room, garden, or other place for public dancing, muſic, or other public entertainment of the like kind; or any other place of public entertainment, interlude, or exhibition, where the price of admiſſion for each perſon ſhall amount to the ſum of one ſhilling or upwards, ſhall yield and pay annually to his Majeſty the ſum of five ſhillings for a licence for that purpoſe.

That a duty of three-pence be charged upon every perſon at and for his or her admiſſion into any theatre, houſe, room, garden, or other place kept for public dancing, muſic or other public entertainment of the like kind; or into any other place of public entertainment, interlude, or exhibition, where the price of ſuch admiſſion ſhall amount to the ſum of one ſhilling, and where no wine or exciſeable liquors are are ſold by retail, or permitted to be conſumed, for the benefit of the proprietor of ſuch public place.

That a duty of ſix-pence be charged upon every perſon at and for his or her admiſſion into any theatre, houſe, room, garden,

garden, or other place kept for public dancing, muſic, or other public entertainment of the like kind; or into any other place of public entertainment, interlude, or exhibition, where the price of ſuch admiſſion ſhall amount to the ſum of one ſhilling, and where wine or exciſeable liquors are ſold by retail, or permitted to be conſumed, for the benefit of the proprietor of ſuch public place.

That a duty of ſix-pence be charged upon every perſon at and for his or her admiſſion into any theatre, houſe, room, garden, or other place kept for public dancing, muſic, or other public entertaiment of the like kind; or into any other place of public entertainment, interlude, or exhibition, where the price of ſuch admiſſion ſhall exceed one ſhilling, and and ſhall not amount to more than three ſhillings.

That a duty of one ſhilling be charged upon every perſon at and for his or her admiſſion into any theatre, houſe, room, garden, or other place kept for public dancing, muſic, or other public entertainment of the like kind; or into any other place of public entertainment, interlude, or exhibition, where the price of ſuch admiſſion ſhall exceed the ſum of three ſhillings, and ſhall not amount to more than five ſhillings.

That a duty of two ſhillings and ſix-pence be charged upon every perſon at and for his or her admiſſion into any theatre, houſe, room, garden, or other place kept for public dancing, muſic, or other public entertainment of the like kind; or into any other place of public entertainment, interlude, or exhibition, where the price of ſuch admiſſion ſhall amount to more than five ſhillings, and ſhall not exexceed ten ſhillings and ſix pence.

That a duty of five ſhillings be charged upon every perſon at and for his or her admiſſion into any houſe, room, garden, or other place kept for public dancing, or muſic, or other public entertainment, interlude, or exhibition, where the price of ſuch admiſſion ſhall exceed the ſum of ten ſhillings and ſix pence.

That there be charged the ſum of three pence for every mile any waggon, wain, or other four-wheeled carriage ſhall travel, carrying any kind of goods, wares, and merchandize for hire, and being drawn on rollers or wheels above the breadth of nine-inches.

That there be charged the ſum of two pence halfpenny for every mile any waggon, wain, or other four wheeled carriage ſhall travel, carrying any kind of goods, wares, and

merchandize for hire, and being drawn on wheels above ſix-inches, and not exceeding nine-inches in breadth.

That there be charged the ſum of one penny three farthings for every mile any waggon, wain, or other four-wheeled carriage ſhall travel, carrying any kind of goods, wares, and merchandiſe for hire, and being drawn on wheels above three inches, and not exceeding ſix inches in breadth.

That there be charged the ſum of one penny halfpenny for every mile any waggon, wain, or other four-wheeled carriage ſhall travel, carrying any kind of goods, wares, and merchandize for hire, and being drawn on wheels of three-inches or leſs in bread h.

That there be charged the ſum of one penny farthing for every mile any cart, or other two wheeled carriage ſhall travel, carrying any kind of goods, wares, and merchandize for hire, and being drawn on wheels above ſix-inches in breadth.

That there be charged the ſum of one penny for every mile any cart, or other two-wheeled carriage ſhall travel, carrying any kind of goods, wares, and merchandize for hire, and being drawn on wheels of above three-inches, and not exceeding ſix-inches in breadth.

That there be charged the ſum of one halfpenny for every mile any cart, or other two-wheeled carriage ſhall travel, carrying any kind of goods, wares, and merchandize for hire, and being drawn on wheels of three inches or leſs in breadth.

That every perſon who ſhall keep any waggon, wain, cart, or other carriage, for carrying goods, wares, and merchandize for hire, ſhall yield, and pay annually unto his Majeſty, his heirs, and ſucceſſors, the ſum of two ſhillings and ſixpence for a licence for that purpoſe.

That every owner of any barge, lighter, trow, keel, or other craft, for carrying goods, wares, merchandize, or paſſengers above twelve in number, ſhall yield, and pay annually, unto his Majeſty, his heirs, and ſucceſſors, the ſum of two ſhillings and ſixpence for a licence to navigate or paſs ſuch barge, lighter, trow, keel, or other craft, upon any river, or canal navigation, within the kingdom of Great-Britain.

That there be charged a duty of one farthing per ton on the tonnage of every barge, lighter, trow, keel, and other craft carrying goods, wares, merchandize, or paſſengers above twelve in number, for every mile ſuch barge, lighter,

trow,

trow, keel, or other craft, shall navigate or pass on any river, or canal navigation, within the kingdom of Great Britain.

That there be charged a duty of three pence per ton on the tonnage of every ship, or vessel, employed in the coasting trade, from one part of the kingdom of Great Britain to another, where such ship or vessel shall pass by open sea, except ships laden wholly with coals, lime, limestones, chalk, marl, or dung.

That the said several duties shall be under the direction of the commissioners for managing his Majesty's duties on stamped vellum, parchment and paper.

That any person who shall keep any office, or place, for buying, selling, registering, disposing, or otherwise dealing, in any tickets, or parts thereof, in any lottery whatsoever, or shall, by writing, or printing, publish the setting up or using such office, or place, shall first take out a licence for that purpose.

That there shall be raised, levied, and paid unto his Majesty, his heirs, and successors, the sum of fifty pounds for every such licence.

That the monies to arise by the said duties shall be applied towards defraying the expences attending the commission to be made for the managing, directing, and drawing such lottery.

March 12.

Mr. *Ord* brought up the Report from the committee of Ways and Means; and when the Clerk had read all the resolutions once; Mr. Ord.

Lord *Mahon* rose to make a few observations, and to ask some questions relative to the new taxes: to many of them he had several objections; but as he did not intend to make a formal opposition to them, would confine himself to a few considerations relative to sope. The tax upon this article he thought not only prejudicial, but impolitic; and in his mind, the duty on salt was connected with it, as far at least as was necessary to support him in the observation he was going to make. It was the business of a politician or statesman in this country to encourage our own manufactures, and to lessen importation as far as possible; the noble Lord in the blue ribband had stated, that the price of sope had fallen, because barilla had greatly fallen in its value, from the great quantities of it imported: if the cause of the decrease in the price of sope arose as was stated, from the fall of barilla, there Lord Mahon.

was no great reason to rejoice at the event, as it arose from a circumstance which was greatly against this country in point of balance of trade; for he understood that the imported barilla had amounted this year to the very great sum of 300,000l. now if it was the interest of a country to lessen its imports, without cutting off the materials necessary for its manufactures, it was likewise bound to encourage every attempt to effect so desireable an end; a discovery had been made some time ago by one of the greatest chemists in this kingdom or in Europe, (his Lordship alluded to Dr. Higgins) by which sope might be made without barilla, which was supplied by a composition from our own earth; so that by this discovery, not only the price of sope would still continue to be reduced, but we should be able to keep at home the 300,000l. which we sent every year to Spain for barilla, unless the effects of the discovery should be destroyed by the noble Lord's tax upon salt. The discovery went to make a mineral alkali by means of rock salt; but if the salt was to be taxed, the infant manufacture for which the discoverer had procured a patent, could never support the accumulated burden of taxes upon the sulphur, nitre already taxed, and the salt which the noble Lord now proposed to tax also: the new tax would also hurt the manufacture of glass, which the discovery would render much less expensive. He therefore hoped that the noble Lord would in policy exempt rock salt from the new tax.

Sir Grey Cooper. Sir *Grey Cooper* was glad to find that when his noble friend had stated that there were permanent causes of the reduced price of sope, he had held a doctrine which was supported by fact. As to the rock salt, he could inform the noble Lord that in many cases there was a drawback allowed upon salt, as when the salt was to be used in fisheries.

Lord Mahon. Lord *Mahon* observed again, that from the duty on land-carriage the noble Lord had excepted manure; but he did not know how far the noble Lord might extend the meaning of that word; it was well known that in the West of England, sea sand was used in general as manure: did the noble Lord mean to admit that as manure?

Lord North. Lord *North* replied, that in the resolutions proposed to the committee, he had used general expressions; but in the bills which he meant to found upon them, he would be more explicit: he knew that in many of the turnpike acts, sea sand was considered and mentioned as manure; and he had not the

least objection to have it so stated in the bill which he should introduce on that head.

Mr. Hussey got up to declare that he had looked over the papers on the table, and that the deficiencies of former years, although stated by the noble Lord on Monday night to be no more than 200,000l. at most, were absolutely 598,462l. consequently a great part of the present taxes must be applied to the payment of these deficiences. He accused the noble Lord of being a bad financier, and asserted, that he was continually borrowing money at compound instead of single interest. Mr. Hussey

Lord North rose to answer the honourable gentleman about the difference of the sums. The noble Lord did not deny the accusation of the sum being 598,462l. but said the accounts stated two ways would appear quite different, therefore either he or the honourable gentleman might be right. The whole of the deficiency last year was, as he had said, but that was temporary; the permanent deficiencies would be but 170,000l. He informed the House, that on account of the vast extent, and the opposition that was likely to take place on the tax for a duty on the carriage of goods, that tax would be made into a separate bill from the other taxes. Lord North

Lord *John Cavendish* said, the information of the noble Lord had made it unnecessary for him then to say what he intended, he would therefore oppose that tax when the bill came before the House, chiefly because it had not exempted coals and lime from the duty when transported by inland water carriage. Lord John Cavendish.

Sir *George Yonge* spoke in favour of the theatres, and contended that the middling order of people ought to have some place of innocent mirth after the toil of the day, but the tax proposed was a very indecent one, for a man could not go to a theatre for amusement, but the first object that would appear to him, would be a tax gatherer to damp his joys, and put him in mind of the misfortunes of his country; however, he said, on nights when a large number of people assembled, he made no doubt, but the sudden gust into the theatres would overturn the tax gatherer, and make it a difficult thing for him to regain his station again for some time. Sir George Yonge.

Sir *Edward Astley* thought, that putting a stop to the fatal effects of gambling in lotteries was a matter well worth the attention of that House. Sir Edward Astley.

Mr. *Byng* said, that there was one thing in the carriage bill to which he objected more than any thing else—the principle Mr. Byng.

ciple of the tax. In all taxes it had constantly been the caution of the House not to touch the staff of life, which was bread. The noble Lord had done this—the tax was not large, but the precedent was dangerous. He feared, that if they once broke through the principle, they might be seduced to go dangerous lengths. He said, that the tax on Insurance would injure, if not ruin the offices.

Sir Grey Cooper.

Sir *Grey Cooper* said, if gentlemen chose to point out any particular species of goods, whether it was gold or iron, he would endeavour to state clearly to the House what it would come to in proportion to the value, on account of the additional duty. Gentlemen had yesterday talked of iron as one of those commodities which it would particularly operate upon. He therefore thought it his duty to state that the tax for twenty six miles, being only five shillings and five pence on a ton, and there being two thousand, two hundred and forty pounds, in a ton, it did not amount to more than a farthing upon ten pounds of iron; and how very immaterial a charge that must appear to any person, who looked at all at the tax, was easily discernible. He said it was the intention to prevent, as much as possible, every thing that might be accounted fraudulent or improper in the mode of conducting the lottery.

Mr W. Stanhope.

Mr. *W. Stanhope* denied the arguments of the honourable Baronet on the Treasury Bench to be founded in truth. The tax which was to be laid on iron for carriage was not to be as he had stated, only one farthing upon ten pounds: the tax, as he understood it, was about six per cent.

Sir George Yonge.

Sir *George Yonge* said, that hearing such an opposition made to these parts of the duties, which respected the carriage of goods, and the insurance, he thought it necessary to declare, that if no other person would take up the cause of the lower orders of society, with regard to the tax on places of public entertainment, he would. As to taxing the higher and more exalted ranks of life in their amusements, he was not at all dissatisfied, but he would, by every means in his power, endeavour to prevent the short moment of pleasure, which laborious industry might require, from being interrupted or soured by the appearance of a tax gatherer.

Mr Sheridan.

Mr. *Sheridan* said, he had determined to avoid saying a single word on the subject, as it was an aukward and embarrassing circumstance for any member to speak in opposition to a tax, when he happened to be materially concerned in the object of it. If he alone were interested, perhaps he should

should have taken no measure whatever on the subject; but as a very extensive property of others, as well as the welfare of numbers employed in that property, were concerned, it would be unjust to them, and an abuse of their personal confidence in him, were he to be inactive in the matter. It was not, however, his intention to trouble the House with opposing it then; he meant to pursue a very fair method in laying before the noble Lord at the head of the treasury, his objections in writing, with a real and candid state of the question. The product of the tax was but a trifle to the public, in comparison of the injury it would do to private property, and the oppression with which it must be collected.

Mr Gilbert declared that he was sure, the tax on the inland navigation carriage went much beyond the noble Lord's estimate, and might be rated certainly at an excess beyond, he believed, the whole of the tax of all the carriages; it would fall, too, more peculiarly heavy on the poor, especially in the article of coals, which would be burthensome to every rank of life. He said, that he should endeavour, before the bill for the regulating the carriage tax was brought into that House, to possess himself with sufficient arguments to oppose it. Mr Gilbert.

Mr. *Turner* said, that he should have spoken sooner, had he met the eye of the speaker. He declared against the tax on the carriage of goods, and said that another mode ought to be taken, which was that proposed by his honourable friend, whom he did not now see in his place, but whom he supposed to be gone to his dinner, and who well deserved to have a good dinner, for he took great pains for the good of his country; he meant the plan of œconomy proposed by the worthy member for Salisbury. When this country is reduced in her powers, new means must be contrived. Mr. Turner said, when his own estate was reduced in value by the American war, he had recourse to a proportionate reduction in his expences; and he wished to recommend it to his Majesty to reduce the Civil List from eight to six hundred thousand pounds, and here would be one quarter of the taxes paid. Mr. Turner.

The Resolutions were then read a second time, and agreed to, and the House adjourned.

March 13.

On the order of the day being read for the House to go into a committee on the bill to prevent bribery and corrup-

tion at future elections for the borough of Cricklade, in the county of Wilts,

The Speaker put the question, "That I do now leave the chair;" upon which

Mr. Adam. Mr. *W. Adam* opposed his quitting the chair, and contended, that it was unjust and cruel to punish the whole borough of Cricklade for the faults of a few bad men. He put a case: supposing some electors of the city of London had been found guilty of corruption, would it be right to disfranchise the city for the acts of a few? Certainly not, he said; and it would be dangerous was the constitution of this country to be changed on such trifling grounds. The present bill was, he believed, the first instance of such an attempt, and he hoped it would not pass into a law; he should therefore vote against the Speaker's leaving the chair.

Mr Percival Mr. *Percival* spoke likewise in favour of the Cricklade voters, and was extremely fearful the constitution would be endangered, if those men were precluded from doing as they formerly had done, and contended, that the present bill would be extremely hard on the honest part of the borough of Cricklade.

Sir G Yonge Sir *G. Yonge* said, he was surprised to find any gentleman rise to defend the voters of Cricklade; to complain, that the bill would hurt the honest part of the borough, was a mere farce, for he did not think there was an honest man in all Cricklade

If gentlemen would give themselves the trouble to read the minutes of that election, they would find the voters declared that man most honourable, who bribed them highest; and when they had almost drained their candidate's pocket, they declared his honour was considerably decreased. Surely such a set of men ought not to be suffered to elect representatives; if they did, it was not to be wondered that the present House of Commons was so corrupt. The bill in question did not go to take away the right of voters in the old inhabitants, it only was meant to add a sufficient part of the freeholders of adjacent hundreds, so as to make the bribery which usually attend small boroughs impracticable, from the number of electors; and he protested that he could wish the same custom was observed throughout the kingdom, then we might stand a chance of a fair and equal representation, which, according to the present method, seemed impossible.

Colonel

Colonel North.

Colonel *North* defended the voters, and ſaid it was extremely hard upon them, as the corrupt part had been proſecuted at law, and puniſhed for their corruption; but the preſent bill would materially injure thoſe men who had been proſecuted, and, after a trial of their country, were found honeſt, as it would let in a vaſt number of other perſons to have a ſhare in elections for their borough.

Sir G. Yonge.

Sir *G. Yonge* roſe and explained the bill to the honourable gentleman.

Lord Beauchamp.

Lord *Beauchamp* was againſt the bill, and contended, that being indicted for corruption, the penalty of which was 500l. was a ſufficient puniſhment; and that chaſtiſement had been followed up on the Cricklade voters, more than on any other body of men in the kingdom, he was certain, from the ſums that had already been recovered; beſides, as the aſſizes were now ſitting, and a prodigious number of cauſes were to be tried at Saliſbury, on account of the late election, he thought the preſent bill would tend the perſons to be tried under a degree of cenſure, which was not fair nor juſt: He was of the ſame opinion with Mr. Adam, that it was not right to alter the conſtitution for ſuch frivolous affairs. He mentioned the caſe of Shoreham, and ſaid, what had been done there, was neceſſary; but in the preſent caſe it was not. Before he ſat down, he hinted, that if the bill was carried in that Houſe it would be thrown out in the Houſe of Lords.

Mr. Montagu.

Mr. *Montagu* ſaid, he had the chief management of the Shoreham bill, and he recollected perfectly, that on ſhewing it to that great lawyer (Lord Camden) he perfectly approved of it, and the late Earl of Chatham made uſe of this remarkable expreſſion, "I am glad to find the borough of Shoreham is likely to be moved from Bengal, and reſtored to its ancient ſituation in the county of Suſſex." Whether the borough of Cricklade was to be removed from Wiltſhire to the Eaſt-Indies, he knew not; but certain he was, that unleſs ſome neceſſary prevention took place, that borough would always be corrupt. The Shoreham bill, he ſaid, inflicted pains and penalties, and disfranchiſed particular perſons; the preſent bill was by no means ſo ſevere, it was founded on a principle that would, if obſerved throughout the kingdom, be of infinite ſervice.

Mr. G. Onſlow.

Mr. *G. Onſlow* was much in favour of the bill, and declared himſelf an enemy to ſuch corrupt practices, and aſtoniſhment at any perſon defending them. If the bill was thrown

out in the Lords, or an unnecessary delay was made use of there in not passing it, he should move an enquiry into such cause, for he by no means considered it decent for them to interfere in matters respecting that House. However, if they threw it out, he would move an address to his Majesty for the purpose to which the present bill was intended; and he hoped some gentleman would move that the issuing of a writ for Cricklade be further delayed.

The question was now put, when there appeared for the bill being committed. — Ayes, 96; — noes, 25.

The Speaker then left the chair and committee, of which Lord Middleton was chairman, went through the bill.

May 14.

On the order of the day being called for, which was that the House be called over,

Sir Joseph Mawbey. Sir *Joseph Mawbey* was of opinion, that the order should be deferred until another day, as business of the utmost importance was expected to come on in a few days, which ought to engage the attention of every gentleman.

Mr. Rolle. Mr. *Rolle*, as usual, opposed the call of the House being deferred, unless it was put off entirely, and therefore moved, "That the call of the House be this day six months."

Sir P. J. Clerke. Sir *P. J. Clerke* moved an amendment, by leaving out the words six months, and inserting the words "Tuesday se'nnight;" upon which the House divided on the question, whether the words "six months" stand a part of the question, when there appeared, — Ayes, 52; — noes, 72.

The amendment for the call on Tuesday se'nnight was then put, and carried without a division.

The House then went into a committee on the bill to prevent the owners of privateers from ransoming ships they might take belonging to the enemy, Sir Joseph Mawbey in the chair.

Mr. Edward Astley. Sir *Edward Astley* mentioned, that he had been applied to by his constituents, to know the reason why no cartel was fixed for the exchange of Dutch prisoners.

Mr. Ald. Newnham. Mr. *Alderman Newnham* rose, and explained to the honourable Baronet the nature of the bill, and mentioned, that the Dutch ports were so near, that the risk of losing any prize was not great, therefore the Dutch made it a rule never to ransom. He spoke with much judgment on the bill, and declared

red, that it was agreeable to the wishes of all merchants he had conversed with on the subject.

Sir *M. W. Ridley* said, the proprietors of colliers were against the bill, and at a meeting of merchants in Sunderland, there was a majority of seventeen against it, as it would be of infinite hurt to the coal trade. Sir M. W. Ridley.

Earl *Nugent* spoke with respect to the selling our merchant ships to the enemy, and expressed a wish that the practice might be discontinued. Earl Nugent.

Mr. *Hussey* said, that if his advice had been attended to, he would not have suffered a single merchant ship to have been built until his Majesty's fleet had been put in proper condition; he would had all the shipwrights, and every man that could use an adze, employed in that service, then we should not have cut that despicable figure at sea that we have lately done. Mr. Hussey.

Lord *Mulgrave* said, that the bill was exceedingly proper, for if the ransoming of vessels was put a stop to, it would be a great means of discouraging a nest of smuggling pirates, that had French, Spanish, and American commissions; and after they had landed their smuggling cargoes, they generally picked up the first vessel they could for the sake of ransoming her. Lord Mulgrave.

Several gentlemen asked questions respecting particular clauses in the bill, which were answered by Mr. Alderman Newnham, and the committee filled up the blanks; after which the Speaker resumed the chair.

March 15.

Motion by Sir John Rous, for withdrawing the confidence of Parliament from his Majesty's Ministers.

Sir *John Rous* said, that it might be deemed presumption in him to take upon himself to renew the discussion of a question which had been so ably opened by a noble Lord, and no less ably seconded by an honourable friend of his, on Friday last. Still he thought it so much his duty to his constituents, to his country, and to himself, to bring that question again before the House, that he had rather be deemed presumptuous than refuse to do that which he felt to be his duty as a man and an Englishman. No one, he said, could suppose that he was actuated, in any degree, by a spirit of party; it was well known, and he was not asham- Sir John Rous.

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ed to confess it, that he was descended from a Tory family, and had been been bred up in Tory principles: this circumstance alone, he hoped, would screen him from any imputation of being devoted to a party adverse in general to administration. From the first dawn of the American war, he had felt the injustice and impolicy of it; and he came into that House its declared enemy on principle: but at the same time that he was an enemy to the war, he had come into Parliament highly prepossessed in favour of the noble Lord in the blue ribband; and he had felt such a respect for his character, that he would have gone great lengths to support him; but when he found that the noble Lord persevered blindly to pursue measures, which had already reduced the country from a state of glory and prosperity to calamity and disgrace, he should deem himself an enemy to his country, if he did not exert every faculty to remove him; because, in his continuance in office, he could see nothing but ruin to the country; by his removal, that ruin, perhaps, might be prevented.—A right honourable Secretary of State, (Mr. Ellis) had, on Friday last, in some measure, thrown down the gauntlet, and in a tone of defiance, had asked where could be found better ministers than those who were already in office? The question, in his opinion, conveyed an insult to the understanding of the House: every one knew the consequences that had already attended their administration; the loss of greatness, glory, and dominion, had marked that administration, and yet the House was to be insulted with questions that seemed to imply that the present ministers were so famed for ability, that greater or more able men could not be found to succeed them. The weight of public calamity was felt every where: and he wished to know if there was a single independent member in that House, who could lay his hand upon his heart and say, that he did not not believe the noble Lord in the blue ribband to be the author of this calamity; the author of the American war, and of the long train of evils that had already attended it?—After various other observations of a general nature, he concluded by moving a resolution to the following purport: That this House, (taking into consideration the great sums voted, and debts incurred, for the service of the army, navy, and ordnance, in this unfortunate war, to the amount of upwards of one hundred millions; and finding that the nation has, notwithstanding these extraordinary exertions, lost thirteen ancient colonies belonging to the crown of Great Britain, the new-acquired province of West Florida, and the

the islands of Dominica, St Vincent, Grenada, Tobago, and Minorca, besides several valuable commercial fleets, of the utmost importance to the wealth of this country; and that we are still involved in war with three powerful nations in Europe, without one single ally) can have no further confidence in the ministers who have the direction of public affairs.

Lord *George Henry Cavendish* seconded the motion; and he did it from no other motive whatever, than that of doing his duty to his country; without ambition to urge him, or resentment to gratify, his only object was to contribute every thing in his power to save a sinking state: he had no intercourse with ministers; he was very little acquainted with them, and therefore the step he then took, could not be for the purpose of distressing men, who had never injured him; the situation of the country was such, that he feared its affairs could scarcely be retrieved by any set of men in the kingdom; but if they could, it must be by taking them out of the hands of those ministers, who, in his opinion, were the authors of all our present calamities. Lord G. H. Cavendish.

Mr. *Harrison* rose as soon as the question had been read from the chair, and said that after the very full and repeated discussions which the subject before them has undergone in the debate of this and the preceding days, he feared it might seem presumption in him to think any thing he might be able to say on the subject worthy, even for a moment, of the attention of this House; but he confessed it was a matter that went so near his heart, and in which he considered the interest, nay, even the existence of this country so essentially concerned, that he could scarce reconcile it to his mind, only to give a silent approbation of the motion that was before the House. He said, notwithstanding every sense of shame had been held out to ministers, painted in the strongest colours, for the repeated disgraces they had brought upon this country, by captured armies and flying fleets, notwithstanding every feeling of humanity had been so strongly touched by the melancholy spectacle of this country, bleeding at every vein, from the pernicious councils that have been pursued. Yet they saw ministers sitting unmoved and unconcerned, totally regardless of every national calamity, intent only on what is to them their great object, the increase of that influence, which may be the means of their continuing to enjoy the emoluments of their places, and which has enabled them so long to be the scourge of Mr Harrison.

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this unhappy country. He said, the House could not but admire the sagacity of the noble Lord in the blue ribband, in pointing out to his friends that he has another tax in embryo, fully sufficient for another year's loan and expences, even if they are greater than the present. A noble lure to his wavering friends! Glad tidings to the chosen band! Tidings of such joy must be sure to be sufficient to bind them steady in the noble Lord's support. For though he said he would give the noble Lord perfect credit, that neither he nor his two coadjutors in the Treasury, gave any list of persons, who they might wish to have any share or participation in the loan with these four gentlemen, who engaged for the whole, yet he had too good an opinion of the gratitude of the honourable gentlemen, to think that they could be so unmindful of the preference that had been shewn them, as not even to anticipate the wishes of the noble Lord, in giving such part, at least, to members of that House, who might desire it, as would be sufficient to make them steady in that list, which by way of pre-eminence, he said was distinguished as the honourable appellation of the King's friends, in contradistinction to those factious and dangerous spirits, who had so constantly and uniformly resisted those wise and salutary measures of his Majesty's ministers, that had brought this country to its present much to be envied situation. He then said, it was in the recollection of this House, when, in the last sessions, the people called so loudly for a reformation and retrenchment in the public expenditure, that ministers declared it was by no means to be inferred, though they did not think proper to adopt the plans then produced; that no other expedient of the same tendency might hereafter be brought forward; that the people were to look to the commission of accounts as a measure so extensive in its operations, as, perhaps, to make any other expedient for that purpose unnecessary. Upon such vain and delusive shadows, they had granted above twenty millions of public money, and from that time to this, they had never heard one word about œconomy, or one step taken for a revision and reformation in the public expenditure; not one single unnecessary office, or unmerited pension, either abolished or diminished, but the same, nay, even greater profusion and prodigality, continued through every department in the state: And even but the other day, ministers were hardy enough, instead of conciliating the dissentions in Ireland, to add ten thousand pounds to the pension list; at a

time

time when that country is on the eve of shaking off every degree of subordination to the government of this kingdom. He then said, sure, Sir, if there was no other cause, that total neglect and disregard that ministers have uniformly shewn to the interest of this country, and every request of the people; and that determined resolution they have shewn to frustrate every measure tending to any reformation or the retrenchment in the public expenditure, a measure which, notwithstanding the noble Lord's boasted resources, is the only prospect of salvation to this country, must be sufficient to justify every exertion for the removal of persons, who have the interest of this kingdom so little at heart. But, Sir, strong as these reasons may appear, when we turn our eyes to the active line, that ought to follow such extraordinary exertions of the resources of this kingdom, they become light as air, when they are set in competition with the ruinous consequences that must necessarily follow from divided and irresolute councils, in this time of general difficulty and danger, shackled as ministers have declared themselves to be from having lost the confidence of this House, compelled to carry on the war only in a manner they declare they disapprove, and the only road to peace being the path they have declared themselves so unwilling to tread; what are we to expect from the continuance of the councils of men under such circumstances? What but the sacrifice of the interest and very existence of this country for the sake of emolument to those who have been the authors of all our calamities? Can any one be so blind, as not to see the consequences that must follow; can any one be so unfeeling, and seeing those consequences, as not to use all his endeavours to prevent them. He then concluded with saying, he begged pardon of the House for trespassing thus much upon their time, but he could not help wishing publicly to declare his sentiments; and whatever calamities might fall upon this country, from the obstinacy of men persisting in holding the helm which they could not guide, he declared he washed his hands of them; let those tremble who have been the occasion of them.

Sir *Richard Symons* was the first who spoke in favour of administration: he did not speak the language of a lukewarm friend, ready to desert, or feebly to support a minister, to whose measures he had formerly given his avowed and open support; on the contrary, he said, he spoke out manfully, and in the style of one, who having acted from principle, still upheld the administration of the man, of whose measures he had always from principle approved. He replied particularly

Sir Richard Symons.

particularly to that question put by Sir John Rous, if any independent member could lay his hand upon his heart, and say that he believed the noble Lord in the blue ribband was not the author of the American war, and of the present public calamities?

He said he looked upon, and felt himself as independent a man as any in that House; and that, laying his hand upon his heart, he was able to say in truth, and upon his honour, that he believed this war and the public calamities were not to be ascribed or imputed to the noble Lord; but to the extraordinary and unjustifiable opposition that had been given to the measures of government. He professed, that he had the highest respect for the abilities and integrity of the noble Lord in the blue ribband; and as he could not impute to him, what he verily believed to be the effect of that opposition, to which he had already alluded, he declared he would give his hearty negative to the motion.

Mr. George Onslow.

Mr. *George Onslow* said, there was one part of the doctrine frequently maintained by the other side of the House, to which he was most ready to subscribe; and that was, that the American war was the source, origin, and cause of all our present misfortunes. Having granted this, there remained to enquire, before gentlemen could vote on either side, who was the cause of that war? This was exactly the point in issue: the gentlemen on the other side of the House had asserted, that the noble Lord in the blue ribband was the cause of it; he would undertake to prove the contrary. To find out the source of that unfortunate war, it was necessary to go back a little, and to consider of some facts antecedent to the administration of the noble Lord. In his enquiry, the first thing that occurred to him was the Stamp-act. He thanked God he never gave a vote for that act; for he believed, in his conscience, and upon his honour, that it was the source of all our public calamities. The Americans rose up against it as one man, and would have plunged into a war, if it had not been repealed: but what followed the repeal? A Declaratory-act, which gave as much offence to the Americans as the Stamp-act; for it maintained and asserted that right of sovereignty which the Stamp-act was calculated to enforce. Of this Declaratory-act the Congress in their manifesto had spoken in the most severe terms, and complained of as the greatest grievance.

The nation at large upheld the idea of sovereignty over America; all that was great in England had sanctified the

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idea with their suffrage and authority; nay even the great Lord Chatham himself had declared in full Parliament, that if America should manufacture a stocking, or so much as forge a hobnail, he would make her feel the whole weight of the power of this country. The principle of the war therefore had been held by Mr. Grenville in his Stamp Act; by the Marquis of Rockingham in his repeal of it; and by the great Earl of Chatham himself, in his speech upon the Declaratory Act.

The principle of the war having, therefore, been in fact supported by every description of men, both in and out of office, it remained only to enquire into the causes of our failure of success. In his opinion, one great cause was, the countenance that had been given in that House to the American rebellion: General Washington's army had been called our army, the cause of the rebels had been called the cause of liberty; and every species of encouragement had been given to induce them to hold out under a confidence that they had a strong party in the House of Commons in their favour. The highest praises and encomiums had been bestowed on Dr. Franklin and Mr. Laurens; some members would wish to live with them in prisons sooner than with those who were loyally supporting the cause of England over rebellion: it was customary in that House for the avowed friends of American rebels, to point out the weakest parts of our government; but he believed they did not confine themselves to the species of information that might be given to them from within those walls; it was reported, and he believed it in his conscience to be true, that information had been sent to the Court of Versailles (here was a cry of—by whom? name, name) Mr. Onslow in reply, said, he could not tell; or if he could, he would not; all he would say, was, that he had not been in Paris since the war had commenced. Recapitulating his arguments, he said, that as the Stamp Act and the Declaratory Act had been the real cause of the war; as the greatest men in the nation, of all denominations, had supported those acts, and that from them of course, more than the present ministers, the American war had sprung; it was impossible for him to agree to a resolution, which unjustly went to fix the whole blame of it on the noble Lord, and therefore he must of course give it a direct negative: and the more so, as he believed in his conscience, that the want of success in that war, in which the whole nation had concurred, was to be ascribed to those who

from the beginning had declared that they would be sorry it should prove successful.

Mr. Adam. Mr. *Adam* observed, that though the proposition, then before the House, was calculated to produce the same effect, that would have flowed from that which was rejected on Friday last, still it struck him that there was an essential difference between them. The former propositions, four in number, were to be followed by some other with which the House was unacquainted; but this came fairly before them, and they knew its extent. The proposition of Friday last, plainly charged ministers with want of foresight and ability; the resolution now before the House contained no such charge; but seemed to imply, that because they had been unsuccessful, they ought to be removed. Here a question very naturally occurred, why have they been unsuccessful? The arguments to be brought in support of the different causes that might be assigned for that want of success, would be decisive of the question in debate. That they had been unsuccessful was a fact, which could not be controverted, but that the failure of success, and the loss of our various possessions, enumerated in the motion, should be ascribed solely to ministers, was an assertion that plain, open, fair reasoning, must condemn. It had been urged very ably on Friday last, by a learned Lord under him, that ministers had fitted out a fleet adequate to the destruction of the French fleet under Monsf. d'Orvilliers; the success that was, and ought to have been expected from that great fleet, did not follow: but were ministers to blame for that? Did not the cause lye somewhere else? The honourable Admiral, who was first in command in that fleet, had laid the blame on one of his flag officers, that flag officer retorted it upon the commander in chief: it was not now the question to enquire which was really the guilty person. but this much might be inferred from the recrimination, that neither laid the blame upon administration; neither said that the force under their command was inadequate to the end for which ministers had sent it out. If, then, it was equal to the object of destroying the French fleet, and that the present calamities of the public might have been prevented by the successful exertions of the fleet under these two honourable Admirals; then the obvious consequence must be, that ministers ought not to be charged with the losses which followed a miscarriage that ought not to have been expected, and against which ministers

ters had sufficiently guarded, by sending out a superior force to meet the enemy.

The resolution before the House stated, that we had not a single ally: it was a melanchoy truth; but would gentlemen think it just or fair, or equitable, to impute this to ministers as a crime, before they should have heard what steps had been taken by ministers to make alliances. It had been stated by a right honourable member, (the Secretary at War) on Friday last, that the state of this country, at the conclusion of the last war, was such as had excited the envy and jealousy of all Europe: this circumstance, which was undoubtedly true, was to all those, who like himself, had no information on the subject, *primæ facie* evidence, that if we had no allies, it was to the envy and jealousy of the neighbouring nations, and not to the neglect of ministers, that our want of allies was to be ascribed. It was well known, that from the nature of our government, we could not make either exertions for war, or negociations for peace, with that celerity and secrecy which were to be found in an absolute monarchy. In France, where, from the nature of the government, all exertions and negociations might be carried on with every species of secrecy and dispatch, the ministers of Lewis XIV. were not able to get a single ally in the succession war: the abilities of that monarch's ministers were known, and famous through the world; and yet with all the advantages of their government, (which by the bye were purchased at an extravagant rate, when at the expence of liberty) and with all the abilities of some of the ablest ministers that Europe had ever seen, France in the war of the succession, stood singly and unsupported against almost all Europe. The House of Austria, in the zenith of its power, had stood in the same predicament, and the very same cause that left the Houses of Austria and Bourbon to struggle, unsupported, had left us in our turn, without an ally: that cause was the apprehension of all Europe at the enormous power of Britain. That the sum of one hundred millions had been expended in the war with America he would not deny; but did that criminate ministry? Had not as great sums been expended in former ministries in as little time? And with respect to the deficiencies, and the state of darkness which the noble Lord was said to keep that House in about the true situation of his affairs, he believed the accusations were unjust, for greater deficiencies had been accumulated by ministers, which the public had so much praised, at the time

the late Lord Chatham took the adminiſtration of this country. With reſpect to the other part of the queſtion, that we had loſt thirteen colonies and many valuable iſlands, he allowed the motion ſtated it ſo, yet it was not his opinion, that the fact was ſo; and until it was proved, he would not allow it.

The ſplendour and ſucceſs of the exertions of this country in the laſt war ought not to be brought as proofs of the want of ability in the preſent adminiſtration. The cauſe of that ſplendour and ſucceſs he could trace beyond the adminiſtration of Lord Chatham. At the very outſet of the war, and before the French expected hoſtilities, the then miniſters had ſeized the French merchantmen, and deprived the navy of France of ſuch a number of ſeamen by that ſtroke, that during the whole war it was not able to recover it. This was the great ſource of all that ſucceſs which afterwards attended the exertions of this country. If the preſent miniſters had provoked the French with a ſimilar act, very likely ſimilar ſucceſs would have rendered their adminiſtration as renowned as that of any of their predeceſſors. It was urged in a former debate, that Parliament could not, and ought not, to take the aſſurances of miniſters, as a ſecurity for the promiſes they had made to purſue ſuch meaſures as might put an end to the war in America. The Houſe therefore had paſſed a reſolution, that muſt put it out of the power of miniſters any longer to purſue a continental war in America, but ſtill, not ſatisfied with this, they now urged that as miniſters did not approve of this reſolution, ſo they would not take care to act up to it with ſtrictneſs and fidelity. But he ſaw no grounds for ſuppoſing that miniſters would not ſtrictly adhere to that reſolution; becauſe in the firſt place, they were not enemies to the ſpirit and principle of the reſolution; but had oppoſed it merely on the ground of expediency, leſt by a too great eagerneſs to make peace, we might delay, inſtead of accelerating that great object of every man's wiſh: in the next place, they had all along declared ſince the reſolution had paſſed, that they would make it the rule of their conduct, and that they reſpected both Parliament and themſelves too much, to depart from it in the ſmalleſt degree. But if the preſent miniſters were to retire, what ſyſtem would be introduced? Could any one tell? Were thoſe who from their ſituation and abilities were the moſt likely to ſucceed them, ſo thoroughly united among themſelves, as to have formed any ſyſtem of government? One gentleman was for ſeptennial

tennial Parliaments; another very respectable member was for triennial; while a third was for annual Parliaments. One noble Lord, in the other House, was for diminishing influence, but without infringing upon the dignity, splendour, and prerogative of the Crown; and another, of equal character, was for taking away influence even at the expence of prerogative. It was upon the ground of this difference of opinion, that a right honourable Secretary had, on a former day, asked if there were better ministers ready to succeed, if the present should retire? and he thought that this was a very good ground for reflecting seriously, before any resolution of such moment, as that which was before the House, should pass. Seeing the question therefore in every point of view, he could not concur with the honourable gentleman who had moved the resolution, but must give it a flat negative. His opinion was, that in the present most critical situation of public affairs there ought to be a coalition of parties, for every thing that was great and splendid in the empire should now be united for our deliverance.

Mr. *Marsham* replied. He differed in many respects from the honourable Member who had spoken last. The honour of the country had been tarnished in the hands of the present administration, and its naval empire had been lost; this was sufficient reason for him to wish to have the present ministers removed; for from the measures of those by whom so much had been lost, he could not hope that any thing could be recovered. He had no objection to them as men: measures were his object; and if those who were out should pursue the measures of those who were in, he would be as great an enemy to them as he was now to the present ministers. But those who were out stood pledged to diminish the influence of the Crown, to banish prodigality from the Treasury, and to introduce a system of œconomy in its room: and if, when they should come into office, they should swerve from those measures to which they had so solemnly and so repeatedly pledged themselves, he would look upon them as the worst of traitors to their country. Mr. Marsham.

When the honourable member mentioned the different opinions respecting the duration of Parliament, and concluded from thence that the men in opposition had no bond of opinion or system; he certainly must have been in jest; his argument was so farcical, that he could not treat it seriously. He had said also, that to the seizing of the French ships in the

the beginning of the war was to be attributed the glorious fuccefs that had crowned it. But was this the fact? Had we not been unfuccefsful in the beginning of the war at Minorca? And at what period of it did the action between Hawke and Conflans take place? Was it not after that period to which the honourable member had alluded? It had been afked in a former debate why no notice had been taken of the fuccefs of Sir Samuel Hood in the Weft Indies? He was ready to pay every tribute to that able officer, who greatly deferved the thanks of his country, for the fpirit and abilities which he had difplayed on a late occafion; but what merit could minifters claim to themfelves from his conduct? It was the fuperiority of his gallantry and fkill, not the fuperiority of his fleet that triumphed; they had left him with an inferior force: if with that force he performed wonders, minifters were not, on that account, entitled to any praife. He then made a few obfervations refpecting the nature of the government of France and England, which called up Mr. Adam to explain.

Mr. T. Townfhend.

Mr. *T. Townfhend* rofe to animadvert on Mr. Adam's mode of reafoning; he had not at all a doubt, he faid, with a farcaftic tone of voice, but the honourable member fpoke from conviction; and yet if a new adminiftration was to take place, he fhould not defpair of having the affiftance and fupport of that honourable member. He alluded to the arguments urged in favour of minifters, to exculpate them from the charge of having left us without allies to fight againft the world; if the greatnefs of our power had raifed up enemies againft us, that greatnefs, thanks to minifters! was now no more; but ftill we were without allies.

Mr. Filmer Honeywood.

Mr. *Filmer Honeywood* fpoke next. He faid, that he would always be glad to fupport adminiftration; that there were among the prefent minifters, men for whom he had the greateft refpect; men for whom he would willingly make fome facrifices; men for whom he would facrifice refentment againft others of them; men, in a word, for whom he would facrifice any thing but his honour, his confcience, and his country. The moment was now come, and he muft either give up thofe men, or facrifice thefe deareft objects, of an honeft man: between the two alternatives he could not hefitate a moment; and therefore he muft give his fincere fupport to the motion before the Houfe.

Mr. Charteris.

Mr. *Charteris* fpoke againft the motion; he found fault with the language which was often held in that Houfe relative

to

certain situations of the country, which in prudence ought not to be mentioned; and of this kind was the language which an honourable member had used respecting Ireland; for, in his opinion, it would be better to be totally silent on so delicate a subject. The same species of language had often been held respecting America; and the consequences of it had not been advantageous to this country: in fact he believed, that to the great latitude of speech in which gentlemen indulged on the injustice of the American war, were to be ascribed, in a great measure, many of those calamities which were now said to be the fruits of the present administration.

Sir *T. Clarges* expressed himself much in favour of the motion, and owned his surprize that any gentleman could vote against it, for it contained nothing but a series of facts which were known to all the world. Sir T. Clarges.

Mr. *Martin* spoke likewise in favour of the motion, and did not wonder at the noble Lord being supported, as he had thrown out a hint last Monday to his troops, that he had another tax in petto of 800,000l. which would occasion another loan for them to share. Mr. Martin.

Mr. *Alderman Sawbridge* defended the motion, and contended, that the ruinous state of our affairs at home, the decay of our manufactures, and trade, called loudly for a change of men; for whilst the present ministers remained in office, there was but little prospect of any good accruing to the nation, as they had not the confidence of the people. He thought, that having opposed the American war from its beginning, he must act very inconsistently, if he did not vote for a resolution which went to remove those men who had brought on the war, and the long train of evils that had followed it. Mr. Alderman Sawbridge.

Sir *James Marriott*, before he would speak to the inference which concluded the resolution before the House, thought it proper to examine if the premises from which it was deduced, were founded in fact. The resolution stated, that we had lost thirteen colonies;—was that a fact? He would answer in the negative; we had not lost them; but we might lose them by our eagerness and precipitation. If peace was our object, nothing could tend more to delay that blessing, and remove it farther back, than such forwardness to embrace it. What was wisdom in private life, was likewise wisdom on a larger scale. If a man in private life wished to make a good bargain, could he do anything more effec- Sir James Marriott.

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tual to frustrate his own wishes, than to shew an eagerness in the business? If he was to make a purchase, the person of whom he wanted to purchase, would certainly rise in his own demands, in proportion as he saw the other eager and anxious to buy. In public life the like cause would produce a like effect; if therefore gentlemen did not wish for such an effect as he alluded to, then they should not give into a resolution which would most certainly give rise to the idea of our impatience and dejection. He observed, that if any man was unlucky at cards, it would be rather childish to change packs, as if there was more good fortune in the second than in the first pack. If among the present ministers there were some good, some bad, why should they not make a discrimination, and not come with a sweeping clause to carry them all away, like Van Tromp, with his broom at his top-mast head, to sweep the channel?—Why did they not, like a good sportsman who singles out his bird, or his deer from the flock, single out the man whom they thought guilty, and give him a trial? It was very singular, that when gentlemen in opposition had thought proper to institute an enquiry into the conduct of one single minister, there was a greater majority by nine in his favour than there had been in favour of the whole administration on Friday last; and yet that minister was one who had been, in the coarsest language, charged with perfidy and treachery; and of that minister he would say, that a better he believed could not be found in the country.

He had heard the late Earl of Bristol say, two days before his death, that if there was a man in the kingdom, who was not a professional man, that was fit to preside at the Admiralty Board, it was the Earl of Sandwich. Yet that great minister, and he wished all his colleagues were as great as he was, had been blamed for not making ships and docks in every part of the kingdom. (Here he was called out to, that he might speak to the question.) He said he was speaking to it; for it was a resolution against all the ministers; now, as *omne majus continent minus*, so of course he was speaking to the question when he was defending one member of that administration. He was blamed for not building ships of the line in ninety-five hours [a loud laugh] in ninety-five days. Ships did not spring up in an instant: it was not here, as it was in Holland, where houses were constructed, ready built, [a still louder laugh]. He explained this by saying, that the frames of houses were often all finished in Holland;

Holland; and as one might be purchased of any size, so there was nothing wanting after the purchase, but merely to put the house together. He then entered upon a very new and singular proof of the justice of the American war: he said that if taxation and representation were to go hand in hand, then this country had an undoubted right to tax America, because she was represented in the British Parliament: she was represented by the members for the county of Kent, of which the thirteen provinces were a part or parcel; for in their charters they were to hold of the manor of Greenwich in Kent, of which manor they were by charter to be parcel.—This opinion raised a very loud laugh; but Sir James did not swerve from it; he continued to support it; and concluded by declaring that he would give the motion a hearty negative.

General *Smith* disclaimed any party spirit or resentment to any man on the present occasion, he had in that House always opposed the measures of government; but in another situation (at the India-house) it was well known he never had endeavoured to clog the wheels of government. The measures of the present ministers were in general, he said, weak and impolitic?—this had appeared conspicuously in the expedition that they had fitted out against the Cape of Good Hope; and he was free to say he rejoiced in the failure of that expedition; he rejoiced that Monf. de Suffrein had arrived time enough at the Cape to frustrate the design against that settlement, for he verily believed that if we had made ourselves masters of it, we should have lost some of our most valuable settlements in the East Indies. The troops that were destined to attack the Cape were now gone, he thanked God, to India, where they would give a turn to our affairs, that would secure our settlements in that part of the world. Gen. Smith.

As to the late affair at St. Kitt's, it certainly redounded infinitely to the honour of Sir Samuel Hood, who had done much more than could have been expected from him; but those must be very little acquainted with the nice sense of honour in a French general-officer's breast, (and of such an officer as Monf. de Grasse, who had already acquired so much honour in the Chesapeak) who could bring themselves to think that, with a superior fleet, the French Admiral would retreat, and leave 8000 of his Sovereign's troops behind him at our mercy. The General concluded by expressing his hearty desire that the motion might be supported by a majority of the House.

Mr. Hill.

Mr. *Hill* observed, that the learned gentleman (Sir James Marriott) had verified the poet's opinion.

Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci.

The learned gentleman had mixed the utile and dulci very well: he did not know whether he was expert at playing cards, at shuffling and cutting, but this much he was sure of, that he had made something by honours. He spoke next of some members of the present administration, for whom he had the greatest respect, and of whose honour, integrity, and abilities, he had the highest opinion; but if the time was come, when the safety of the state required new men, that consideration must, with him, absorb every other; He then quoted a passage from Mr. Gibbon's History of the Decay of the Roman Empire, in which the Roman Emperor was obliged to withdraw his troops from Britain; the legions were recalled before any charge of tyranny could be brought against the Prince, and protection and allegiance were forgotten, while on the other hand, the two nations remained in some measure united by a reciprocity of good offices.—Upon this quotation he made a remarkable good parody, which was very applicable to Great Britain and America.—He said he would recommend, only he was afraid of being thought to favour too much of the enthusiasm of the last century, to the nation, if it wished to be saved, to turn to Jehovah, and appease his wrath; for whenever a people turned their back upon God, the sacred history said, he never failed to give them up to their enemies. For his part, *pro Christo et Patria* should ever be his motto. He said that he certainly would vote for the motion; though at the same time he should rejoice if a coalition could take place among those who were out, and such of those who were in, as he thought amiable, worthy, and deserving characters.

Sir William Dolben.

Sir *William Dolben* said, that for the vote he had given on Friday last, he had been made the subject of censure and abuse, and by one of his best friends in that House he had been treated rather harshly; but still he was more inclined to think that it was rather from the ebullition of public zeal than an intent to offend him.—He had been abused also in the public prints.—In one of them there was a paragraph, which stated that Sir William Dolben had risen to speak; but having just said *hem*, he was unable to say more. This certainly was not the case; but if it had, there was more

wit.

wit in the paragraph, than might be imagined; for it was a very fortunate circumstance for a man, who might be going to say something hasty and improper, to be able to choak it with a hem, and sit down. He then took notice of the praises which had always been bestowed on the noble Lord in the blue ribband; of his honour, worth, private character, integrity, from which not one man had attempted to detract, but to which so many had born testimony; and expressed his wishes that a coalition might take place between him and the principal characters on the other side of the House: the noble Lord was an able minister, though he believed that conducting a war was not his forte: but in the negociations for peace, he was convinced he would be found to have great abilities. Sir William took an opportunity to give the opposition a rub, under the appearance of a compliment to Lord North: he said that if the noble Lord should go out of office, either in consequence of a vote of that House, or of his own accord, he would exhibit a phenomenon to the nation, that of an ex-minister giving support to government, and not endeavouring to thwart, puzzle, and perplex their measures. As to the motion, he was resolved to give it his negative.

Mr. *Powys*, who was the friend by whom Sir William Dolben said he had been harshly treated on Friday last, rose up to apologize to his friend: he then took occasion to observe, that he would say nothing to the question before the House, until he should see some gentleman as independent as the honourable member who had made the motion, rise up to oppose it. Here he was called to order by Mr. Powys.

Mr. *Adam*, who with very great warmth, said he never would sit silent while such discriminating insinuations were thrown out. He held a place under government it was true; but he nevertheless would have the honourable gentleman to believe, that there was not in that House a more independent member than he was. He felt that he was supporting measures which he approved, he felt that he was opposing measures that he disapproved. Mr. Adam was going on very warmly, when he, in his turn, was called to order by Mr. Adam.

Sir *Fletcher Norton*, who observed, that when any gentleman called another to order, he ought to be particularly careful not to become disorderly himself: this, however, was the case with the last Speaker, or he would not have risen to interrupt him. Sir Fletcher Norton.

The Speaker. The *Speaker* stated the point of order to be, that as by the rules of that House, all the members were equal, whether they represented counties or boroughs, so no distinction whatever ought to be made on account of fortune, situation, or any thing else, which might have a tendency to make a distinction, which the rules of the House did not allow.

Mr. Adam. Mr. *Adam* expressed his satisfaction, that though his warmth might perhaps have hurried him too far, yet he was so fortunate as to be supported by the chair in the opinion that the honourable gentleman whom he had called to order, was at that time disorderly.

Mr. Powys. Mr. *Powys* said, that if the order of the House was such as was laid down by the chair, and that all members were alike, he could not understand the meaning of bringing in place bills and contractors bills. But he could not suppose that he had rightly understood the right honourable gentleman, for such a doctrine was highly detrimental, as there would be an end to all freedom of debate. The voice of gentlemen who represented large trading counties would always, in his mind, he said, outweigh those who spoke from any motives of private interest.

The Lord Advocate. The *Lord Advocate* here called Mr. Powys to order: he said, that if the honourable Member doubted the authority of the chair, his way was not to argue upon it, but to take the sense of the House by a question.

Mr. Powys. Mr. *Powys* rose again, and after concluding the dispute about order, made some general observations relative to the motion before the House, and wished it every success, as the only instrument by which we could be freed from the ruin that under the present administration, threatened this country.

Mr. Coke. Mr. *Coke* said, he was surprized to see the noble Lord attempt to keep his seat, after he had found that the confidence of the House was withdrawn from him; besides, he wondered how the noble Lord could reconcile his duplicity to that House, which he had so much deceived on several occasions. He had come down and spoke of the pacific measures of our enemies at the very moment they were declaring war against us, and he had made the Sovereign from his throne utter such things as had been proved to be utterly false and groundless.

Mr. C. Turner. Mr. *C. Turner* said, he would always stand up for distinction between men of real worth and character, men who were interested in the fate of their country, in preference to men

men who were only interested in the holding of their places. The members for Scotland, he said, in his opinion, ought not to sit there, for they had no qualification agreeable to the law of England; a man in Scotland needs only a pair of spurs for a qualification to become a county member. The voice of the people, he said, was against the present ministry, and therefore, they ought to be turned out. If the representatives of the people did not obey their constituents, their constituents ought to come and turn them out; and if ever Parliament was determined to act contrary to the voice of the people, the people, he hoped, would break in, and pull them off their seats.

Mr. *Holdsworth* gave a very minute description of the abuses that were carried on, to his knowledge, in our several dock-yards, and spoke highly in favour of the motion. Mr. Holdsworth.

Mr. *Gilbert* said, he was quite undetermined how he should vote; he did not believe all his Majesty's ministers were bad, but some of them undoubtedly were; he thought if there was a coalition of parties, a good Administration might be formed, that would be a means of saving this country, if it was not too far gone. He informed the House of the places he held, and what their salaries were; he had a balance in his hands, he said, but that balance he put out to interest, and brought the interest to the public account, which he thought was due, and ought always to be complied with. He sat down without declaring on which side he should vote, as he should determine by the latter part of the debate. Mr. Gilbert

Mr *John Townshend* said, that gentlemen, by assenting to the present motion, would do an essential benefit, not only to their country, but their King. The consequence would be, he said, the removal of those ministers who have reduced this country, from the highest pinnacle of glory to the meanest and most contemptible situation that can be well imagined: At a time when we should expect ministers addressing this House with penitence and contrition, for the disgrace and misery they have, through ignorance and incapacity, brought on this country, we find them still persevering in that obstinacy, and those principles which have been already so destructive to the nation, and which have almost annihilated us as a people. Can any gentleman, from his conscience, believe, that the present administration can be any longer confided in, who have so constantly and uniformly deceived this House? They had not adopted any one measure that this House believed was necessary or expedient in our circumstances Mr. John Townshend

circumſtances at this time, without giving it every oppoſition in their power, and then when they ſaw their oppoſition was defeated, meanly ſubmitted to the line of conduct pointed out by Parliament, which was directly contrary to the ſentiments they maintained. Let miniſters now pretend to what fairneſs or uprightneſs they may, we need only look into his Majeſty's anſwer to the addreſs of this Houſe, dictated by his Miniſters, and we there ſee the ſame evaſion and duplicity which have characteriſed the conduct of adminiſtration in this Houſe. There is nothing explicit or expreſſive of the ſenſe of the nation conveyed in the anſwer to our addreſs to the throne, we are left as much in the dark with reſpect to the real intentions of the Crown, as if we never had received any ſuch anſwer. He ſaid, he hoped gentlemen would to-night ſhew how ſenſibly they felt the many calamities and misfortunes which had befallen this devoted country; and that they would reſcue it, if poſſible, from the brink of ruin, to which it was now verging with haſty ſtrides, by removing the cauſe from whence all our evils had ſprung.

Lord North. Lord *North* ſpoke with conſiderable emotion, and under great embaraſſment. The imputations which had been ſo laviſhly thrown upon him, he conceived to be unjuſt, and he felt them to be perſonal. They accuſed him of jeſting in that Houſe, and of being fond of turning things into ridicule. To this he could only ſay, that he was not inclined to jeſt with ſerious things; but he could not conſider many of the arguments that were uſed againſt him in that light. They were ſuch as could only with propriety be anſwered by a jeſt. The honourable gentleman who ſpoke laſt had known him but for a very ſhort ſpace of the war; if he had known him more, perhaps, he would not have been ſo violent in his language. Older members of Parliament, and thoſe who knew him better, would, he doubted not, do him the juſtice to ſay, preſumption and violence were no part of his character. With regard to the heavy charges brought againſt him, ſo far was he from feeling that contrition or repentence which the honourable gentleman had been pleaſed to ſay would have become him, he did aſſure the Houſe he felt the moſt perfect calmneſs of mind, becauſe he had the beſt reaſon in the world for not being either actuated by fear of what was to follow, or filled with contrition for what was paſt, viz. the conſciouſneſs of having done no wrong. Had he in any ſpeech made by him in that Houſe, in any ſpeech made

made by him out of doors, or in any part of his conduct, held out hopes to the Americans, that they had friends in this country, who professed themselves their advocates, and took every occasion to further their interests, in preference to the interests of Great Britain, he should then have thought he had acted in a manner that called for deep contrition and sincere repentence; for self-abasement, for humiliation, and for shame! but it had been charged to him, and he must say a few words in answer to it, that he had deluded that House, and the people, with accounts of the pacific intentions of our neighbouring enemies, at the very time when those enemies were preparing their forces against us. To this he must answer, that he and the rest of his Majesty's ministers had delivered to Parliament the assurances which they had received; and if they had been deceived, it was an error of judgment only, and not of the heart. They meant no wilful imposition upon Parliament. He had been taxed as the author of the American war, and as the conductor of it upon principles inimical to the interests and the constitution of the country. With respect to the principle and the continuance of the war, he would say now what he had alway said, that it was a truly English principle, and that, as an Englishman, he had a right, and it was his duty to maintain it, for the purpose of supremacy, if not revenue.

Having said this, and enlarged very much on his conduct through the whole of the American war, he came to the consideration of the motion before the House.—He owned, he liked it better than the motion to the same purpose which had been made the week before. On that occasion, the gentlemen on the other side of the House had acted, as they did on most occasions, they brought on a string of motions, three of which were palpable truisms, which the House could not deny, and when those were agreed to, they drew from them a conclusion which the House, after agreeing to the truisms, could not deny. The present motion did not do this. It was laid without anger, in moderate terms, and in the true way that motions of censure should always be put, without having any thing to come behind it. In order to speak to it properly, it would be necessary to answer the several parts of it separately. With regard to the first allegation, viz. that the army, navy, and ordnance, had cost an immense sum, the fact could not be denied; but at the

the ſame time it was no proof of miniſters having deſerved that the confidence of that Houſe ſhould be withdrawn from them. He had, however, ſo often delivered his ſentiments on that part of the motion, when it came under conſideration in another form, and on other occaſions, that he would not then take up the time of the Houſe a moment longer upon it. With regard to the next, viz. that the American provinces had been loſt, that our Weſt-India iſlands had been loſt, and that all our preſent misfortunes were owing to the fault of miniſters, that he muſt take the liberty of denying in direct terms: nor would he agree that the American war was aſcribeable to the conduct of the preſent adminiſtration. The American Stamp-act was repealed, and the Declaratory act paſſed before he was miniſter; he voted for them both as a private member of Parliament, but he was not anſwerable for them as a miniſter. When he came into office, the times were almoſt as violent as they were at preſent; he came in, when others had deſerted the helm, and he had done his beſt to ſerve his country while in office. That the American war was juſt, that it was a neceſſary war, and a war carried on for the purpoſe of ſupporting and maintaining the rights of the Britiſh legiſlature, he ever would contend. "Oh, but it was then ſaid, the noble Lord has deluded us, he has deceived us, he has led us into the war, and perſuaded us to continue it by miſrepreſentations and falſe colouring of facts." What had been his miſrepreſentations? With regard to the declaring that we had numerous friends in America, that declaration had come from another miniſter, and not from him. It did not fall within the ſcope of his department to receive official information of that nature. Not but he believed it; he was convinced that the Miniſter, who had ſaid we had numerous friends in America, had ſpoken upon good authority. He knew we had not only had numerous friends in America, but that we had ſtill; at the ſame time, he never had thought, that thoſe friends were ſufficient in point of number, or in any point of view whatever, to warrant either our going to war, or our continuing a war, ſolely on their account. Another charge brought againſt him was, that we had no foreign alliances. Had we any more alliances at the time of his coming into office than we had at preſent? Undoubtedly we had not, and he ſhould not go at all too far, if he aſſerted, that more pains had been taken, and more attempts made, to procure alliances, ſince he had been

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in his ſituation, than he found going forward when he firſt came into office. After going circumſtantially through all the arguments that had been urged againſt him that day, on the ſcore of his conduct while in office, his Lordſhip came at length to what had been ſaid reſpecting his going out, and ſaid, his having declared that his reaſon of ſtaying in juſt then, was owing to no inclination of his own, but merely to a point of honour, had been exceedingly miſunderſtood, and very unfairly commented upon. He declared he not only wiſhed for peace, but he wiſhed for ſuch a miniſtry to be formed as ſhould at once give ſatiſfaction to the country, and be likely to act with unanimity and with effect for the good of the kingdom. He would be no obſtacle to a coalition of parties, for the formation and adjuſtment of a new adminiſtration, in which he ſhould himſelf have no ſhare. Nor was this declaration merely expreſſive of any new feeling; there were thoſe who well knew, that he had for ſome years been ready and willing to make way for ſuch an adminiſtration, and that it was owing to no wiſh of his, that he had kept his ſituation ſo long. But it had been ſaid, "Such is the noble Lord's love of power, ſuch is his attachment to the emoluments of his office, that he will not quit his ſituation." He declared to God, that no love of office, no attachment to emolument ſhould keep him a moment in office, could he leave his ſituation with honour, and were not certain circumſtances in the way of his going out juſt at that moment, which he could not farther explain. A time, however, he flattered himſelf would ſoon be at hand, when he could give an ample explanation of his conduct, and when he doubted not he ſhould be able to ſatisfy every gentleman of every party, that he had done his duty, and preferred the true intereſts of his country to his own eaſe and his own quiet, in doing what he had done. In obedience to that ſenſe of duty, neither the perſuaſions of thoſe whoſe advice weighed much with him, nor the animadverſions of others which weighed leſs, nor the menaces of thoſe others which weighed leaſt of all, ſhould have a momentary influence on his mind. With regard to the preſent motion, he left it entirely to the judgment of the Houſe to determine whether it was proper or not for them to pronounce, that miniſters had merited the ſevere cenſure implied in a ſolemn declaration of that Houſe, that they had withdrawn their confidence from them. — Gentlemen would, he well knew, ſay, miniſters were the authors

of all our misfortunes, and that he was not to be believed when he aſſerted the contrary; and ſo far was he from ſubſcribing to the idea, that puniſhment was not to follow, if miniſters would but go out; he deſired that no ſuch idea might be entertained; he begged to be fully underſtood, as neither deſiring to avoid cenſure nor puniſhment; he only deſired that proofs of neglect or guilt might be eſtabliſhed againſt miniſters previous to that Houſe's voting a cenſure upon them, and if they deſerved cenſure, puniſhment ought to follow.

Mr Fox.

Mr. *Fox* roſe to ſpeak in reply; he began with ſaying, that he could not help admiring the conduct of the worthy Baronet, (Sir W. Dolben) who had of late been exceedingly happy in paſſing panegyrics on the noble Lord, but unfortunately for him they all went directly contrary to what he intended; for the noble Lord's forte was not for war, and from his declaring againſt the Americans, he had ſhewn that he was not a man fit for peace. Certainly the honourable Baronet ought to vote for the queſtion, that he might place his noble friend in a ſituation where he could ſhine moſt, for the offices he had held, he was the moſt unfortunate man alive. He had declared that he wiſhed for peace, that he did not want to ſtay in office, yet he had not ſenſe enough, for near twenty years, to keep himſelf above one year out of office, nor had he, although a lover of peace, for eight years out of twelve, been able to keep from war.

An honourable gentleman (Mr. Adam) he ſaid, had aſſerted that the only reaſon why this country could make no alliances was, the fault of oppoſition, they and their fathers had carried the nation in the laſt war to ſuch a height of glory, that they had rendered her the envy of all the world, and that the neighbouring ſtates of Europe had become ſo jealous of her, that none of them would enter into an alliance with her. If the fact were ſo, Mr. Fox ſaid, it was aſſigning an odd reaſon for our having no allies. He ſhould have imagined that a nation, being in poſſeſſion of great and ſuperior power, was the beſt inducement to other ſtates to ſeek an alliance with her. But if it was our greatneſs that prevented our ability to form alliances at the concluſion of the laſt war, and that diſability aroſe from the glorious ſucceſſes of their fathers, and thoſe great ſea and land officers then ſitting on his ſide the Houſe, who had fought gallantly, he would do the honourable Gentleman and his party the honour to ſay, they had completely undone all that work, and reduced the nation to a ſtate in which other courts need no longer be jealous of her ſuperior power, and therefore

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need not make that a plea for refuſing to enter into an alliance with Great Britain. Mr. Fox entered very much at large into what Lord North had ſaid, with regard to the conduct of the war, and the deluſions that had been held out repeatedly by miniſters to Parliament. He declared, he ſtill that day thought the noble Lord had always acted a generous part with his colleagues, by ſtanding up and deſiring to ſhare with them in their guilt, if guilt there was. That day, however, the noble Lord, talking of the numerous friends in America, of which they had heard ſo much, had ſaid, "it fell not in within his department to receive information of their numerous friends in America; that declaration had been made by another miniſter." Mr. Fox reaſoned upon this, and aſſerted, that the noble Lord had himſelf deluded and deceived Parliament in a variety of inſtances. The noble Lord had declared, that the preſent motion was by far fairer than the former one — he believed him, and the noble Lord had not made uſe of that ſubterfuge, which the Secretary at War did on Friday laſt, by moving a previous queſtion upon it, but the noble Lord had explained why that ſubterfuge was made uſe of, it was becauſe the former motions contained three truiſms, which even the noble Lord allowed [illegible] and declared, that after having voted for the three, the Houſe muſt inevitably vote the fourth. Whether they would or not, he allowed the noble Lord was right, and certainly the Houſe was led to vote the fourth; but here the fourth propoſition [illegible] "want of foreſight and ability" [illegible] ſuch [illegible] no perſon could be againſt the motion, let him be profeſſional or not, and however the noble Lord's friend might [illegible] againſt [illegible] quit his poſt, or however averſe he might be himſelf to it, he muſt, if not to night, very ſhortly quit it, if not [illegible] voluntary [illegible] nation, he muſt by one [illegible] honourable, [illegible] turn [illegible], and this was not the work of [illegible] faction, for he [illegible] reſpectable country gentlemen, both Whig and Tory, unite in one common cauſe for the public good. His honourable friend who moved the queſtion, [illegible] his other honourable friend (Mr. Powys) were gentlemen that [illegible] could not reach; they were not men ſuppoſed either to want, or that would accept of places; they acted from quite different principles. At preſent there was no government, it was a kind of *interregnum*, and for the truth of that he appealed to the noble Lord. The offices of government had been for ſome weeks paſt in moſt ſhameful diſorder. Surely then it was high

time for some Ministry to be established, for a bad government was better than none; and whilst we were in the dreadful situation mentioned, he desired gentlemen would recollect the bill that was depending in that House, (navy mutiny bill) which contained such dangerous clauses, that he was fearful to speak out; but the House perfectly understood him, and he sincerely wished the bill might not be attended with the evil he foresaw it would.

He entered very fully into every argument that had been used against the motion, and made one of the best speeches we had heard for some time.

The Lord Advocate of Scotland.

The *Lord Advocate of Scotland* rose to speak in answer to Mr. Fox. — He took up the argument in the same manner as before, — that the House should not be so eager in turning out the present ministry, without knowing in what manner the government of this country was to be administered. A coalition of parties seemed to be the general desire of the House, and he was very ready to confess that he was of the same opinion; but was the present motion the proper way to accomplish the desire? surely not; for it went to the immediate discharge of the present ministry, and put the government into the hands of the opposition alone. Was this a coalition, or was this what the House were desirous to bring about? A coalition could only be formed by the substantial union and connection of all parties, and not by driving out one half of those who ought to compose it. He wished also to ask gentlemen if they were prepared to throw the whole of the government of this country into the hands of the opposition? Were they prepared to do this? If they were, they would vote for the present question; for so so much the present question went. But if, on the contrary, they wished for an administration made up of all the ability, all the weight, and all the interest of the empire, for such an administration as they described by the term coalition, they would then resist the present question, as tending to retard, if not totally to prevent, that desirable end. The manner in which it could be best accomplished, was by preserving the present Ministry in their places until the coalition could be formed. The noble Lord in the blue ribband had declared his readiness and desire to see such a coalition take place, and that he should not himself stand in the way of it; this then was the way which the House ought to pursue in order to accomplish their wishes. Suffer the present Ministry to remain, and frame the coalition. Turn them out, and there

there is no coalition, but the gentlemen on the other side succeed in their room. He put the case of a ship tossed in a violent storm, and asked, if the House thought the best way to secure the safety of the vessel, and bring her into port, was to throw all the crew overboard? — The present motion was exactly such a proposition; it went immediately to the removal of all the ministers without distinction, and without discrimination of any sort; therefore, as he had before said, it was directly throwing the whole of the government into the hands of the other side of the House.

Lord *John Cavendish* said, in answer to the Lord Advocate, that by agreeing to the present motion, the House by no means placed the opposition in power, and thereby prevented the coalition so ardently desired. They did no more than take the executive government from the present hands, and leave it to his Majesty to frame the new administration as his Majesty should think most proper. This was not a new practice, for, from the records of that House he could prove, that it had been often done very much to the advantage of the nation, as some of the best and greatest administrations had been formed in this manner. The noble Lord stated several instances of this sort, in which, after the nation had for years laboured under the calamity of weak and bad government, they had by a fortunate change brought about in this manner, restored themselves to credit, honour, and success. The noble Lord contended strongly for the question, as a measure which the House ought to adopt without further delay. They must do it sooner or later. It was impossible that the nation could go on in its present state. With distracted councils, and a ministry unpopular, without the confidence either of the Parliament or the people, we could not go on; something must immediately be done to restore vigour and stability to the cabinet, and confidential security, if not a peace, to the nation. Lord John Cavendish.

Mr. *William Pitt* made a most spirited speech. He took up in particular the argument of the Lord Advocate, and exposed, in the most forcible and pointed manner, the reasoning which he had assumed. The learned Lord had very conscientiously owned that the present Ministry had not the confidence of the people. The necessity of a coalition he had strongly enforced on the Ministry having lost the confidence of the people; and he gravely argued, that they ought to be continued in power, for the purpose of forming this new administration: Mr W. Pitt.

miniſtration: ſo that the Miniſtry, who were generally acknowledged to be unfit for the purpoſe of government, were yet to be entruſted with this moſt important truſt of forming a new adminiſtration, which was to conduct this nation from its preſent dreadful embarraſſments to a more proſperous ſtate.

He ſaid, if he knew the meaning of the word coalition, it was the collecting and combining all the abilities, integrity, and judgment that were to be found, and turning the united exertions of ſuch a coalition to the ſervice and ſalvation of the country. Was that a work fit to be entruſted to the noble Lord, and to be ſettled by him in his cloſet? Surely the Houſe would agree with him, that a propoſition of that kind was a groſs inſult to Parliament, and ought not to be liſtened to for a moment. The adminiſtration of the noble Lord in the blue ribband, Mr. Pitt ſaid, had been an adminiſtration of influence and of intrigue; he thanked God, an end was likely to be put to that adminiſtration, but he truſted the Houſe would not contaminate their own purpoſe, by ſuffering the preſent miniſters to manage the appointment of their ſucceſſors. As little was it proper for that Houſe to be enquiring what was the ſyſtem of meaſures likely to be purſued by a new adminiſtration? It neither became them to ſettle the men that were to come in, nor to adjuſt or inveſtigate the meaſures they were to purſue. The Crown had the undoubted right to appoint its own Miniſters; it was the province of that Houſe to watch and examine into the conduct of Miniſters.

Such was the reaſoning of this learned gentleman, who was willing to ſeize on any argument that would paſs juſt for the day, without ſeeming to mind or care about its conſiſtency or its reaſonableneſs. The honourable gentleman ſpoke with conſiderable warmth, and begged the Houſe to forgive the heat, he was agitated more than he had ever been before, as he could not avoid feeling for his country in the mortifying diſtreſs of being governed by men who had neither ſenſibility nor ſhame; who were as void of feeling as they were of every other valuable quality which conſtitutes the great ſtateſman and the powerful miniſter.

Mr. Secretary Ellis.

Mr. *Secretary Ellis* ſaid, that he gave the preference to this motion over thoſe of that day ſe'nnight, becauſe, on that occaſion, it ſeemed the inclination of the other ſide of the Houſe to make them adopt three needleſs truths, in order to trap them into a concluſion. The preſent was a fairer method; the motion ſpoke out boldly; there was no deluſion in it:

it: It spoke a fair, specific language; and gentlemen were called fairly to decide, whether they would, or would not wish that the present ministry should go out of place. It was a fair motion to put, but he thought it was a bad motion to be accepted. The arguments of the learned Lord had not been answered, though they had been so ably spoken to by the noble Lord and honourable gentleman. He was sincerely of opinion, that the House ought not to send his Majesty's ministers from their seats, until this much-desired coalition was formed; for by their going out before this was done, they would leave the affairs of the public in confusion.

Gen. Ross. *General Ross* delivered his sentiments at large, and contended strongly for the motion proposed, as the only means by which they could restore that harmony and union to the administration, which was so necessary to the successful conduct of our measures against the enemy.

Sir Watkin Lewes. *Sir Watkin Lewes* spoke also in favour of the motion.

Sir Edward Deering. *Sir Edward Deering* concluded the debate in a short speech, in which he spoke of his own independence, and of his regard for his Majesty's ministers.

The House now divided on the question; Ayes, 227; — noes, 236, —— Majority 9.

When the minority were in the Lobby.

Mr. Fox. Mr. Fox said, that upon consulting with the gentlemen near him, it was thought right that a motion to the same effect on Wednesday next should be proposed.

An accurate List of the Minority and Majority on the above Motion.

For the Motion. *Against the Motion.*

Bedfordshire.

Earl of Upper Ossory —	County
Hon St. And. St. John —	Ditto
Sir William Wake — —	Bedford
S. Whitbread	Ditto

Berks.

John Elwes — — —	County
W. H. Hartley — —	Ditto
Francis Annesley — —	Reading

For

For the Motion.		*Against the Motion.*
	Abingdon — —	J. Mayor
Hon. J. Montagu — —	Windsor — —	Pen. Portlock Powney
John Aubrey — —	Wallingford	
Chaloner Arcedeckne —	Ditto	
	Bucks.	
Earl Verney — — —	County	
Thomas Grenville — —	Ditto	
James Grenville — —	Buckingham	
William Grenville — —	Ditto	
Viscount Mahon — —	Wycomb — —	Robert Waller
	Aylesbury — —	Anthony Bacon
	Ditto — — —	Thomas Ord
	Marlow — —	W. Clayton.
Richard Smith — —	Wendover	
J. M. Smith — —	Ditto	
Wm. Drake, sen. — —	Agmondesham	
	Cambridgeshire.	
Hon. John Townshend —	University — —	James Mansfield
Benjamin Keene — —	Cambridge	
J. W. Adeane — —	Ditto	
	Cheshire.	
J. Crewe — —	County	
Sir R. Cotton ——	Ditto	
	Cornwall.	
Sir William Lemon, Bart.	County	
Ed. Eliot — —	Ditto	
	Launceston ——	Hon. C. G. Percival
	Ditto — —	J. Boulby
Samuel Salt — —	Leskeard	
Hon. W. Tollemache	Ditto	
	Leftwithiel ——	Lord Viscount Mal
	Ditto — — —	Geo Johnstone.
	Truro —	Bamber Gascoyne
	Ditto — —	Henry Roscwarne
George Hunt — —	Bodmyn ——	William Masterman
	Helston ——	Lord Hyde
	Ditto	Richard Barwell
	Saltash	Sir Grey Cooper
	Ditto — —	Right Hon. C. Jenkin
	Fastloo — —	J. Buller
	Ditto — —	W. Graves
	Westloo ——	Sir William James
Sir John Ramsden ——	Grampound	

For the Motion		*Againſt the Motion*
Thomas Lucas	Ditto	
	Camelford	J. Pardoe
	Ditto	James M'Pherſon
	Penryn	Sir Francis Baſſet
	Ditto	J. Rogers
	Tregony	J. Stephenſon
	Boſſiney	Hon. C. Stuart
	St. Ives	William Praed
	Ditto	Abel Smith
	Fowey	Philip Raſhleigh
	Ditto	Lord Shuldham
Edward J. Eliot	St. Germains	
Dudley Long	Ditto	
	St. Michael	Hon. Wm. Hanger
	Ditto	Francis Hale
	Newport	Sir J. Coghill
	St. Mawes	Hugh Boſcawen
	Callington	George Stratton
	Ditto	J. Morſhead
	Cumberland.	
Henry Fletcher	County	
Earl of Surrey	Carliſle	
William Lowther	Ditto	
John Lowther	Cockermouth	
J. B. Garforth	Ditto	
	Derbyſhire.	
Lord George Cavendiſh	County	Hon. Nat. Curzon
Lord G. H. Cavendiſh	Derby	
Edward Coke	Ditto	
	Devonſhire.	
John Parker	County	
John Rolle	Ditto	
Robert Palke	Aſhburton	Charles Boone
	Tiverton	Sir J. Dantze
Lord Viſcount Howe	Dartmouth	
Art. Holdſworth	Ditto	
Humph. Minchin	Oakhampton	
Sir George Yonge, Bart.	Honiton	
J. Wilkinſon	Ditto	
	Plymouth	Sir F. L. Rogers
	Ditto	George Darby
	Beeralſton	Lord Fielding
	Ditto	Lawrence Coxe

For the Motion		*Against the Motion*
	Plympton	Sir R. Payne
	Ditto	Hon. J. Stuart
	Totness	Lau. Browne
	Barnstaple	Francis Basset
Hon. Richard Fitzpatrick	Tavistock	Rt. Hon Richard Rigby
Sir Charles W. Bamfylde	Exeter	
J. Baring	Ditto	
	Dorsetshire.	
Hump. Sturt	County	Hon. G. Pitt
	Dorchester	William Ewer
	Lyme Regis	Hon. Henry Fane
	Ditto	D. R. Mitchell
	Weymouth, &c.	Rt Hon. Welbore Ellis
	Ditto	Gabriel Steward
	Ditto	Wm. Rd. Rumbold
Thomas Scott	Bridport	
Richard Beckford	Ditto	
H. W. Mortimer	Shaftesbury	Sir Francis Sykes
Thomas Farrer	Wareham	J. Boyd.
Henry Bankes	Corfe Castle	J. Bond
W. Morton Pitt	Poole	Joseph Gulston
	Durham.	
	County	Sir Thomas Clavering
John Tempest	Durham	
J. Lambton	Ditto	
	Ebor.	
Sir G. Savile	County	
Henry Duncombe	Ditto	
Sir Samuel Fludyer	Aldborough	Charles Mellish
Sir James Pennyman	Beverley	
Evelyn Anderson	Ditto	
	Heydon	Christopher Atkinson
Lord Viscount Duncannon	Knaresborough	
James Hare	Ditto	
William Weddell	Milton	
Edmund Burke	Ditto	
Henry Peirse	Northallerton	Edw. Lascelles
William Nedham	Pontefract	Lord Viscount Galway
Hon. G. Fitzwilliam	Richmond	Marquis of Graham
William Lawrence	Rippon	Hon. Frederick Robinson
Earl Tyrconnell	Scarborough	Hon. C. Phipps
Sir T. Gascoigne	Thirsk	
Lord John Cavendish	York	

For

For the Motion.		Against the Motion.
Sir Charles Turner	York	
William Wilberforce	Hull	
	Eſſex.	
J. Luther	County	T. B. Bramſton
Sir Robert Smyth	Colcheſter	
	Malden	J. Strutt
	Ditto	Eliab Harvey
	Harwich	Hon. G. A. North
	Glouceſterſhire.	
Sir William Guiſe	County	James Dutton
Sir William Codrington	Tewkeſbury	
James Martin	Ditto	
	Cirenceſter	Samuel Blackwell
	Ditto	James Whitſhead
Charles Barrow	Glouceſter	
J. Webb	Ditto	
	Herefordſhire.	
Sir G. Cornewall	County	Right Hon. T. Harley
J. Scudamore	Hereford	Sir Richard Symonds
Richard Payne Knight	Leominſter	Lord Viſcount Bateman
	Weobly	J. St. Leger Douglas
	Ditto	Andw. Bayntun
	Hertfordſhire.	
William Plumer	County	
T. Halſey	Ditto	
William Baker	Hertford	
Baron Dimſdale	Ditto	
J. Radcliffe	St. Albans	
W. C. Sloper.	Ditto	
	Huntingdonſhire.	
Earl Ludlow	County	Lord Viſ. Hinchingbrook
	Huntingdon	Lord Mulgrave
	Ditto	Sir H. Palliſer
	Kent.	
Hon. Charles Marſham	County	
Filmer Honywood	Ditto	
Robert Gregory	Rocheſter	G. F. Hatton
	Queenborough	Sir Walter Rawlinſon
	Ditto	Sir Charles Frederick
Sir Horace Mann	Maidſtone	
Clement Taylor	Ditto	

For the Motion.		*Againſt the Motion.*
Charles Robinſon	Canterbury	
George Gipps,	Ditto	
	Lancaſhire.	
Thomas Stanley	County	Sir T. Egerton
Wilſon Braddyll	Lancaſter	
Abraham Rawlinſon	Ditto	
J. Burgoyne	Preſton	Sir H. Houghton
	Liverpool	Bamber Gaſcoyne, jun.
Hon. H. Walpole	Wigan	
T. Liſter	Clithero	
J. Parker	Ditto	
	Leiceſterſhire.	
J. P. Hungerford	County	
William Pochin	Ditto	
	Lincolnſhire.	
Charles Anderſon Pelham	County	
Sir J. Thorold	Ditto	
	Stamford	Sir George Howard
	Ditto	H. Cecil
George Sutton	Grantham	F. Cockayne Cuſt
	Boſton	Humphrey Sibthorpe
J. Harriſon	Grimſby	Francis Eyre
Sir T. Clarges	Lincoln	Robert Vyner
	Middleſex.	
J. Wilkes	County	
Hon. Charles J. Fox	Weſtminſter	
Frederick Bull	London	
J. Sawbridge	Ditto	
Nathaniel Newnham	Ditto	
Sir Watkin Lewes	Ditto	
	Monmouthſhire.	
J. Hanbury	County	J. Morgan
	Monmouth	Sir T. Stepney
	Norfolk.	
Sir Edward Aſtley	County	
T. W. Coke	Ditto	
Criſp. Molineux	Lynn	
Hon. Richard Walpole	Yarmouth	Rt. Hon. Ch. Townſhend
Richard Hopkins	Therford	
	Caſtle-riſing	Robert Mackreth
	Ditto	J. Chet. Talbot
Sir Harbord Harbord	Norwich	

For the Motion.		Against the Motion.
	Northamptonshire.	
Lucy Knightley — —	County	
Thomas Powys — —	Ditto	
Richard Benyon — —	Peterborough	
James Phipps — —	Ditto	
	Brackley — —	Timothy Caswell
Lord Viscount Althorpe	Northampton ——	George Rodney
Frederick Montagu — —	Higham Ferrers	
	Northumberland.	
Sir William Middleton	County	
	Morpeth — —	Peter Delme
	Ditto — — —	Anthony Storer
Sir M. W. Ridley —	Newcastle	A. R. Bowes
	Berwick — —	Sir John Hussey Delaval
	Ditto — —	Hon. J. Vaughan
	Nottinghamshire.	
Lord Edward Bentinck	County	
Charles Meadows — —	Ditto	
	Retford — —	Wharton Amcotts
Lord George Sutton —	Newark	
Robert Smith ———	Nottingham ———	
	Oxon.	
	County — —	Lord Charles Spencer
	University — —	Sir William Dolben
	Ditto	Francis Page
Lord Robert Spencer —	Oxford	
Hon. Per. Bertie	Ditto	
	Woodstock — —	Lord Parker
	Banbury — —	Lord North
	Rutlandshire.	
	County — —	G. B. Brudenell
	Shropshire.	
Richard Hill ——— —	County	
William Pulteney	Shrewsbury	
Sir Charlton Leighton	Ditto	
	Ludlow ——— —	Lord Clive
	Ditto ——— —	Frederick Cornewall
Thomas Whitmore —	Bridgenorth	
Hugh Pigot — —	Ditto	
	Bishops Castle —	Henry Strachey
	Ditto ——— —	William Clive

For the Motion.		*Againſt the Motion.*
	Somerſetſhire.	
Sir J. Trevelyan	County	
	Taunton	J. Haliday
	Ilcheſter	Per. Cuſt
	Ditto	Samuel Smith
J. Pennington	Milborn Port	J. Townſon
Clement Tudway	Wells	
Robert Child	Ditto	
	Bridgewater	Hon. Anne Poulett
Hon. J. Jeff. Pratt	Bath	Abel Moyſey
	Minehead	F. Fownes Luttrell
	Briſtol	Mat. Brickdale
	Ditto	G. Daubeny
	Southampton County.	
Robert Thiſtlethwayte	County	
Jer. Clarke Jervoiſe	Ditto	
	Wincheſter	H. Penton
	Ditto	Lovel Stanhope
	Newport	Sir Richard Worſley
	Ditto	Hon. J. St. John
Edward Morant	Yarmouth	Sir Thomas Rumbold
J. Barrington	Newtown	Edward M. Worſley
	Limington	Edward Gibbon
	Chriſtchurch	J. Frederick
Sir J. Griffin Griffin	Andover	Benjamin Letheuillier
Lord Viſcount Midleton	Whitchurch	
Right Hon. T. Townſhend	Ditto	
	Petersfield	William Jolliffe
	Ditto	T. S. Jolliffe
	Southampton	John Fuller
	Ditto	Hans Sloane
	Staffordſhire.	
Sir J. Wrotteſley	County	Lord Viſcount Lewiſham
Hon. E. Monckton	Stafford	
R. B. Sheridan	Ditto	
	Tamworth	J. Courtenay
	Ditto	J. Calvert
	Newcaſtle	Arch. M'Donald
George Anſon	Litchfield	T. Gilbert
	Suffolk.	
Sir T. C. Bunbury	County	
Sir J. Rous	Ditto	

For the Motion		*Against the Motion*
T. Staunton	Ipswich	
Sir G. W. Vanneck	Dunwich	Barne Barne
	Orford	Lord Visc. Beauchamp
	Ditto	Hon. R. S. Conway
	Aldeburgh	Martin Fonnereau
	Ditto	Ph. Cham. Crespigny
	Sudbury	Sir James Marriot
	Eye	Rd. Phillipson
	Ditto	A. J. Skelton
Sir C. Davers	Bury	
Rt. Hon. H. S. Conway	Ditto	
	Surrey.	
Hon. Augustus Keppel	County	
Sir Joseph Mawbey	Ditto	
	Gatton	Lord Newhaven
	Ditto	R. Mayne
Edward Norton	Haslemere	
W. Spencer Stanhope	Ditto	
Sir Robert Clayton	Bletchingly	J. Kendrick
	Rygate	Hon. J. Yorke
Rt. Hon. Sir F. Norton	Guildford	George Onslow
Sir Richard Hotham	Southwark	
Nathaniel Polhill	Ditto	
	Sussex.	
Lord George Lenox	County	Hon. T. Pelham
	Horsham	James Wallace
	Ditto	Sir G. Osborne
Hon. H. F. Stanhope	Bramber	
	Shoreham	Sir C. Bishop
	Ditto	J. Peachey
	Midhurst	Sir Samson Gideon
	Ditto	Henry Drummond
	East Grinstead	Sir J. Irwin
	Ditto	H. A. Herbert
Sir T. G. Skipwith	Steyning	
	Arundel	Thomas Fitzherbert
Thomas Kemp	Lewes	Hon Hen. Pelham
Hon. Percy Wyndham	Chichester	
Thomas Steele	Ditto	
	Warwickshire.	
Sir Robert Lawley	County	
Sir G. Shuckburgh	Ditto	

For

For the Motion		*Against the Motion*
Robert Ladbroke	Warwick	Hon. C. Greville
	Coventry	Lord Sheffield
	Ditto	Edward Roe Yeo

Westmorland.

Sir Mic. Le Fleming	County	
James Lowther	Ditto	
Phil. Honywood	Appleby	
Hon. W. Pitt	Ditto	

Wilts.

C. Penruddock	County	
Ambrose Goddard	Ditto	
William Hussey	Salisbury	
Hon. W, H. Bouverie	Ditto	
	Devizes	Sir J. T. Long
	Ditto	Henry Jones
	Marlborough	Earl of Courtown
Henry Dawkins	Chippenham	Giles Hudson
John Dunning	Calne	
Right Hon. J. Barré	Ditto	
	Malmsbury	Lord Viscount Fairford
	Ditto	J. Calvert, jun.
	Hindon	Nat. W. W[illegible]all
T. Pitt	Old Sarum	
P. Wilkinson	Ditto	
W. P. A'Court	Heytesbury	
Samuel Estwick	Westbury	
J. Whalley Gardiner	Ditto	
	Wooton Basset	Hon. H. St. John
	Ditto	William Strahan
	Luggershall	G. Aug. Selwyn
Lord Herbert	Wilton	
	Downton	Hon. H. S. Conway
	Ditto	Robert Shaftoe
	Bedwin	Paul Cob. Methuen

Worcestershire.

Hon. Edward Foley	County	
Sir J. Rushout	Evesham	
C. W. Boughton Rouse	Ditto	
Hon. A. Foley	Droitwich	
Edward Winnington	Ditto	
T. Bates Rous	Worcester	Hon. Wm. Ward
	Bewdly	Lord Westcote

Cat[illegible]ue

For the Motion		Against the Motion
	Cinque Ports.	
	Hastings	Lord Visc. Palmerston
	Ditto	J. Ord
	Sandwich	Philip Stephens
	Ditto	Sir R. Sutton
John Trevannion	Dover	Sir J. Henniker
	Romney	Sir Edward Deering
	Hythe	Sir Charles Farnaby
	Rye	W. Dickenson
	Ditto	Hon. T. Onslow
J. Nesbit	Winchelsea	
	Seaford	J. Durand
	Wales.	
Lord Viscount Bulkeley	Anglesea	
Sir George Warren	Beaumaris	
	Breconshire	Charles Morgan
	Brecon	Sir C. Gould
	Cardiganshire	Lord Lisburn
	Cardigan	J. Campbell
J. Vaughan	Carmarthenshire	
	Carmarthen	George Phillips
J. Parry	Carnarvonshire	
	Carnarvon	Glynn Wynne
Sir W. W. Wynne	Denbighshire	
Sir Roger Mostyn	Flintshire	
Watkin Williams	Flint	
E. L. Vaughan	Merionethshire	
W. Mostyn Owen	Montgomeryshire	
	Montgomery	Whitshed Keene
	Pembroke	Hugh Owen
	Haverfordwest	Lord Kensington
	Radnor	Edward Lewis
	Scotland.	
Alexander Garden	Aberdeenshire	
	Kintore, &c.	Staates Long Morris
	Ayrshire	Sir Adam Fergufon
	Irvine, &c.	Sir A. Edmonstone
	Argyleshire	Lord F. Campbell
Earl of Fife	Banffshire	
	Berwickshire	Hugh Scott
	Lauder, &c.	Francis Charteris
Charles Ross	Wick, &c.	

	Glaſgow, &c. ——	J. Crawfurd
	Dumfriesſhire ——	Sir R. Laurie
	Dumfries, &c. —	Sir R. Herries
	Edinburghſhire —	Right Hon. H Dundas
	Edinburgh	James Hunter Blair
	Fifeſhire ——	Robert Skene
	Kircaldie, &c. —	Sir J. Henderſon
	Anſtruther, &c. —	Sir J. Anſtruther
	Aberbrothick, &c.	Adam Drummond
	Haddingtonſhire —	Hugh Dalrymple
	Kincardineſhire —	Lord A. Gordon
	Kircudbrightſhire --	P. Johnſtone
	Kinroſshire ——	Geo. Graham
	Lanerkſhire ——	Andrew Stuart
	Linlithgowſhire —	Sir W. A. Cunninghame
	Cromartyſhire ——	George Roſs
	Peebleſhire ——	Alexander Murray
	Culroſs, &c. ——	James Campell
	Perthſhire ——	Hon. J. Murray
J. Shaw Stewart ——	Renfrewſhire	
Sir G. Elliott ——	Roxburghſhire	
	Selkirkſhire ——	J. Pringle
	Selkirk, &c. ——	Sir J. Cockburn
Sir T. Dundas —— ——	Sirlingſhire	
	Sutherlandſhire —	Hon. J. Wemyſs
227	Wigtownſhire ——	Hon. K. Stewart 236

TELLERS.

Lord Viſcount Maitland	Newport, Cornwall	
G. Byng —— ——	Middleſex	
	Harwich ——	J. Robinſon
	Stranrawre, &c.	W. Adam

The following Noblemen and Gentlemen paired off:

Richard W. Bootle	Cheſter,	with T. Groſvenor, Cheſter,
Sir Ph. J. Clerke	Totneſs,	with Earl Nugent, St. Mawes.
Beilby Thompſon	Thirſke,	with T. Johnes, Radnorſhire.
Rt. Hon W. G. Hamilton	Wilton,	with J. W. Egerton, Brackley.
William Lygon	Worceſterſhire,	with William Chaytor, Heydon,
Per. William Baker	Arundel,	with J. Purling Weymouth.
C. Dundas	Orkneys,	with Sir J. Eden, Durham county.

March

March 18.

A bill was brought in, and read once, for imposing a tax on all goods carried by coasting vessels.

Sir Edward
Astley.

Sir *Edward Astley* gave it as his opinion, that this tax must be the ruin of the farmers; for the price of corn was already so low, that, whatever should throw difficulties in its progress to market, must necessarily operate against the farmers, who were already so greatly distressed. He said that frizeurs, and not the poor industrious farmers ought to have been the objects of the noble Lord's taxes.

Lord North.

Lord *North* replied, that he had no objection to have the propriety or expediency of the tax fully discussed; and therefore he would not hurry either the present bill, or any of the tax-bills through the House. As to a tax on frizeurs, he could have no personal objection to it, as he never employed one. He thought, that perhaps to make people of that description take out a licence, might produce something considerable: he had them in view, when he laid a tax last year on powder; but if the honourable member would give himself the trouble to reflect for a moment, he would find, that whether the powder or the frizeur was taxed, the weight would ultimately fall on the frizee.

Lord Beauchamp.

The mutiny-bill was then reported, and Lord *Beauchamp* observed, that as Ireland had for very wise reasons thought proper to have her army regulated by an act of her own legislature, it would be unnecessary to have the word Ireland stand part of the present bill; and therefore he moved to have it left out. With respect to the marines, though the Irish mutiny-act made no mention of them, still by the law of Ireland, they would be liable to punishment there, if they should desert; for by an act of Henry VI. which by Poyning's act, was made law in Ireland, deserters were to be deemed felons, and punished accordingly.

Sir George
Yonge.

Sir *George Yonge* said, he did not rise to oppose the noble Lord's motion, because he knew every opposition to it would prove ineffectual; he rose, therefore, only to say, that this was the only thing wanting to complete the disgrace of this country; as it was clearly the forerunner of a total renunciation of all jurisdiction of this country over Ireland.

The motion passed without any opposition.

Mr. Fox.

Mr. *Fox* requested the gentlemen would not forget, that on Wednesday a motion would be made of the same nature with that which had been agitated on Friday last.

March 19.

Mr. Burke's bill for the better exchanging of priſoners of war, was read a third time, and paſſed.

General Burgoyne.

General *Burgoyne* took an opportunity, on the third reading, to remark to the Houſe, that in conſequence of the treatment he had experienced from Miniſters, while he was a priſoner of war, he had moved for the correſpondence between his Majeſty's Miniſters, and the commander in chief in America, relative to the exchange of Lieutenant-General Burgoyne. That correſpondence was now before the Houſe: but though it had been his original intention to ground upon it a reſolution, which he would have followed with a bill, he had dropped that intention, ſince the preſent bill had been introduced; becauſe it would anſwer all the ends he had in view. The preſent bill would put it out of the power of Miniſters to ſhew preference or partiality in favour of any officer, or prejudice againſt him in the exchange of priſoners. He might now deliver himſelf freely on this ſubject, without being thought intereſted in it; for he was no longer a priſoner, as he had been officially informed by a certificate, that he was exchanged; but ſtill he rejoiced at the paſſing of a bill which would in future ſcreen other officers from ſuch treatment as he had met with; and that he had experienced ill-treatment, he appealed to the correſpondence on the table, the peruſal of which would convince any man of the truth of this aſſertion.

A bill for extending to the half-hundred of Eaſt Brixton, in the county of Surrey, the juriſdiction of the ſteward's court of the borough of Southwark, for the recovery of ſmall debts, was read a ſecond time. It was oppoſed by Sir Joſeph Mawbey, who called the bill the child of the learned judge of that court, meaning Mr. Bamber Gaſcoyne, who is ſteward of the borough of Southwark. Mr. Gaſcoyne retorted very ſharply upon the honourable Baronet whom he did not affect to treat with the moſt profound reſpect in the world: he declared upon his honour, that he was not the father, framer, promoter, or ſupporter of the bill; he had merely promiſed not to oppoſe it. Mr. Polhill, Sir Richard Hotham, and Admiral Keppel, ſpoke alſo; as did Mr. Alderman Sawbridge, who wiſhed that the bill might not be prevented from going to a committee. Accordingly when the queſtion was put, that it be committed, it was carried without a diviſion.

Mr.

Mr. *Fox* (on the second reading of the contractors bill) observed to the House, that he was rejoiced at seeing that a new spirit of government seemed to be rising in the country, when corruption would be banished from the senate, and when those who should have the management of public affairs might safely trust to the merits of their measures, for support, without having recourse to the detestable system of corruption to obtain it. In this confidence, he had two propositions to make: the bill stated, that no contractor should sit in that House, who should not have made his contract in consequence of a public advertisement. Now, as he knew, that, though a contract should have been advertised, it might, nevertheless, be given to a favourite person; he would therefore move, that the exception in the bill should cease, and that no contractor whatsoever should have a seat in Parliament. The next proposition was, that all those who actually had contracts, should not sit in the House; for as the bill then stood, it had no retrospect; it only went to exclude those who should take contracts in future: but as many of the contracts now subsisting, were not for any specified period, the bill might pass, without affording any hope that any of the present contractors would be excluded from Parliament.——He intended to move in the committee a clause for giving the bill a retro operation; but with respect to the distinction made by the bill between public contracts and private contracts, he could not move a clause to that effect in the committee, because as the very title of the bill made the exception, the committee could not receive a clause that would militate against that title, without having been first authorized by the House so to do: he therefore moved, that it be given in instruction to the committee to receive such a clause. This motion passed without opposition; and the House having then resolved itself into a committee on the bill, Mr. Fox moved his two clauses, which were admitted without opposition. The committee then went through the bill; after which

Mr. *Whitbread* rose, and said, he was a hearty friend to the bill, and had been so to former bills for the same purpose; but as it was only intended to prevent contractors sitting in Parliament, it went to but one of the evils which flowed from a most corrupt fountain. Before the business came on, he had hinted to an honourable member (Mr. Fox) that he could suggest an expedient, which, from his experience in trade,

Mr. Fox.

Mr. Whitbread.

trade, he thought might easily be put in force, and which, he imagined, would stop the atrocious crimes and robberies committed in the expenditure of the public money. He observed, that this was a time for opposition to shew their sincerity; it was beyond a doubt that there would be a change of men, and those coming in, he hoped, would adhere to their opposition principles, and not govern by influence and corruption; they had by their many professions of integrity, raised the expectations of the public, and if they should deceive them, they must be held infamous; they now would, he said, be put to the test, whether they would act like honest men or not.

He reminded the committee that the people had most earnestly petitioned Parliament amongst other things for œconomy in the public expenditure; he was sure, he said, that the nation had lost millions by exorbitant contracts and wasteful bargains, and instead of persons in office doing their duty, it was almost become general to neglect it, and make the most for themselves. Many contracts were, he declared, so lucrative, that several thousands might be given for them and a great profit remain. He did not charge the noble Lord who presided at the Treasury, with ever receiving one penny of such money; he believed he never did; but who disposed of such business in the Treasury, was very well known, and it was also well known who was favoured with the contracts. That the whole plan of the Treasury, Admiralty, Navy, Victualling, and Ordnance, was conducted alike on the same corrupt system, was a fact not to be disputed, but the mere exclusion of contractors from that House, he was persuaded, would not prevent the corruption. Did opposition wish for the confidence of the people to serve their King faithfully, and to save the nation, which was on the brink of ruin they would, he said, by some effectual means prevent the suspicion falling on them of their partaking of those enormous sums.

He said, that he had lately had an opportunity of viewing the conduct of the Victualling-Office for two or three years past, and had a few days since moved for a committee on that office, which was now sitting, and he hoped might render some use to the public: but as all those Boards were so fortified by the tricks of office and the investment of great authority, he was clear that nothing but the power of Parliament, could strike at the root of the evil; he therefore humbly submitted an idea of his own, that as the public raised the money, and were grievously taxed for the interest, he thought

thought they ought to have the disposal of the money, and that their representatives in Parliament, should, if possible, effect such an alteration. He was inclined to believe, they might easily do so, by bringing in a bill to appoint three or more commissioners for the public expenditure in time of war, to purchase all that was wanted, and take that business entirely from the several Boards that now conducted it. He was aware it might be objected, that if these commissioners were chosen by Parliament, the ministry might be said to choose them. The answer to which was, the opposition might become the ministry, and the objection was removed. He farther observed, that such commissioners business might be made public—they might be easily criminated, if liable—be rendered very accessible, and not protected by the formidable power of office. He added, that we had already experience of the commissioners of accounts, who had done their business in a most exemplary manner, worthy of all commendation, and shewed most clearly what steps ought to be taken by Parliament toward saving the public money; but as yet, he remarked, nothing had been seriously attempted.

Mar. 20.

Intimation of a Change of Ministry.

Since the beginning of the session, or perhaps during the present reign, there never were so many members in the House, as appeared there this day; and the crouds of spectators were in proportion greater than usual. At a quarter after four o'clock, when the House was ready to enter upon the great business of the day, and the Speaker had called to gentlemen to take their places, Lord Surrey, the member who was to have made the motion stood up: and just at the same moment Lord North got upon his legs: and each noble Lord seemed determined not to give way to the other: this created a great deal of confusion, one side of the House crying out loudly for Lord Surrey to speak first, the other side as loudly crying out Lord North. At last,

Mr. *Baker* rose to speak to order. He thought it indecent in the noble Lord in the blue ribband to rise at a time, when he knew the noble Earl had a motion of the greatest importance to submit to the House. Mr Baker.

Lord *North* said that it was not through disrespect for the noble Lord that he had risen; but merely to save him the trouble Lord North

trouble of making, and the House that of discussing a question, which at present he might say was become totally unnecessary.

Mr. Baker. Mr. *Baker* called the noble Lord again to order: he said that he had no right to know of what nature or complexion the motion was, or would be, which his noble friend had not yet made; and that therefore it was highly unparliamentary in the noble Lord to say that it was become totally unnecessary.

Lord North. Lord *North* insisted, that it was not disorderly in him to suppose he knew, or to say he knew, what was the substance of the motion, which the noble Lord was then going to make; for it had been publicly announced to the House some days ago by an honourable member (Mr. Fox) that a motion would be made on this day, similar to that which had been rejected on Friday last: and therefore, having all the information which he could derive from such a notice, it was perfectly competent for him to rise, if he pleased, to move to adjourn, in order to prevent the discussion of a question, which he no longer thought necessary. His reason for thinking it was no longer necessary was, that as the object of the motion was to remove his Majesty's ministers, he could take upon him to say, *that his Majesty's ministers were no more*; and therefore the object being already attained, the means by which gentlemen had intended to obtain it, could no longer be necessary.

The other side of the House called out for Lord Surrey! Lord Surrey! accompanied with the words "no adjournment! no adjournment." Mr. *Hopkins* obtained a hearing, and said, though he was ready to admit the noble Lord in the blue ribband had not been out of order before, he had been most thoroughly out of order in what he had then said. The noble Lord had no right to presume what was the tendency of any motion intended to be made, before it was made; every syllable, therefore, that he had said relative to the motion to be expected from the noble Lord near him, was clearly out of order.

Mr. Hopkins.

A clamour prevailed here, in consequence of an infinite number of members of both sides the House rising to speak at once. Lord Surrey obtained the preference after Lord North had said, I did not put a question of adjournment, I merely informed the House, what I meant to have done, had I been heard when I first rose; to which Sir Fletcher Norton assented.

Mr.

Mr. *W. Pitt* then said, he was sorry to see, that the noble Lord in the blue ribband had attempted to excite the attention of the House, before a matter of such universal expectation as the motion, which it was known for some days past would be made by the noble Lord near him, was heard, and more so that this had given rise to so much heat, [illegible], and disorder. He should have conceived the regular mode for the noble Lord in the blue ribband to have proceeded, would have been to have waited till the other noble Lord had made his motion, and then, if he had thought it right or proper, to have moved his question of adjournment upon that, to state, in his speech, his reasons for urging such adjournment. By so doing, the House would have seen the matter clearly and distinctly, and would have been able to have formed a judgment fitted to the occasion, without [illegible] any of that heat and eagerness, which was in no case proper, but least of all in a moment like the present. Mr W. Pitt.

Mr. *Fox* thought, that the House was in very great confusion, thought that the best way to produce order was by moving, that Lord Surrey be heard to make his motion; and he thought this the more necessary, as the House could not place any confidence in the word of the minister; and therefore, ought not to believe him upon that word, that the King's ministers were no more; the House ought to take care, and it had it in its power effectually to take care, that the ministers should be no more; and as the House would take care, and while they had it in their power to [illegible], they ought not to omit it. He therefore concluded with a motion, "That the Earl of Surrey do now speak." The motion being read from the Chair, Mr. Fox

Lord *North* rose, and said, that he had now a right to speak to the question. The noble Lord began with declaring, that he had been extremely surprised to hear from an honourable gentleman who spoke last but one, that what he had risen to say, should have occasioned so much heat and disorder. Nor was he less surprised at being told, that he knew not the purport of the noble Lord's intended motion, and that it was impossible for him to have known it, till it had been regularly made. Did gentlemen recollect that the House had been expressly informed, when notice was given of that motion, that it was a motion somewhat differing in point of form, but essentially the same in substance, as the motion of Friday last, and the motion of Friday se'nnight? Would any gentleman assert, that the tendency of the motion was a secret? Would any Lord North

any gentleman go so far as to say, that it was not a motion, the object of which was a vote of the House, expressing it to be the desire of Parliament, that his Majesty's ministers should be removed? Did he stand liable to contradiction, when he declared, that he conceived such to be the object of the intended motion, that he did not imagine he stood alone in the knowledge, that such was its object? Such then being the case, where was the impropriety, where was the irregularity, where [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] to say, that the object of the motion was already [illegible], and that no debate was necessary? Nor could [illegible], that what he was about to have [illegible], (had [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] to the House to have suffered him to [illegible], [illegible] have occasioned [illegible], or [illegible], or disorder as the honourable gentleman had been [illegible] it would have done. It would [illegible] very extraordinary, indeed, to hold, as an argument, that a declaration of the business being already done, which it was the object of the motion of the day to effect, would give rise to heat, to [illegible], or to disorder? The House well remembered [illegible] the [illegible] which had taken place repeatedly within [illegible], in the course of the past three weeks, it had been again and again declared, that the country was in a [illegible] [illegible] and confusion, that there was no [illegible], that every thing was at a stand, and that he was the [illegible] to [illegible] government and good order being restored. He [illegible] down that day, therefore, to [illegible] the House, that he was no longer the obstacle he had been declared to be. His Lordship said, he would not mention names, but he could with authority assure the House, that he was no longer the obstacle he had been declared to be. His Lordship said, he would not mention names, but he could with authority assure the House, that his Majesty had come to a full determination to change his ministers. This intelligence he had conceived, would have been sufficient to have induced the House to be of opinion, that it would be altogether unnecessary to debate a question, which had for its object a removal already effected; and with that view it was, that he had offered himself so early to the notice of the chair. He could pledge himself to that House that his Majesty's ministry was at an end. Before, however, he took leave of his situation entirely, he felt himself bound to return his most grateful thanks to the House for the very kind, the repeated, and the essential support, he had for so many years received from the Commons of England, during his holding a situation

tion, to which he must confess he had at all times been unequal. And it was, he said, the more incumbent on him to return his thanks in that place, because it was that House which made him what he had been. His conduct within those walls had first made him known, and it had been in consequence of the part he had taken in that House, that he became recommended to his Sovereign. He thanked the House therefore for their partiality to him, on all, and—he would use the phrase—for their forbearance on many occasions. Certainly he could not be pleased at their not thinking him any longer worthy of the confidence of Parliament, nor for their wishing to vote his removal, but their general support of him, through a service of many years continuance, claimed his fullest acknowledgments and his warmest gratitude; and he ever should hold it in his memory as the chief honour of his life, to have been so supported. A successor of greater abilities, of better judgment, and more qualified for his situation was easy to be found; a successor more zealous for the interests of his country, more anxious to promote those interests, more loyal to his Sovereign, and more desirous of preserving the constitution whole and entire, he might be allowed to say, could not so easily be found. The Crown had resolved to choose new ministers, and he hoped to God, whoever those ministers were, they would take such measures as should tend effectually to extricate the country from its present difficulties, and to render us happy and prosperous at home, successful and secure abroad. Having said so much, his Lordship declared, that unless the motion of the noble Lord was not what he supposed it to be, that it did not go to any new point, nor aim at more than the bare removal of ministers, he saw no reason for putting it then. At any rate, let the motion extend ever so far, there could be no necessity for being in such a hurry about it, as to insist on putting it that day. Having for so many years held a public situation, and been entrusted with the management of public affairs, he was perfectly conscious he was responsible for his conduct, and whenever his country should call upon him to answer, it was his indispensible duty to answer for every part of that conduct. For which reason, he pledged himself to the House that he would not run away; and neither the noble Lord who intended to make the motion, nor any other honourable gentleman who meant to have supported it, need be at all apprehensive, that if it were not made that day, it would not be made while he was to be come at. He did assure the

House he should remain to be found, as much as ever, and would on no account avoid any enquiry that might be thought necessary with regard to him. Upon these grounds, his Lordship moved the question of adjournment, on the question moved by the honourable gentleman opposite to him. He confessed that at present the adjournment could not be of any other consequence than to put off the question till to-morrow; and his wish was to adjourn for a longer time, in order to give his Majesty time to make the necessary arrangements for a new administration: however, as there was another motion before the House, the adjournment could take place only for one day: and, to-morrow, he should propose a further adjournment for a few days. There was, indeed, another mode of proceeding, and that was by delivering a message from his Majesty to both Houses, desiring that they would adjourn for a few days, until he should have time to form a new administration; but the reason why he had not adopted that mode was, that there were several bills before the House of Lords, which it would be necessary to have passed before the recess; and therefore it was necessary that the Upper House should remain sitting: the same reason, however, did not subsist for the Lower House continuing to sit. He concluded, therefore, by moving the question of adjournment.

Mr. William Pitt. Mr. *William Pitt* rose to explain what the noble Lord had so very much misunderstood; he had not charged the noble Lord with pretending to know more of the motion intended to be made, than any other member of that House must be supposed to know from the notice that had been given of it: he had merely alluded to the heat and disorder, evident in the House, and had said, that he had conceived, as he still did, that it would have been more regular for the noble Lord to have waited, till the motion, that was expected, had been made, and then to have risen and moved an adjournment, for the reasons the noble Lord had stated. A great deal that had fallen from the noble Lord in the blue riband, Mr. Pitt said, certainly was material, and would doubtless have its due weight with the House; if, however, gentlemen were inclined to rely on the noble Lord's declaration, and the other noble Lord should on that account consent to postpone his motion, it at least was necessary to have that declaration accurately, clearly and correctly defined, so that the House might fully comprehend to what extent the noble Lord pledged himself, and that his declaration of that day

was

was not merely a plea for getting rid of the motion, in order that they might be put out of possession of their majority.

Lord *John Cavendish* begged to be heard a few words. The noble Lord's declaration had great weight in his mind, at the same time, he thought the noble Lord in the blue ribband, had not said enough. He had not told the House for what they were to adjourn, nor to what day. As to going into a full detail at large, of the circumstances alluded to by the noble Lord, he was perfectly aware, that it would be highly improper, and indeed, that it was from motives of delicacy not to be desired. All he wished for was, that the noble Lord and the House, might perfectly understand each other's meaning before it was agreed to withdraw, or rather to postpone the motion, intended to have been made that day. Lord John Cavendish.

Lord *North* rose again, and said, had he been permitted to have spoken when he first rose, and before any question was put, he should have made the declaration, which the House had heard, and followed it up with a motion for an adjournment of a few days. A question having however been moved before he could do so, and the chair being in possession of that question, the noble Lord and the House must be aware, that he could do no otherwise than barely move to adjourn, which of course he meant no more than an adjournment till morning. With regard to a fuller and more explicit detail of the particulars to which he had alluded, when he was up before, the noble Lord who spoke last, had confessed he was aware that it was a matter neither proper in itself, nor to be expected by the House. Thus much, however, he would venture to say, that those persons who had for some time conducted the public affairs, were no longer his Majesty's Ministers. They were no longer to be considered as men holding the reins of Government and transacting measures of state, but merely remaining to do their official duty, till other ministers were appointed to take their places. The sooner those new ministers were appointed (his Lordship declared) the better it would be, in his opinion for the public, and the better for the country in general. Lord North

Mr. *Fox* said, that it did not seem to be a matter of any great importance, whether the motion of his noble friend the Earl of Surrey should be put, or they should trust to the solemn declaration made by the noble Lord. He could have wished, perhaps, that the motion were put and carried, because Mr. Fox.

cause it would then manifestly appear to the nation at large, that the Ministers of the crown did not retire either from the caprice of this or that Minister, or from their wishing to go out, or from their being tired of their situations, or for any of the common reasons which ordinarily occasion the resignation of Ministers, but because it was the sense of Parliament, that they should retire, because that House had expressly called upon the Crown for their dismission, and because the good of the country made it absolutely necessary! These were the reasons which impelled him to wish the motion put and carried. On the other hand, they had the less weight with him, because it was, he trusted, already sufficiently known, that the sense of Parliament, was against them, and although the motions of Friday last and the Friday before, had not actually been carried, yet he considered that motions debated in such full houses, and where the Minister had so small a majority, as a majority of nine or ten, were in effect carried, and in all reasonable construction, as much carried, as if there had not been such a majority against them. The great end, therefore, of carrying the motion of his noble friend, was already, in his mind, and he believed, in the consideration of all Europe, effectually answered. For which reason, he begged, that let who would be the persons who should be called on by their Sovereign to form the new administration, they might ever hold it in their minds, that his Majesty's late Ministers were dismissed, because Parliament disapproved of the system of their government, and that it was evident from Parliament's having gone so far to effect a removal of Ministers, that it would be expected that their successors should act upon different principles, and in a manner totally opposite. He declared, it had given him great pleasure, the preceding evening, to hear an honourable Member say in a thin House, that he hoped, if his Majesty's Ministers were removed, those who should be appointed in their room, would no longer govern by influence and corruption, and that if persons who had been in opposition came in, they would religiously adhere to their opposition principles, and not let it be a mere change of hands, without a change of measures. He enlarged a good deal on this idea, which he had in some recent debates frequently touched upon, and in a warm manner declared, that he should ever hold those men infamous, be they who they might, who altered their principles on obtaining power; and that as the House had solemnly determined by their late conduct, that

they

they rejected and abhorred a government of influence, the new Ministers must always remember that fact, and remember also, that they owed their situations to that House. Mr. Fox concluded with advising his noble friend, not to make his intended motion that day, but to reserve it for Monday, in case the noble Lord's declaration of Monday should fall short of its expected completion. He also agreed to withdraw his own motion.

The Earl of Surrey — The Earl of *Surrey* said, that he was not fully convinced that his motion ought to be put. On the contrary, the whole weighed in his mind as an additional argument for its being made. He was not, however at all desirous of pressing his motion upon the House, should it be the general opinion that it would be better not to put it. What had fallen from his honourable friend, who had just sat down, certainly weighed a good deal on his mind; he should therefore listen to what might fall from gentlemen of all parties, and reserve to himself a right to put his motion, if he felt his own opinion supported by that of the House.

Mr. Rigby — Mr. *Rigby* paid the noble Lord behind him many compliments on the handsome manner in which he had consented to postpone his motion, should it prove most agreeable to the general sense of the House, reserving to himself withal the power of still moving it, should the case turn out to be otherwise. Mr. Rigby declared, for his part, he could not see the least occasion for such a motion as that which had been expected, after what had fallen from the noble Lord in the blue ribband. He had no idea that the noble Lord's declaration was not sincere, and that every word that had dropped from him, was not to be depended upon. Indeed, should any Minister venture to come down to that House, and make such a declaration, as that which the House had heard from the noble Lord in the blue ribband, merely for the purpose of deluding Parliament, he knew not words of sufficient import to describe the infamy of that sort of conduct. He was persuaded the noble Lord had no fallacious intention whatever; and if it should hereafter turn out, that the smallest deceit was at the bottom of what had passed that day, he pledged himself to the noble Lord behind him, not only to support his motion next Monday, or whenever he should be pleased to make it, but farther, to join with him in a motion of censure, as strong as Parliamentary precedent would allow. With regard to the noble Lord, who had declared that he was no longer a minister, he ever had entertained,

tained, and he still entertained, the highest respect for him; the noble Lord, in his mind, was perfectly justified in retiring; after such a division as that of Friday last, he had advised him to retire. A majority of nine was nothing; and it appeared to him, that there was no standing against so respectable a minority as 227 men of great abilities and high character. That minority growing out of the feelings of the country, in consequence of the distresses of the war, must outweigh any minister, let him possess abilities even greater than those of the noble Lord in the blue ribband. Indeed, such a minority, on a motion for withdrawing confidence from ministers, was a hint too broad to be misconceived or trifled with. As to the new ministers, be they who they would, he hoped they would form an administration on a bold, sound, solid basis, and would prove equal to the task of extricating the country from its present difficulties. It had been said, that some men could make peace better than others, and that the Americans would sooner treat with gentlemen who sat on one side of the House than with gentlemen who sat on the opposite benches; he should be happy to find the prediction verified. He wished success to an administration that came in upon such laudable views, and they were welcome to his vote, which was all he had to give them. They should have his support at least, and he should rejoice most heartily to find their endeavours to save their country prosperous.

Mr. Baker. Mr. *Baker* argued the propriety of putting the motion to the vote, that had been originally intended to be made by the noble Lord near him. The noble Lord in the blue ribband had promised a good deal, and he was inclined to give his promises credit; but if he was to compare what he had said that day, with what he had said formerly, and to call to mind the noble Lord's usual faithlessness to Parliament, there was but little reason for putting confidence in him on the present occasion. There was a sentence, Mr. Baker remarked, in the noble Lord's speech, which struck him very forcibly. The noble Lord had told the House that his Majesty's Ministry, constituted as it then was, would be removed; What did the noble Lord mean by the words, constituted as it then was? Was the noble Lord only, or one more minister to go out? if so, the meaning of that House was frustrated, for it was not merely a shifting of a part, but a removal of the whole administration, in order that new measures might be adopted, which Parliament and the people panted for.

Mr.

Mr. *Powys* said, he underſtood the queſtion to ſtand thus; a motion had been made, "that Lord Surrey do now ſpeak," the queſtion of adjournment had been put on that, and the mover of both had ſeverally agreed to withdraw them, with the leave of the Houſe, provided his noble friend would not preſs his intended motion that day. Having heard the declaration of the noble Lord in the blue ribband, which he was inclined to believe, he ſhould adviſe his noble friend to give up the idea of making the motion which he intended for the preſent; but if on Monday next, it did not appear that every atom of the preſent adminiſtration, thoſe that were miniſters behind the curtain, as well as the oſtenſible miniſters, the inviſible as well as the viſible agents, that had governed the country ſo long, and precipitated it to the verge of ruin, were removed, then he ſhould wiſh his honourable friend to bring forward his motion, and take the ſenſe of the Houſe upon it. Mr. Powys.

Mr. *Burke* ſaid, that that was not a moment of levity or exultation; he regarded it with a calmneſs of content, a placid joy, a ſerene ſatisfaction; he looked forward with fear and trembling; but the preſent was a moment of great awfulneſs, and every gentleman who expected either to form a part of the new adminiſtration, or intended to ſupport it, ought to queſtion themſelves, examine their own hearts and ſee, whether they had been acting upon principles that were ſtrictly right, and upon which they could contiune to act in power, as firmly as they had continued to act upon them, while out of power. If, upon ſuch an examination, any gentleman found he could not, that man, be he whom he would, ought not to accept of power. The preſent, he farther ſaid, was that peculiar period of men's lives, when their ambitious views, that had lain ſecretly in a corner of their hearts, almoſt undiſcovered to themſelves, were unlocked, when their prejudices operated moſt forcibly, when all their deſires, their ſelf-opinions, their vanity, their avarice, and their luſt of power, and all the worſt paſſions of the human mind were ſet at large, and began to ſhew themſelves. At ſuch a time, let men take care what they did, how far they went, and what limits they preſcribed to themſelves; and let thoſe alſo who did not wiſh for power or place, examine what their duty was, and how far they ought to act in future, ſo as to preſerve a perfect conſiſtency of conduct. A great deal of moſt aſtoniſhing eloquence had been heard within thoſe walls, and men of the firſt and rareſt talents had Mr. Burke.

ſorting to corruption for ſupport, when they could no longer get it from the independent members of that Houſe: he hoped he miſunderſtood the honourable member; for he ſhould be unhappy, indeed, if any thing bordering upon an excuſe for corruption, ſhould fall from a gentleman for whom he had an eſteem, — perhaps ſuperior to any he felt for any man; — and he ſhould be ſtill more unhappy at hearing it fall from the lips of a man, who moſt likely would be one of thoſe miniſters to whom the country looked up for its ſalvation. For his own part, he did not think that reſorting to corruption, in any one caſe, even for the good of the ſtate, could be juſtifiable; for he held, that if miniſters could not carry their meaſures through by honeſt means, it was their duty to reſign. All our hopes, all our expectations, all our wiſhes, he was perſuaded, depended on a ſyſtem of incorruptibility, and not on a ſyſtem of corruptibility. If not

Actum eſt de republica pulcherrima!

With regard to a government founded on corruption, therefore, the ſooner ſuch an idea was refuted the better. He proteſted before Heaven, that with all the deteſtation which he had for the infamous ſyſtem which was now aboliſhed; and with all the reſentment which he entertained againſt theſe wretched miniſters which were now diſcharged; he would rather ſee that ſyſtem renewed with theſe miniſters at its head, than that a more inſidious, becauſe a more plauſible government ſhould be ſet up under the ſanction of names more elevated, upon the ſame principle. Againſt ſuch a government there would be no ſafeguard, the good would be deluded, the baſe would be employed, and the nation would be ruined. No, if we muſt have a government of corruption, let us have governors who are ſuſpected, that the nation may be on its guard, not that he imagined the honourable gentleman had any intention to reſort to corruption; he was aware, he had merely thrown out the idea, to ſhew the independent members that it reſted on the virtue of that Houſe to keep an adminiſtration virtuous.

Mr. Burke. Mr. *Burke* lamented that any thing which had fallen from him ſhould have given his honourable friend an idea that it was poſſible for him to countenance corruption even for a moment; he flattered himſelf, that the whole courſe of his conduct was a continued proof that he reprobated corruption in every point of view; and that, therefore, he could not mean to become an advocate for it in that Houſe: he had meant

meant no more than this in what he had said, that ministers not finding sufficient support from the independent interest, resorted for it to corruption; and that in such case ministers were less to blame than those members who suffered them to do it: if he appeared in this to take any blame from ministers; it was only to heap the more on those who, through indolence or inactivity, should withhold their support from measures which they approved. All that he had in view from what he had said was to warn men against the danger of inattention; and to shew them the possibility that in some future moment, it might be imputed to them by ministers that their neglect had forced them to what they otherways would have rejected—to corruption—and that perhaps a minister might charge them with at least a part of the guilt.

"*Flectere si nequeo superos, acheronta movebo.*

That their indolence he might give as his excuse, for either by independance or corruption his government must be supported. But he never meant to insinuate his approbation of such conduct. He was clearly of another mind; and thought with the right honourable gentleman that a minister ought to resign his seat rather than resort to base and unworthy means. He had never supported but one administration in that House, and no member he believed would accuse that administration of governing by corruption. He said the honourable gentleman had talked, as if he had been likely to become a minister. God knew, Mr. Burke said, he had no such views, nor had he a right to have any such. The thing was not within probability; the honourable gentleman was himself infinitely more likely to become a minister than he was. He was neither a man who had pretensions to it from rank in the country, or from fortune, nor who aspired to it from ambition. He was not a man so foolishly vain, or so blindly ignorant of his own state and condition, as to indulge for a moment the idea of his becoming a Minister: The right honourable gentleman, whose rank and pretensions naturally pointed to that elevation, had undoubtedly a right to look forward to it; and no man deserved it more: It must give pleasure and joy then to the House, to hear the language which he had just delivered; and the abhorrence which he had expressed of that wicked and ruinous system, which, after a struggle of so many years, they had at last abolished, would be a pledge to the House, that when that right honourable person should become a minister, the House and

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the nation would have no reason to apprehend that that syftem would be renewed.

Gen. Conway. General *Conway* declared, he was extremely glad he had taken notice of the circumftance, fince it had given the honourable gentleman an opportunity of clearing up, what, unexplained, might have gone forth to the world mifunderftood and mifreprefented, whence a variety of falfe and invidious conftructions might have been put upon it. He appealed to the Houfe, whether he had not gone before the honourable gentleman in almoft every thing he had faid, being thoroughly perfuaded, that a man of his known integrity could never intend to act upon motives of corruption; indeed he thought too well of every gentleman on that fide the Houfe to entertain fuch a fufpicion; on the contrary, he was convinced, that if they found they could not go on with a government built upon pure and uncorrupt principles, they would think it much more noble to retire, and leave it to others to take their trial at the helm, rather than go back to the abominable fyftem of corruption. With refpect to himfelf he could affure the Houfe, that in whatever fituation he might be, whether that of a minifter, or a private member of that Houfe, he fhould always be the direct, avowed, and moft determined foe to corruption; nor fhould he ever confent to its introduction as a fupport to that fyftem to which he fhould ever lend his name.

Mr. F. Montagu. Mr. *F. Montagu* called the attention of the Houfe to the queftion before them, which was that of adjournment. He wifhed particularly to call them to this; for at prefent entering into difcuffions of this fort anfwered no good purpofe. It being clearly the general fenfe of the Houfe to accede to the propofition of the noble Lord in the blue ribband, and poftpone the intermediate motion of the day till Monday, to be then made if it fhould then appear to be neceffary. He faw no reafon whatever, why the Houfe fhould continue to debate a matter that did not, in his opinion, call for a word to be faid on the fubject.

Sir John Huffey Delaval. Sir *John Huffey Delaval* took occafion to regret the lofs of the abilities of the noble Lord in the blue ribband, in whofe praife, as a man of talents and integrity, almoft every fide of the Houfe had been loud, at one period or another. Sir John faid a variety of handfome things of Lord North, which would have, he faid, a ftronger effect from the obvious difintereftednefs of a panegyric pronounced on a minifter in the moment of his retiring from power.

Mr. *Courtenay* said, he could not claim the attention of the House under the very respectable character of a country gentleman, which, if his definition was right, implied a person possessed of considerable landed property; yet he hoped, what he himself deemed a misfortune, would not be imputed to him as a fault. Fortunately it had been observed by an honourable gentleman, distinguished by his wit and talents, that independence consisted more in the mind than in the gifts of fortune; to this proposition, Mr. Courtenay added, both his interest and conviction induced him to subscribe; and he farther begged leave to deduce one corollary from it, which was this, that those were most likely to possess that noble internal quality (independence) in its utmost purity and perfection, who had little external to debase or adulterate it; therefore, as he waved all claim to the first denomination, he hoped, he would not be reckoned presumptuous if he put in his claim to the latter. Mr. Courtenay observed, that notwithstanding, the acrimonious remarks and insinuations of some gentlemen, there appeared a candour and ingenuousness, among men of the first character and abilities on the other side of the House, especially in the noble Lord who was to move the question of the day, to agree to the motion of adjournment till Monday; and that the invidious and illiberal doubts, (so candidly suggested) of the sincerity of the noble Lord in the blue ribband's declarations, were not received so warmly, and with so much applause, as might have been expected. He observed, that if the opinion he was going to deliver, had not truth for its foundation, it had certainly no other circumstance to recommend it. He acknowledged he had always given his support, since he had a seat in that House, to the noble Lord in the blue ribband. That he had done so, from a persuasion of the rectitude of the noble Lord's intentions, of the purity of which, he remained as firmly convinced as ever; that however, from a variety of untoward circumstances, there were parts of his administration, which had not been as successful as might have been expected; there appeared through the whole of it, a sincere anxiety for the prosperity of his country. His amiable and engaging disposition had procured him many friends; his unrivalled wit had created him many admirers; his unassuming manners (though twelve years at the head of the Treasury) had prevented his having any enemies; his mild and forbearing temper (of which he had exhibited so many striking instances) was seldom provoked, and when he

Mr. Courtenay.

was

was, his generous manly warmth did honour to his feelings. Mr. Courtenay said, if he took this opportunity of expatiating on the noble Lord's praises, for the purposes of adulation, it was extremely ill-timed; but as an evidence of the unfeigned respect he should ever bear for him, what he presumed to say, could not now be out of time:

"When int'rest calls off all her sneaking train,
"When all the obliged desert—and yet complain.

He could not form a more sanguine wish for the happiness of his country, than, that in this day of difficulty, in this hour of calamity and distress, an administration might be formed, as able and as disinterested, as upright in their intentions, but more fortunate in the event, than that of the noble Lord's. The noise, clamour, and cry to adjourn were so strong, that Mr. Courtenay, though he spoke in a strong, and elevated tone of voice, could scarcely be heard, upon which he called out very audibly, "that neither his temper, disposition, nor country, inclined him to be intimidated, embarrassed, or easily put out of countenance, he would therefore finish what he had to say before he sat down," which was, that though he had not the honour of being one of those sagacious country gentlemen, who had so long vociferated for the American war, (a war which he should ever think impolitic, unjust, and inexpedient) who had so long run on the red herring scent of American taxation, before they found out there was no game on foot; they, who like (their prototype) Don Quixote, had mistaken the barber's bason for a golden helmet, he now congratulated them on having, at last, recovered their senses, and found out their error; yet he had as strong an affection for his country, and felt as much for the honour and prosperity of Britain, as any man in that House; he ardently wished to see an arrangement of ministers who would throw themselves on their country, and rest their support on the confidence of the people, founded on the public spirited measures they meant to pursue. He wished to see a constitutional administration, founded on the basis of public virtue and public œconomy; "when this corruption had put on incorruption, and this mortality had put on immortality;" such an administration, feeble and insignificant as his support was, should always have it. Mr. Courtenay concluded by declaring, that he felt himself perfectly composed, and in perfect good humour, though the other side of the House had not listened

to

to him with their usual indulgence and attention. Their exultation, triumph, and interruption, be freely pardoned on this occasion.

When in their hands all power they found,
It well might make their brains turn round,
It well might turn their head,—
He fancy'd (tho' they hate a joke)
They felt as Nell did when she woke
In Lady Loverule's bed——

He concluded by expressing his thorough persuasion, that if they heard what he persisted to speak, it would make a full impression on them, especially as he was just, perhaps, on the eve of becoming perfectly an independent gentleman himself; a title, which had been so long and so honourably possessed by so many respectable characters on the other side of the House, a title which they enjoyed without envy, and of which he was convinced, from the liberal sentiments entertained on this side, not a single person ever wished to deprive them.

Lord Surrey

Lord *Surrey* said, that his private opinion was, that his motion ought still to be put for all that had been said by the noble Lord was no argument against it; but the House being of another opinion, he was ready to submit; but he must now say that as a right honourable gentleman had pledged himself to support him on Monday, in case any deception should be practised, he gave notice, that should that appear to be the case, and any part of the present administration remain, he would, on Monday, come forward with a motion, not the same as that he intended to have moved, which was in substance to complain of administration, and to resolve on an address for a change, but a very, very different motion indeed!

This declaration was supported by a hear him! Hear him! from every side of the House.

Sir Robert Smith.

Sir *Robert Smith* said, that he had intended to have seconded the motion which was to have come before that House that day; and feeling a similar resentment if he should be deceived, he would certainly second any motion which spoke the anger of that House.

Mr. Charles Turner.

Mr. *Charles Turner* rose to deliver his sentiments, but the clamour was so great, and his voice being weak, he could not be heard.

Lord

Lord North

Lord *North* and Mr. Fox now withdrew their respective motions; and Lord North moved the House to adjourn to Monday morning next, which was immediately complied with, and the House rose at six o'clock.

Adjourned to the 25th.

March 25.

Change of the MINISTRY.

The House was uncommonly crouded, as the conversation of the day was, that at twelve o'clock that day the negociation was not concluded; but as soon as the private business was over,

Mr. Dunning.

Mr. *Dunning* rose, and said that it was with peculiar satisfation he found himself enabled, through some communication he had had that day with a most respectable member of the upper House, to inform gentlemen that arrangements were now making for forming a new administration, which he trusted would meet the wishes of that House, and of the nation at large.—In order, therefore, to give time for the final adjustment of those arguments, he would move that the House should adjourn to Wednesday. This, he said, was a short interval; but he hoped it would be long enough to effect those arrangements so much and so ardently wished for by the whole nation. He then moved for adjourning.

Lord Surrey

Lord *Surrey* expressed his satisfaction at hearing that such arrangements were likely to take place, as would render it unnecessary for him to trouble the House with his intended motion. He cautioned gentlemen, however, to beware of thinking that their work was complete; a new administration was not their sole object; it was desireable only in as much as it would contribute to save the state; but the ship was not yet in port; and he was afraid that the united efforts of the greatest abilities of our statesmen, and the greatest exertion of our officers, would be barely able to save her.

The Lord Advocate.

The *Lord Advocate* took the opportunity of saying before the question was put, that if no proceedings had taken place in consequence of the reports from the Secret Committee, it was not his fault; the state of affairs for the last three weeks had been such, that it was impossible to bring that business before the House: however, as it was of the greatest importance that something should be done on the occasion, he gave notice, that if some person of greater weight and abilities would not take up the business, he would hold himself bound

bound to bring it forward the very first opportunity after the recess.

General *Smith* rose, not to oppose, but to enforce the arguments of the learned Lord: our affairs in India were such, he said, that our settlements in that part of the world would be in the greatest danger, if notice should not be sent out in the course of a month, that some measures were likely to be soon taken by Parliament, for the better government of our possessions in that part of the world. The month of March was already nearly at end, and nothing had yet been done on the reports of the two committees. If something was not determined on, respecting the subject of both reports before that day month, he verily believed, consequences of a very serious sort, and extremely prejudicial to the interests of this country would ensue; he, therefore, hoped, the earliest opportunity of entering upon the business, that should offer after the recess, would be taken by the learned Lord, and that the House would pay the subject the attention it merited. Gen. Smith.

The question was then put, and the House was adjourned to Wednesday the 27th.

March 27.

Colonel *Luttrell* addressed the House in a very serious manner. He said, that, from the regard he bore to all that now remained of the British empire, he felt it to be proper to call their attention to the present state of Ireland, from which kingdom he had just arrived. He wished to convey information to the ministers of this country, whoever they might be, relative to the situation of the country. Ireland, he said, was at present in so perturbed a situation, that if some measures were not timely adopted to restore it to tranquillity, the most serious consequences might be apprehended: tumults might arise, and confusion swallow up order and regularity. The temper and disposition of the Irish, he knew, at present, to be such, that it would be both practicable and easy to satisfy them; but if any time was lost, he would not answer for the consequences. Here he was interrupted, and called to order, by Col. Luttrell.

Mr. *Byng*, who apologized for interrupting his honourable friend. He had called him to order, though in fact he could not say that he was disorderly; but as his honourable Mr. Byng.

 friend

friend had risen to convey information to the new ministers, he only wished to remind him that none of them* were then in

* It may be agreeable to our readers to see the new arrangement;

Marquis of Rockingham ——	First Lord of the Treasury.
Earl of Shelburne —— Mr. Fox —— ——	Joint Secretaries of State — the third Secretaryship abolished.
Lord John Cavendish ——	Chancellor of the Exchequer.
Admiral Keppel, created a Viscount	First Lord of the Admiralty.
Duke of Grafton —— —	Lord Privy Seal.
Lord Camden —— ——	President of the Council.
Duke of Richmond — —	Master-General of the Ordnance:
Lord Thurloe —— —	To continue Chancellor
General Conway —— —	Commander in chief of the Forces
Mr. Dunning —— ——	Chancellor of the Dutchy of Lancaster and created Baron Ashburton.

The above eleven persons composed the Cabinet.

Besides the above, the

Duke of Manchester — Earl of Effingham —— Earl Ludlow —— — Lord de Ferrars —— Sir George Yonge, Bart. —— Mr. Burke —— — Viscount Chewton ——	Privy Counsellors.
Duke of Manchester — —	Lord Chamberlain.
Viscount Chewton —— —	Vice Chamberlain.
Viscount Weymouth — —	Groom of the Stole.
Earl of Jersy —— ——	Master of the Buck Hounds.
Earl of Carlisle —— ——	Lord Steward of the Household.
Lord Rivers —— ——	Lord of the Bedchamber.
Earl of Effingham —— —	Treasurer of the Household.
Earl Ludlow —— —	Comptroller of ditto.
Lord de Ferrars —— —	Captain of the Band of Gentlemen Pensioners.
Prince William Henry . —— Duke of Richmond — — Duke of Devonshire —— Earl of Shelburne — —	Knights of the Garter

Lord

in the House, and to conjure and beseech him not to proceed in so very delicate a subject at present; but to give the ministers in private that information which he was so anxious, and very properly anxious, to communicate to them. He could venture to assure him, that those ministers, of whom he neither was nor intended to be one, would be happy to receive his information, and would take every step which wisdom could suggest for healing the uneasiness of Ireland.

Col. Luttrell.

Colonel *Luttrell* replied, that he did not as yet know who the ministers were; however, in compliance with the wish of

Lord Viscount Althorpe James Grenville, Esq. Frederic Montagu, Esq.	Lords of the Treasury.
Sir Robert Harland, Bart. Hugh Pigot, Esq. Lord Duncannon Honourable John Towshend C. Brett, Esq. R. Hopkins, Esq.	Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.
Richard Brindsley Sheridan, Esq. Thomas Orde Esq.	Under Secretaries of State.
Lloyd Kenyon, Esq.	Attorney General.
John Lee, Esq.	Solicitor-General
Honourable Thomas Townshend	Secretary at War.
Colonel Barré	Treasurer of the Navy.
Edmund Burke, Esq.	Paymaster-General of the Forces.
Earl of Tankerville	Joint Postmaster General.
Lord William Gordon	Vice Admiral of Scotland.
Sir William Howe	Lieutenant General of the Ordnance.
Honourable Thomas Pelham	Surveyor General of ditto.
Lord Howe, created a Viscount	To command the grand Fleet.
Sir Fletcher Norton	Created Lord Grantly.
Earl Temple	Lord Lieutenant of Bucks.
Duke of Bolton	Ditto of Southampton.
Earl of Pembroke	Ditto of Wilts
Marquis of Rockingham	Ditto of East Riding Yorkshire,
Charles Turner, Esq.	Created a Baronet.
Henry Fletcher, Esq.	Ditto.
Duke of Portland	Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.
Earl of Scarborough Sir George Yonge Bart.	Joint Vice-Treasurers of Ireland.
Colonel Fitzpatrick	Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant.
Lieutenant-General Burgoyne	Commander in chief of the Forces in Ireland.

of his honourable friend, he was willing to suppress for the present, what he intended to say on the subject, and to wait till the new ministers should be settled in office, when he would communicate faithfully and truly his sentiments relative to the present state of Ireland; he would therefore content himself for the present, with saying that the attention of the new ministry could not be too soon turned to the affairs of Ireland; and nothing ought to be omitted to conciliate the affections of the people of that country.

The Lord Advocate.

The *Lord Advocate* brought up several large bundles of papers, containing reports from the Secret Committee on India affairs; and gave notice, that as he thought it absolutely necessary, that some steps should be very speedily taken respecting our settlements in India, he would, on the first Tuesday after the recess, move, to have the reports on the table taken into consideration.

New writs were then moved for, by Mr. Byng, &c. for such gentlemen as had vacated on account of their accepting offices, and which our readers will see in the subjoined note.

March 28.

Ordered accounts of the tonnage of ships in the ports of Great Britain, from 1780 to 1782. Also the tonnage of foreign ships, to the same period.

Adjourned on account of the holidays, to the 8th of April.

END OF VOLUME VI.